

THE AMERICAN INDIAN



Our Indian chief is in full regalia for war or festival. His proud feathered headdress and splendid robes

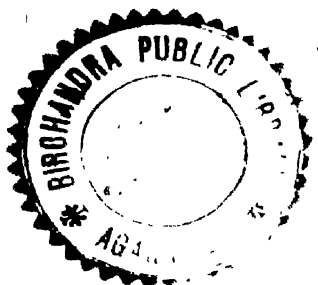
make him a sight to be admired and envied, especially when he is mounted on a fine horse.

Richards Topical Encyclopedia

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ALBERT WILLIAM TRUEMAN

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KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

ä, as in mäte	oi, as in toil
û, as in senâte	ôö, as in sōön
â, as in hâir	öo, as in böök
ă, as in hăt	ou, as in shout
ä, as in fäther	s, as in so
ă, a sound between ü and ă, as in	sh, as in ship
càstle	th, as in thumb
ch, as in chest	th, as in thus
ē, as in ēve	û, as in cûre
ê, as in rêlate	û, as in accûrate
ë, as in bënd	û, as in fûr
ë, as in readër	ÿ, as in ÿs
g, as in go	ÿ, a sound formed by pronouncing ē
ī, as in bīte	with the lips in the position for
ĭ, as in ĭnn	ôö, as in the German <i>über</i> and the
k, as in key	French <i>une</i>
K, the guttural sound of ch, as in	zh, as in azure
the German <i>ach</i> , or the Scotch <i>loch</i>	’, an indication that a vowel sound
n, as in not	occurs, but that it is elided and
N, the French nasal sound, as in <i>bon</i>	cannot be identified, as in apple
ng, the English nasal sound, as in	(ăp’l)
strong	A heavy accent (ˈ) follows a syllable
ō, as in bōne	receiving the principal stress,
ô, as in Christôpher	and a lighter accent (˙) follows a
ô, as in lôrd	syllable receiving a secondary
ö, as in hôt	stress.

The HISTORY of CANADA

Reading Unit

No. 1

THE WINNING OF THE CANADIAN WILDS

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Photo by Canadian Pacific Ry.

Canada has been called "Our Lady of the Snows." For in spite of her fine factories and farms, vast stretches are given over to eternal snow. The fascination of their silence and beauty has captured many a miner or trapper or explorer, who found that all the rest of his life he wanted to go back and at last

could be happy nowhere else. Above is one such ice-bound spot—the Athabaska Glacier, part of the Columbia Icefields, a sea of ice which lies across the boundary between Banff and Glacier National Parks, not far from Lake Louise. Its melting waters go to join the Atlantic, Pacific, and Arctic oceans.

The WINNING of the CANADIAN WILDS

How the French Explorers Threaded a Vast Wilderness in Their Light Canoes, Only to Let Their Empire Slip

NO ONE knows for how many centuries the Indians were roving the plains and forests of Southern Canada or the Eskimos fighting the bitter storms of the northern winters with no one to say them nay. But since they never wrote down what they did, and since none of the peoples who could write knew anything about them, we have to begin the history of Canada when the country was discovered by explorers from the Old World.

The first legend of discovery tells of how an adventurous sailor-monk from China found America about 500 A.D. But no one knows where he may have touched on its western shores; and he saw so many dragons and other nightmare sights that the whole story sounds like the yarn of a boaster with a brilliant imagination. It was the white men who were to bring the New World into contact with the Old, and they were to come from Europe across the Atlantic.

So it happens that the story of Canada, like the story of the United States, begins on the Atlantic coast. Indeed, for all the long period we are telling of in this chapter, the great names and the great events in the stories of the two countries are very often the same.

First came the Norsemen, steering their bold dragon ships without chart or compass through the northern seas. They found Iceland and settled there. Then they set up a colony on Greenland. Then one of them, driven out of his course in a storm, saw mysterious land to the west, and Leif Ericsson set out to find it. In 1000 A.D. he sailed along the eastern coast of North America, passed a desolate shore he called Helluland, landed in what he called Markland, and spent some time in Vinland. Later there was even a Norse colony for a while in Vinland, and the first native-born white American came into the world,

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If only we could tell from the old tales where Helluland was, and Markland, and Vinland! But of course these hardy sailors, whom we call vikings, did not know anything about Canada or New England; they did not even guess that what they had found was not another European island, but a new continent. So all we can do is to try to work out what places fit best their descriptions. Helluland seems to be Labrador or Newfoundland, Markland may be Nova Scotia, Vinland may have been either New Brunswick, which is in Canada, or New England, which is across the border in the United States.

But the Norsemen soon went home and forgot about Vinland, except as another tale of brave adventure. And long afterward, in 1492, America was discovered all over again—this time in the warm south—by Christopher Columbus.

Five years after that most famous of all voyages, the first European since the Norsemen set foot in Canada. This was John Cabot, an Italian explorer in the service of England. Cabot landed on either Labrador or Newfoundland or Nova Scotia, and the next year (1498) he and his son Sebastian explored the eastern Canadian coast. When the Cabots returned they had many a tale to tell of their discoveries, but the news which seemed to interest Europeans most was the tale of huge quantities of fish in the waters off Newfoundland. Within twenty years after Cabot's journey there were

over fifty fishing vessels, from England, France, Portugal, and other lands, on the "Banks" of Newfoundland.

But as for the British government, it seemed to take little interest in Cabot's discovery, and when the interior of Canada came to be explored it was Frenchmen instead of Englishmen who did it. So from now on until 1763 this story is going to be the story of New France, the story of how French explorers and fur traders and missionaries won an enormous empire from the Indians—only to lose it to the British in the end.

It is hard to imagine anything more romantic than this early history of Canada. It is, if possible, even more thrilling than the story of the Spanish and the English to the south. The

Spaniards went into the new country as proud conquerors, killing or enslaving the natives that they might carry off a rich booty of gold. The English went into the wilderness in a steady march of settlements, thrusting the Indians before them that they might turn the forests into farms and cities.

But the French for the most part went as lonely adventurers, traders, or missionaries. The Indians of Canada and the great Northwest had no gold which could be stolen from them, but they had other things the white men wanted—and could get only by making friends with the red men. One thing the Indians had was knowledge of the enormous network of rivers which spreads out over all North America—the great systems of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi—and they not only guided the white explorers but taught them how to

This statue of Champlain, the great explorer, stands at Orillia, Ontario.

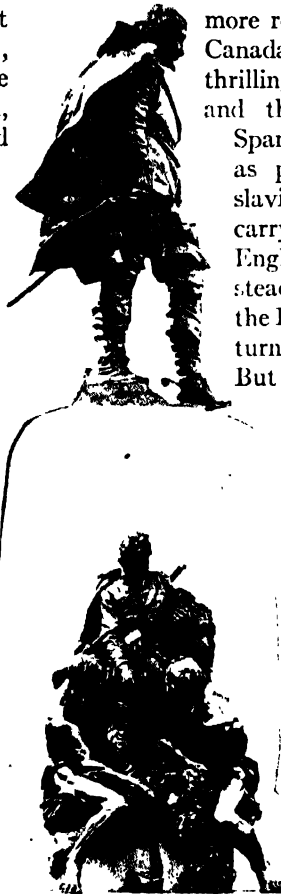


Photo by Ontario Tourist Bureau

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Photo by the National Museum

The Iroquois lived in more permanent settlements than most other Indians north of Mexico or the Southwest. They built villages like this, with "long houses" where

many families lived together, and put a palisade around the whole for defense. They were the best-organized of all the Indians of Canada or the United States.

manage a canoe. And the Indians had furs, and would trade them for the things the white men brought—glass baubles and steel knives and guns and rum. And they had human souls which the heroic priests were determined at whatever cost to save for the Catholic church. So the story of New France is full of vast distances and incredible adventures and lonely little missions or trading posts hundreds of miles from civilization.

The first of the explorers to come under the French flag was Verrazano (vēr'ra-tsū'nō), himself an Italian, who sailed along the eastern coast of North America southward from Nova Scotia in 1524. But even less came of his adventure than of the Cabots'. With him was Jacques Cartier (kār'tyā'), a real Frenchman who later sailed for himself to see if he could find a way through or around America to Asia. He it was who began the exploration of the St. Lawrence River, that mighty waterway which was to lead generations of Canadian adventurers westward and ever westward to the Great Lakes and the vast wilderness beyond, or to the rivers flowing into the even mightier Mississippi.



This is La Salle, bold explorer of the Great Lakes and of the Mississippi.

In 1534 and again in 1535 Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, claiming the land for France. He went as far as Montreal—"the royal mountain"—which he named, and he spent a terrible winter at what was later to be Quebec. You may read of his adventures on other pages of these books.

But nearly seventy years were to pass by before the French gained a foothold in Canada, or even tried to gain one. Then came the great Samuel de Champlain (shām'plān'), who first learned from the Indians and taught to the white men the fact that the way to get about in the northern wilderness was to travel, like the Indians, by canoe.

With Indian guides, a few followers, and canoes for the party, Champlain pushed up the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa and discovered two of the Great Lakes, Ontario and Huron. He pushed south into what was some day to be New York State, and discovered the lake that bears his name. In 1604 he helped found the first permanent settlement in Canada. This colony was settled for a terrible winter at St. Croix, now Dochet Island, but

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Photo by Detroit Children's Museum

The first sailing vessel on the Great Lakes was the "Griffon," which La Salle built near Niagara Falls, when the boat he had come in was wrecked. Here are La Salle and Father Hennepin, a famous Jesuit

missionary, on the "Griffon's" deck as she sails through the Detroit River. They went as far as Green Bay, on Lake Michigan, and then La Salle sent the "Griffon" back, laden with furs. But on the way she was lost.

soon it was removed to the more hospitable climate of Port Royal, now called Annapolis. In 1608 Champlain founded a settlement at Quebec which was the real beginning of Canada. So unceasingly did he labor all his life for the colony that he may well be called the first Canadian. Certainly he was the founder of New France.

Hudson's Last Tragic Voyage

The next hero of discovery is an Englishman—Henry Hudson, discoverer of the river, the strait, and the bay which bear his name. In 1610 Hudson made his last tragic voyage in search of the Northwest Passage. He sailed through the stormy Hudson Strait into the vast, bleak expanses of Hudson Bay, nothing doubting that he had rounded the continent at last. But after a bitter winter in that bitter climate, he and a few companions were set adrift by his own mutinous men, and no one knows what death of cold or hunger or drowning he may have met.

But this voyage is an aside, and the main story of exploration takes place along the rivers. It is a story of hardy canoeists—"voyageurs" (vwá'yá'zhûr'), or voyagers, we call them—who worked up the St.

Lawrence and the Ottawa and thence down the Ohio and the Mississippi.

Up the St. Lawrence went Pierre Esprit Radisson (pyër ës'prē' rà'dē'sōN'), half hero and half scamp, who served first France, then England, then France again, and whose life story—with its tale of imprisonment among the Indians, of hairbreadth escapes, of daring exploits—sounds like something out of James Fenimore Cooper. Radisson got as far west as Lake Michigan, and in 1659 is supposed to have sighted the upper Mississippi.

Bold Explorers of the Mississippi

Up the St. Lawrence went the trader Joliet (jō'lyě') and Father Marquette, the missionary priest, who are usually given credit for rediscovering (1673) the Mississippi River. Their route lay from the north; it had been discovered from the south by the Spaniard De Soto. Up the St. Lawrence went La Salle, who in spite of an appalling amount of bad luck finally managed (1682) to sail the Mississippi clear to its mouth and claim all the land he called Louisiana for France. These men started out from Canada, but much of the land they discovered became a part of the United States.

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Nearly all of them have separate stories in these books.

Thus in time New France came to swing in an enormous arc from Quebec to New Orleans, with the unplumbed wilderness of the west and north at its back. But we must by no means think of all this country as having been made really French. Here and there on the Great Lakes or along the rivers was a mission settlement, where the Jesuit (jěz'û-ît) fathers or some other group of priests or monks were going to bring Christianity to the Indians. Here and there was a trading post, where the Indians could exchange their marvelous furs for beads or gunpowder. Here and there was a fort set up against the English. But there were not many clearings about settlers' log cabins, not many farms, almost no towns.

Practically the only settlements were near the eastern coast, at Montreal and Quebec and a few other places. The heart of the colony was at Quebec, which was the center both of the government and of the fur trade. But even these settlements did not grow very fast, and there simply were not enough colonists to spread out to the west.

There were several good reasons for this. Above all, life in New France was very dangerous and insecure—even more so, perhaps, than life in the English colonies to the south. It was not only the danger and

hardship of the wilderness and the long, cold winters. It was also the Indians. For in spite of the fact that on the whole the French got along with the Indians much better than the English did, they had had the misfortune at the very first to make enemies of the powerful Iroquois (ir'ô-kwoi'), whose stronghold was this region. It had happened because Champlain had made allies of the Iroquois's enemies. And of course the English settlers to the south made the most of this feud.

But there were other strong reasons for the sparseness of the French population. Most of the Englishmen who came to America came to get away from religious persecutions at home; but the

French government would not let the persecuted Huguenots (hū'gě-nôt), or Protestants, come to Canada—and the Catholics had no reason for wanting to leave home. Besides, the French government kept interfering with the colonists after they got here.



Photo by Public Archivist of Canada

Probably the most famous heroine of the Canadian frontier is Marie-Madeleine de Verchères (vēr'shēr'), who defended the fort of Verchères against the Iroquois in 1692, when she was only fourteen years old. When the Indians attacked, "Madelon" was outside the fort, and she had a stiff race for her life before she could slip inside the palisade and close the gate, as she is doing here. There was nobody in the fort just then but Madelon, her two brothers—aged ten and twelve—a servant, some women and children, an old man of eighty, and two soldiers who had to be stopped from blowing the place up in sheer terror. Madelon took charge at once and held the fort for eight days, making so bold a show that the Indians thought the place was full of soldiers. Always she kept the point of greatest danger for herself and her brave little brothers, and more than once she even went outside in full view of the enemy to rescue other settlers or bring in supplies.

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Photo by Detroit Children's Museum

These "coureurs de bois" are trading in the settlement founded in 1701 by Antoine de la Mothe, sieur de Cadillac, where Detroit now stands. The fort at

Detroit was one of the most important in the chain of forts along the Great Lakes and the Ohio—meant to protect New France against Indians and English.

One special grievance was the matter of the fur trade. The government was in the habit of granting to some particular man or group of men a monopoly, or exclusive right, to the fur trade in a particular region. Now fur trading was much more profitable than farming in Canada, and naturally the people resented being refused permission to engage in it. A great many adventurous young men went ahead and traded in furs anyway. It was no use to pass severe laws against them—fining them, even condemning them to labor at the galleys like the galley slaves of ancient Rome. It is very hard to enforce unpopular laws in a wilderness; so though fines were sometimes paid, it was not often that anything more serious happened to the culprits.

Yet these lawless traders had to live like outlaws in the wilderness, and they came to be as hardy and forest-wise and adventurous as the Indians. Men called them "coureurs de bois" (kōō'rūr' dē bwä)—

"runners of the woods"—and they are as picturesque if not quite so heroic as the "voyageurs." Sometimes they threw off civilization altogether, and lived with the Indians quite in the Indian way. Sometimes they managed to remain French gentlemen, at home alike in wigwam or palace. The king of them all was Daniel du Lhut (dū lūt), one time of the highborn bodyguard of the magnificent Louis XIV of France. Du Lhut was an explorer of the Great Lakes region as well as a trader in forbidden furs. His fearlessness and dignity so impressed the Indians that once he rescued a French prisoner by merely walking alone into the camp of the victors and berating them roundly for abusing a Frenchman!

It was Daniel du Lhut whom the great Canadian governor Louis de Buade (dē būād), Count of Frontenac (frōN'tē-nāk'), selected to avenge the terrible massacre of French settlers by Iroquois Indians at Lachine (1689). Frontenac was a strong

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and ruthless man, and the barbarous revenge taken on the Indians at this time was only an extreme example of his iron rule. Yet he was one of the best of the French governors, and the only one whose name has passed into legend. Twice (1672-1682, 1689-1698) he was sent out to live in his stone castle at Quebec, to quarrel with the bishop, terrify the Indians, and keep a strong hand on colonial affairs in general. When he died (1698) his place could not easily be filled.

Already before Count Frontenac's death the great struggle between France and England for possession of North America had begun to take shape. The English stirred up the Iroquois against the French, and the French dashed back across the border with their own Indian allies to deal out savage revenge.

In 1690 the Englishman Sir William Phipps had sailed north to capture Nova Scotia and to make an unsuccessful attack on Quebec. These clashes were bound to come about, because England and France were so often at war in Europe.

How the British Won Canada

In America, too, there were reasons for enmity. Albany and Montreal were rival centers of the fur trade, and both white men and Indians were eager to get the lion's share of the beautiful beaver furs in the region. If the trade from the Great Lakes followed the Mohawk Valley, the English

and the Iroquois prospered; if it followed the St. Lawrence, the French and Algonquins thrived. So the French and Indian wars were American wars, even though often started by events in Europe.

The story of the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century in Canada, as in the

English colonies, is much concerned with this struggle. We have told about it in the story of the United States, and it is not a pleasant enough tale to be told over again at any great length here. The French had a strong central government and much bold daring; they had also the friendship of most of the Indians. The English on the other hand had numbers—twenty to one perhaps—and though the English colonists had a hard time working together, numbers won in the end.

In 1711 the English again seized Nova Scotia, and by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713)

France lost Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay region to England. But meanwhile the exploration of the West went on. The Frenchman Cadillac founded Detroit on Lake Michigan in 1701. In 1741 the Frenchman La Vérendrye (là vā'rōN'-drē') pushed farther west. His son Louis-Joseph reached the Black Hills of South Dakota in 1743. French forts began to go up along the Great Lakes and in the disputed Ohio Valley.

If only new settlers had come—but they did not, for the reasons we have told. If



Photo by Jorud Photo Shop

It is Pierre Gaultier de Varenne, sieur de la Vérendrye, to whom belongs the honor of having been the first white man to look upon Lake Winnipeg (1733). He built Fort Rouge (1738) where the city of Winnipeg now stands. Here he is pictured as he must have looked on that expedition.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA



Photo by Province of Quebec Tourist Agency

Whirling its restless arms in every breeze, this windmill at Ile-aux-Coudres, in the Province of Quebec, has been at work for over three hundred years. The first settlers built it. And as the village grew up

around it, the people who lived there relied on their old windmill to grind the flour for their bread. Today flour comes in neat little sacks, but the old windmill still stands, a landmark for all the countryside.

only there had been more Count Frontenacs to rule at Quebec—but instead there came a succession of weak and greedy governors, who cheated shamelessly for their private gain.

During the War of the Austrian Succession, in which, as usual, England was ranged against France, four thousand audacious New Englanders captured the strong French fortress of Louisburg; but to their immense indignation at the close of the war (1748) it passed back to France.

Things came to a climax in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), called in America the French and Indian War. This struggle actually began in the Ohio Valley.

A tragic incident in this final contest for the continent was the deporting, or sending away, of six thousand people from Acadia (â-kâ'dî-â), or Nova Scotia. These poor people had been told by the English that they would be punished if they were false to the oaths they had been forced to take to the English king; and they were told by the French that they must fight for France. When the English discovered that the Acadians were still loyal to France, they forced about a third of the colonists to leave their homes (1755) and sail off to various places,

some of them in other English colonies.

Yet on the whole the war had been going pretty well for France during the first years. Then came the turn. In 1758 the British again took Louisburg; and in 1759 their redcoats, under Wolfe, clambered up the steep trail one night to the Heights of Abraham before the city of Quebec. The astonished French joined battle in the morning, led by their gallant commander, Montcalm, but the struggle was soon over. Both Wolfe and Montcalm lay dead. And the British flag flew over the Canadian capital.

There it has ever since continued to wave. The war was practically over so far as America was concerned; and when the treaty of peace was finally signed at Paris in 1763, half of North America changed hands. All New France, except two tiny island fishing stations off Newfoundland, ceased to be French and became British.

British it became, and British it was to remain, even when the other British colonies broke away. Yet the French settlers still stayed in Canada, and Canadians still cherish among their dearest treasures the story of that 'time of romance and color and adventure when the continent was still untraveled and Canada was New France.

The HISTORY of CANADA

Reading Unit

No. 2

CANADA COMES INTO HER OWN

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Suppose the Canadians had joined in our rebellion!

How did our Civil War influence Canadian unification?

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Summary Statement

The end of our own Civil War found Canada emerging from a

struggle of her own, a united, prosperous, democratic nation.

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Photo by Detroit Children's Museum

During the great Indian uprising under Chief Pontiac, the Indians often captured frontier forts by stratagem instead of by open attack. They tried it at Detroit in 1763. But the British had discovered the plot, and when the Indians poured into the town, supposedly bent on a friendly council but really carrying arms under their blankets, they found ranks of soldiers about them, armed and waiting. The great chief him-

self went calmly to the council hall, though he saw that his plan had failed. There, as shown in our picture, he offered the British commander, Major Gladwin, the wampum belt with which he had intended to give the fatal signal of attack. Some say Gladwin sternly rebuked him for his treachery, as he seems to be doing here. But at all events, he afterwards let Pontiac and his chiefs leave Detroit in peace.

CANADA COMES *into* HER OWN

How the Canadians Won the Right to Their Own Government and Built Up a Vast Free Country

THIS is going to be the story of how Canada found herself. It is going to be the story of the exciting century between 1763, when France turned Canada over to Great Britain, and 1867, when Canada became a united dominion within the British empire.

There will be three main threads to the story, all closely woven together of course, but three threads just the same. The first of these threads concerns the relations between Canadians and the government in England; the second concerns the relations between Canada and the United States; and the third concerns the relations of Canadians

with each other. In all three parts of the story we shall see Canada moving toward freedom and union and genuine nationhood. And as a background for it all we must imagine the constant westward push of the people, and their fight with the wilderness, just as in the United States to the south.

When our story opens in 1763, we find about 60,000 people, nearly all French, living in the eastern part of what is now the Dominion of Canada. Nova Scotia, as well as Newfoundland, had been ruled by the English since 1713, but in the other parts of the country French laws and customs, the French language, and the Catholic religion

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Photo by Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

On December 31, 1775, Quebec, the ancient fortress at the heart of Canada, barely escaped falling to the American rebels. Richard Montgomery, at the head of a Continental army, had taken Montreal, and Arnold had led a little force up through the forests of Maine to join him before Quebec. The Continentals climbed

the Heights of Abraham and made a desperate assault on the fortress. But Montgomery was killed at the beginning of the fight—as shown in our picture—and without him the attackers could not quite succeed. The assault failed, and never again were Quebec, and all Canada, so near separation from Great Britain.

made the colony very different from those that had been settled by the English.

How the Early Canadians Lived

There were only two important towns—Montreal and Quebec, with some 15,000 souls between them. The rest of the people lived mostly in tiny scattered settlements and farms. Enormous tracts of land were owned by “seigneurs” (sě’nyûr’), or lords, who lived in great manor houses with their tenant farmers about them. These tenant farmers and the other farmers were called “habitants” (ă’bê’tôN’); there were more of them than of any other class of white people in Canada. Then of course there were great numbers of Indians, and the hundreds of “coureurs de bois” (kōō’rûr’dē bwâ)—white men who roamed the woods, trading with the Indians and living much the same sort of lives.

The French Canadians did not greatly mind being turned over to England. It was

clear from the first that the British government meant to be generous to them. They were tired of war. All they asked was to be let alone.

It was the Indians of the West who made the only trouble for the new government. Many of the Algonquin (ăl-gŏn’kĭn) tribes, under the leadership of Chief Pontiac, rose in arms in behalf of their French allies, and it was two and a half years before quiet could be restored (1765) around the Great Lakes and in the Ohio country. Many are the tales told, in both Canadian and American history, of this great Indian war.

What Was the “Quebec Act”?

For a time England ruled her new realm under a document called the Proclamation of 1763, but in 1774 was passed the Quebec Act, which seemed as wise and generous to some as it seemed unjust and abominable to others. The French Canadians, or “new subjects,” liked it because it promised that

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the people of Canada should continue to live under French civil law, which was somewhat different from English, and because it protected the Roman Catholic church, permitting it to collect tithes from the people. But the "old subjects," or English settlers, disapproved—for the same reasons! Nor did they like the kind of government it set up in Canada, for this did not include an assembly elected by the people. The French Canadians had never had this when France ruled them, and did not ask for it now.

More English-speaking people were beginning to come to Canada. They came from New England and Pennsylvania, from Scotland and Ireland. Prince Edward Island was given to English soldiers and officers, and in 1769 became a separate province. The French had practically stopped coming to Canada. The ties with France were getting very weak indeed.

Britain's Loyal French Subjects

How weak they were, and how strong were the new ties with England, was soon made clear. For when the American Revolution broke out in 1775 it was impossible for the rebels to bring many Canadians to their side. The great majority of the French were well enough satisfied as they were and

In out-of-the-way places such as the island of Orleans, in Quebec, where this picture was taken, we may still catch a glimpse of the life of those hardy pioneers who hewed their farms out of the Canadian wilderness.

remained neutral, even after France had joined the war against England.

On the contrary the men of Canada stood stoutly to their guns when the Continental Congress sent armies to invade Canada and force it into the war. An American army came north in 1775. Sir Guy Carleton, the Canadian governor, had only about a thousand trained soldiers at his command. If the French "habitants" had rallied to the aid of the Americans, as the invaders hoped, it is quite possible that Canada and the United States might now be a single nation. But the habitants obstinately refused to have anything to do with the fighting.

How Canada Was Saved for Britain

As it was, the Americans took Montreal, but Sir Guy Carleton escaped in disguise and raised 1,500 volunteers to defend Quebec. The next May (1776) reinforcements came from England and routed the invaders. They never returned, and Canada was saved for the British empire.



Photo by Canadian National Rys

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Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Here is a typical scene in the vast timberlands which are still among Canada's most valuable possessions.

You will notice the snowy log cabin and the horses hitched to sledges—"portage teams" to carry supplies.

We sometimes forget that there were not thirteen, but fourteen, English colonies on the coast of North America before the Revolution. The fourteenth was Nova Scotia; and even though a great many of its people came from New England, it did not join the other colonies in the Revolution, but like Canada remained British.

When the Loyalists Fled to Canada

Yet even so, the American Revolution had important results for these colonies. And perhaps the most important of them was the coming of the Loyalists. These people—American "Tories" who had remained loyal to England during the Revolution—began to swarm over the border long before the war was over. To the rebellious colonists they seemed like spies and traitors, and their lives had been made miserable for them at home. Often all their property had been confiscated by the state. But poor as they sometimes were, they were many of them from the most gently-born, cultivated, and intelligent classes.

After the peace (1783) they came in a mighty flood. Perhaps forty or fifty thousand of them had crossed the border by 1786. They poured into Nova Scotia, they

founded the province of New Brunswick, they toiled westward into the pathless forests of Upper Canada, the region now called Ontario. Most of them were not people who would have chosen to become pioneers if they could have stayed in their pleasant, civilized homes, and this made their hardships all the more bitter. Yet they cleared the wilderness, raised their crops despite obstinate stumps and weather and Indians, and lived their lonely lives in rude log cabins without even roads to connect them with the outside world. Their brains and their courage and their stout pioneering meant so much to Canada that the results of their coming may still be seen.

What Is the "United Empire List"?

The government did what it could to help them. It had not been able to protect them at home in the United States, for the simple reason that the new American government, which made the treaty of peace, did not yet have power to force the separate states to treat the Loyalists fairly. But when they got to Canada, the British government gave them food and supplies and land, spending some fifteen or twenty million dollars in assisting them. In 1789 their

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names were recorded on a roll of honor called the United Empire List.

Now the coming of so many people of English race, both Loyalists and others, made the Quebec Act rather out of date, for naturally the English did not like living under the French law, or being governed without having a chance to elect representatives to speak for them. So it was decided to split Canada into two provinces, one mostly French and the other mostly English, and to let each have an elected assembly. The French province, Lower Canada, was the eastern district now called Quebec; the English province, Upper Canada, was the Ontario country, then still mostly forest.

The new constitution passed the British parliament in 1791, and the first legislatures met the next year. The one met at historic Quebec, in the great stone Bishop's Palace that went back to the days of Frontenac; the other in a little wooden building in the frontier town of Newark, a few miles from Niagara Falls and just across the rushing river from the new American republic. These meeting places were like symbols of the problems the two provinces were to wrestle with—Lower Canada with its mixture of English and French, Upper Canada with the wilderness and its relations with Americans across the border.

The First Governor of Upper Canada

The first governor, or rather lieutenant governor, of Upper Canada was Colonel John Graves Simcoe. He decided that Newark was too near the border and chose York, later Toronto, as his capital. He forwarded an act to forbid the bringing in of slaves and to free the children of any slaves

already in the province. He built roads, opened land to settlers, and in general did much to develop the country.

Of course we must not forget that Upper and Lower Canada at that time did not include by any means all of what is now Canada. Besides Newfoundland, which is still separate, there were in British America the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Since these all lay close to the sea, we call them the maritime (mār'ī-tīm) provinces. In the years

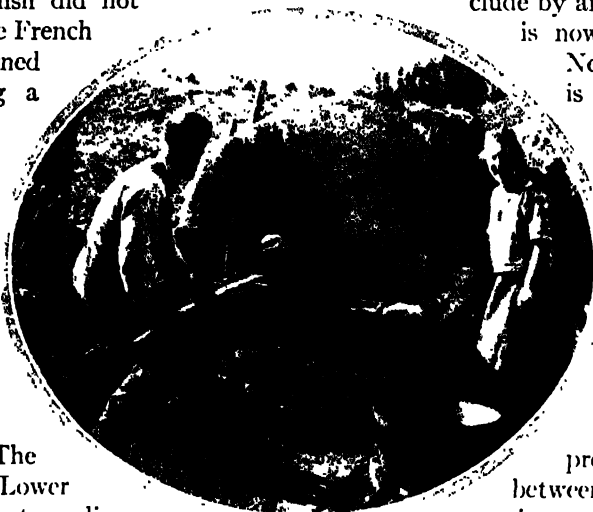


Photo by Canadian National Rys.

This picture was taken at St. Alphonse, Quebec, not so very long ago. It shows one of the old-fashioned outdoor ovens first built by the French settlers and still in use among many French Canadians.

between the new constitution and the War of 1812 these maritime provinces, too, had each its own problems and triumphs. Nova Scotia established a university at Windsor. In New Brunswick a struggle arose between the elected assembly and the appointed council. For some years the council had agreed to the payment of salaries to assembly members. When it suddenly vetoed them, the assembly would vote no taxes for three years—when salaries were finally allowed (1799). During this time settlers from Scotland were pouring into Cape Breton, which is now a part of Nova Scotia, and into Prince Edward Island. Between 1773 and 1828 some 25,000 came to Cape Breton alone.

The Struggle for Self-government

As that quarrel over taxes in New Brunswick would make us guess, Canadians were not yet by any means satisfied with their constitution. Indeed, the long struggle for self-government had already begun. In some ways it was like the struggle which had led to the Revolutionary War in the more southern colonies; only the Canadians managed in the end to win most of what they wanted without very much fighting.

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Perhaps one reason for this was that they were just at this point called upon to fight for England instead of against her. The War of 1812, partly caused by the desire of American pioneers to annex Canada, was fought out largely on Canadian soil, and the Canadian militia fought willingly alongside the British regulars. American armies invaded Canada for three years in succession. In the West they were pushed back far beyond the border, and Michigan territory fell for a time into British hands. In the East the fortunes of war varied, but in the end Canada was cleared of invaders. On the lakes, too, both sides had their victories, though there the balance seemed to sway in favor of the Americans. On the whole the Canadians had reason to feel that the victory was theirs. Yet it was a sorry business at best, this fighting between two kindred and naturally friendly peoples. The people of the United States had never been able to put much heart into it, and the only reason the Canadians could do so was that they were defending their own land from attack.

When the Treaty of Ghent finally ended the war (Christmas Day, 1814) Canada held a good deal of United States territory, but it was all returned and the boundaries left as they had been before. That was the end of any serious talk of the annexation of Canada to the United

States. And though of course it took time for the bitterness of the war to be forgotten, at least the two countries determined not to go the way of Europe and frown at each other across a border bristling with guns. In 1818, on the contrary, it was agreed, by what is called the Rush-Bagot (băj'üt) Convention, not to maintain armed fleets on the Great Lakes; and ever since, three thousand miles of unguarded border have stood as a great triumph of peace.

When Canada Fought for Democracy

Canadians came out of the war with a new consciousness of themselves as Canadians. But that did not settle their quarrels with their government, and they at once plunged into a period of unrest and excitement which at last broke out in civil war.

If these Canadian Indians are descendants of the warriors who fought the British under Chief Pontiac or in other Indian wars, they have certainly changed their ways. For the Union Jack seems to be the chief decoration of their tepee!

The great problem was what is called "responsible government": should the governments of the various provinces be responsible to the assemblies representing the people or only

to the British government? And if to the people, to how many and which ones of them? In other words, the Canadians were trying to win through to democracy.

The problem took on different shapes in the different provinces. To be sure, in the meantime the Canadians were working toward union as well—that is, they were gradually velding themselves into a single united and democratic nation. But in order to tell the story we shall have to say something about the various provinces separately.

In Lower Canada, of course, matters were complicated by the difficulties which were bound to arise between the French and the

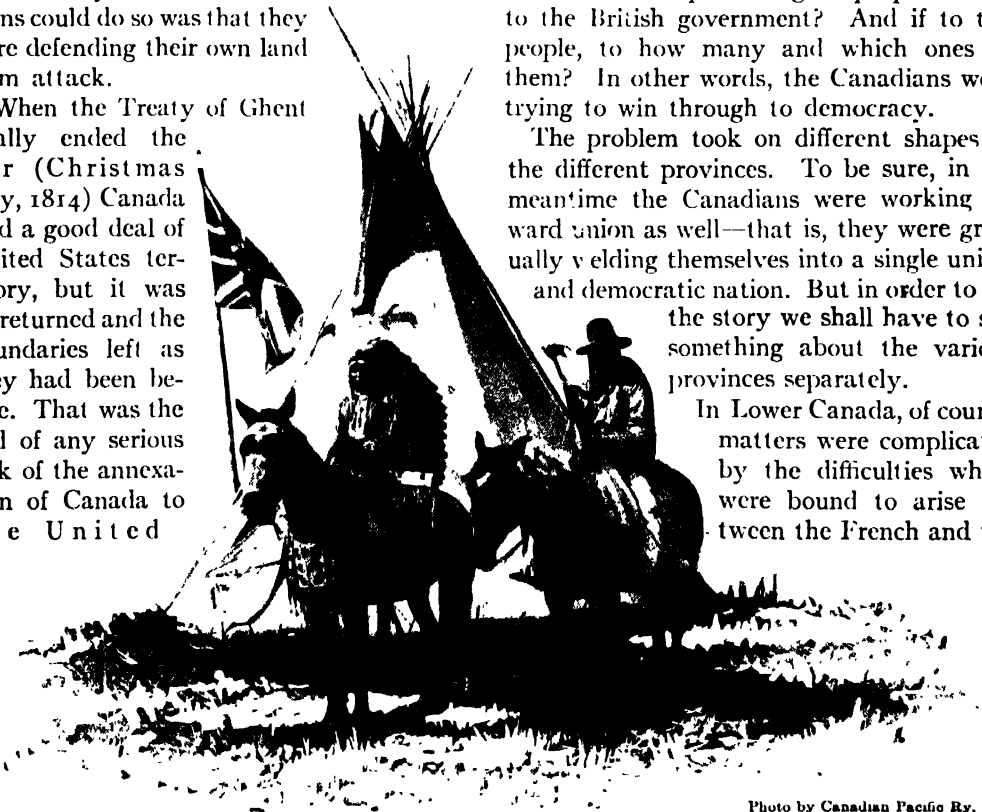


Photo by Canadian Pacific Ry.

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Photo by Canadian Pacific Ry

This is a log jam in the New Brunswick River. Lumbering is one of the chief sources of wealth in Canada, where enormous forests still stretch away to the north

English. The English had managed to get the government pretty much into their own hands, but the French controlled the assembly, and jealousy made it hard for the two races to work together.

When Lower Canada Rebelled

When the trouble started in Lower Canada, the chief leader was Louis Joseph Papineau (pă'pě'nō'), French Canadian, who was a brilliant orator and lost no chance to advance the cause of his people. For instance, under his leadership the assembly refused to pass a law providing permanently for salaries of public officials. The assembly in Lower Canada, as in the other provinces, was elected, but the governor and the upper house, or council, were appointed by the British government. The most powerful weapon the assembly had for making the government do what it wanted was the power of voting money. So they had no intention of granting all those salaries so far ahead. The struggle waxed hotter and hotter; both sides lost their tempers; England refused to

and west or even survive in the older provinces. Canada has more than a million square miles of forest, most of which is owned by the government.

change the system of government. Finally the assembly refused to vote any money at all.

In 1837 Lord John Russell, in England, directed the Canadian government to take about \$700,000 from the public moneys and pay the back salaries. This was overriding the assembly, and it drove the more extreme French Canadian leaders to desperation. Under the leadership of Papineau and others, some of the French people now took up arms in a rebellion against England.

The Trouble in the Church

But Upper Canada too was concerned in this rebellion of 1837, and so we had better see what had been happening there. Upper Canada had its own religious difficulties, to be compared with the split between French Catholics and English Protestants in Lower Canada. These difficulties had to do mostly with the Clergy Reserves, which were tracts of land set aside for the support of a Protestant clergy; the trouble was that about all the help was going to the Church of England,

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which was favored by the government, and Upper Canada contained many other sects, especially Methodists. This matter was not finally settled until 1854, when it was decided to give the money from the lands to the towns and counties to use as they saw fit, but not for religious purposes.

"Government by Family Compact"

But the main question in the Ontario country, as in Lower Canada, was the question of who was to run the government. Here a small group of aristocratic "Tories," some of them descended from Loyalists from the United States, got control of the council. The people called it "government by Family Compact." And an increasing number of citizens did not like it at all.

In 1817 a young Scot named Robert Gourlay asked some pointed questions about this Family Compact, and was tried as a seditious person for his pains. He was imprisoned for months until his health was ruined, and was then sent into exile. This affair made people so indignant that the reform movement began to grow by leaps and bounds.

By 1828 the assembly had a reform majority, bent on making the government responsible to the people as a whole instead of just to the Family Compact group. The leader was William Lyon Mackenzie, but he grew more and more extreme in his views—

even talking easily of independence—and many of his followers broke away from him because though they hated the Family Compact they did not wish to leave the British empire.

But there were some men as radical as Mackenzie himself. So when the Family Compact was given a majority in the elections of 1837, many were ready to follow him into open rebellion. Thus at the same time that Papineau was leading a rebellion in the East, Mackenzie put himself at the head of a few hundred rebels who assembled outside Toronto but were dispersed.

The End of Canadian Rebellion

But neither in the East nor in the West did this turn out to be a real war. Although Sir Francis Bond Head, governor of Upper Canada, was foolish enough to let all the troops go off to Lower Canada, Mackenzie proved a weak leader and the rebellion was crushed by the loyal militia alone. In Lower Canada, the fighting was more serious, but the troops were soon victorious. The British government suspended the constitution of 1791 and put Lower Canada under the old absolute rule. And it sent over to Quebec a new governor-general, Lord Durham (dûr'âm), to straighten things out.

The Indians of British Columbia, along with those of Alaska and the Yukon, are among the most interesting and artistic of American Indians. In this modern Tsimshian village on the Bulkley River, British Columbia, we can see the carved ancestral totem poles, looking very odd in front of the houses, which have clearly been copied after those of the white men.

Photo by Canadian National Rys

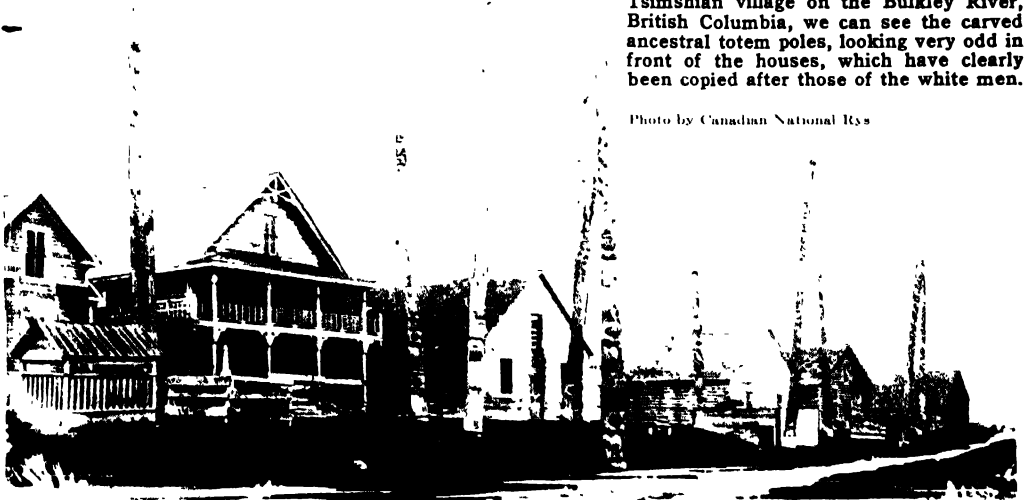




Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

Here are Captain Cook's brave little vessels, the "Resolution" and the "Discovery," anchored (1778) in Nootka Sound, which is an inlet on the western shore of Vancouver Island. Cook named this sound,

and many other points along the northwest coast of North America, on that memorable trip. He had come across the Pacific, and had explored the American coast from Oregon north to Bering Strait and beyond.

Lord Durham banished the rebel leaders without going through the regular forms of law—which would doubtless have condemned them to death. For this he got nothing but abuse. Some said it was unfair not to try them; others said banishment was not enough punishment. The British government did not support Durham; and after only five months, he went back to England in disgust. But when he got there he made a masterly report on the condition of the provinces and suggested many changes and reforms which were later carried out—to the great good of Canada, and the rest of the British empire.

Meanwhile Mackenzie and some other discontented Canadians had fled to the United States, where they were very busy stirring up more trouble and making unsuccessful raids across the border, until the United States government finally arrested Mackenzie for using American soil to act against the friendly nation of Canada. But Sir John Colborne, who had succeeded Lord Durham, had to put down another little rebellion, at the end of 1838, before things grew really quiet. This time the government was less merciful and several leaders were put to death.

Now one of the things which Lord Durham had suggested might help the situation in Canada was the reuniting of Upper and Lower Canada. This idea did not please Lower Canada, because it was largely French

and saw that its ideas would be swallowed up among all these English. But there was now no assembly to complain, and in 1841 the two Canadas again became one. Of course this did not affect Nova Scotia or any of the other maritime provinces, which still remained separate. And the act did not make the "executive" government responsible to the legislature, though Durham had recommended this.

How Lord Elgin Governed Canada

It took six years more to convince the British government that the Canadians could be allowed to govern themselves without breaking up the empire—that in fact this would make the empire even more secure. The struggle was bitter, though there were no more rebellions. Finally the British decided to give the Canadians what they wanted: "responsible government." This meant that though the governor still officially ruled the country, he really took the advice of Canadian ministers, who could be turned out of office by vote of the assembly. Henceforth the Canadian government would be quite similar to that of England, with the governor-general taking the place of the king.

The new system was introduced while Lord Elgin was governor-general (1847–1854). Elgin accustomed the Canadians to its working, and showed that he would govern through any ministers, whatever their party might be, who could get the assembly to

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support them. Since his time no one has thought of changing the system. Elgin is remembered as one of Canada's greatest governors; but once he had done his work, the office of governor began to become less important. After 1854 the Canadian prime minister, not the governor sent from England, became the real head of the state.

A Hero for Democracy

The story of these years in the maritime provinces is so like the stories of Upper and Lower Canada that we must not take time to tell much of it. The hero of the struggle for democracy in Nova Scotia was Joseph Howe of Halifax, who never dreamed of rebelling but fought hard for reform during many years. Finally under his skillful and wise leadership Nova Scotia won full democracy without bloodshed.

New Brunswick had begun the fight early, as we have seen. Her reform hero was Lemuel Allan Wilmot. In 1837 the assembly won full control of money matters. In 1842 the old dispute with the United States about the boundary between New Brunswick and Maine was settled. The people of New Brunswick are still inclined to think that the American government drove a sharp bargain in this matter, and that some of the land given to Maine should by rights have been theirs, but there is reason to believe that the reverse is the fact.

Settling the Land Question

Prince Edward Island had fallen into the hands of great landowners, whose rights came from the English soldiers to whom the Island had been given in 1767. This caused endless trouble, until finally, after the province became part of the Dominion of Canada, the government bought out the rights of the great landlords and parceled out the land to those who were tilling it. But this reform was not carried out until 1875.

All this time—while in each of the old provinces the people were winning self-government in their own way—very important things had been going on to the westward. To begin with, and always, there was the fur trade. Two great companies were rivals for this trade—the Hudson's Bay Company,

an English company dating back to 1670, far into the French period, and the Northwest Company, founded by Canadians in Montreal and centered on the St. Lawrence River. Both companies were pushing west, but the men of Hudson's Bay had an advantage, since their seagoing vessels could sail to the heart of the fur country, while their competitors had a long and expensive haul by canoe. Both sets of traders disliked the idea of settlers—who would turn the fur-bearing forests into farms. But British settlers were pouring in, and already reaching the prairies. The Northwest Company found competition increasingly hard, and in 1821 agreed to unite with their rivals.

Explorers of the Pacific Region

Explorers had long ago touched the shores of the Pacific. In 1778-1779 the famous Captain Cook, hero of so much exploration in the Pacific, explored the country along Puget Sound. In 1789 Sir Alexander Mackenzie paddled his canoe down the immense length of the river named after him to the Arctic Ocean; and four years later he found his way across the Rocky Mountains and reached the Pacific—the first white man to do so overland across the main land mass of North America. In the same year Captain George Vancouver explored the Pacific coast of Canada from the sea, giving his name to Vancouver Island.

The settlement of the Pacific region had begun as early as 1788, but there were not many people there for more than half a century. Then a long-standing boundary dispute with the United States flared up into dangerous excitement. In 1844 hot-heads south of the border were shouting "fifty-four forty or fight"—meaning that they meant to have the whole of the disputed "Oregon country," which lay west of the Rockies between 41° and 54° 40' N. Lat. In the end the matter was settled by compromise (1846). The boundary was run along the forty-ninth parallel to the sea, with Vancouver Island to go to the British. Later gold was discovered, and settlers flowed in. In 1858 a new colony, British Columbia, was organized; and in 1866 Vancouver Island, a separate colony, was united with it.

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Photo by Canadian National Ry.

Prince Edward Island is the smallest and at the same time the most densely populated of the Canadian provinces. It does more fishing in proportion to the

number of its people than does any other province, even among the maritime group. Our picture shows the fishing station at the village of Souris.

Now a great change was in the air in the east. It had often been suggested that all the British colonies in North America should come together and form one country; and at last this was actually to happen. Many reasons helped to bring it about. One was the fact that the Union of 1841 in Canada had not worked well; the French and English still quarreled over local matters, and Upper Canada complained that although it had many more people than Lower Canada, it had only the same number of members in parliament. Men suggested that it would be well to let each part of the province have a separate government for local affairs, while the central government should look after matters of general interest. Another reason was the great Civil War in the United States (1861-1865); there was grave danger that it would lead to trouble between Great Britain and the Northern States, and in that case a united Canada would be stronger than a group of scattered colonies. Besides, there was abroad in Canada a new feeling of pride in the growth and progress of the country, a feeling that British North America had a great future if only it could be united.

In 1864 the maritime provinces held a conference at Charlottetown to talk about a union among themselves; but representatives came from Canada to suggest that the union should be one of the whole of British America. This was the result of a new "coalition" government in Canada, in which

two bitter political enemies, John A. Macdonald of the Conservatives and George Brown of the Liberals, had joined for the purpose of uniting all the provinces. The conference met again at Quebec the same year, and drew up resolutions which became the basis of the British North America Act, passed by the British parliament in 1867. This act set up the united Dominion of Canada.

July 1, the day on which the new constitution went into effect in 1867, has ever since been celebrated in Canada as Dominion Day, a national holiday. For this union was the birth of a new, free nation within the British empire. Under the new scheme of government the country has ever since made steady progress. Each province has its own lieutenant-governor and legislature, which deals with local affairs, such as education; while at the Dominion capital, Ottawa, is the governor-general, still sent from England, and a parliament, consisting of a House of Commons and a Senate, which manages matters affecting the whole country, such as tariffs, the post office, and national defense. In the course of a few years, we shall see, the whole of British North America, except Newfoundland, come under this Dominion government. The middle period of Canada's history—the time of finding herself—closes on the first Dominion Day, and the modern period—the period of vigorous national life—begins.



The HISTORY of CANADA

Reading Unit No. 3

ONE NATION MADE OF MANY PEOPLES

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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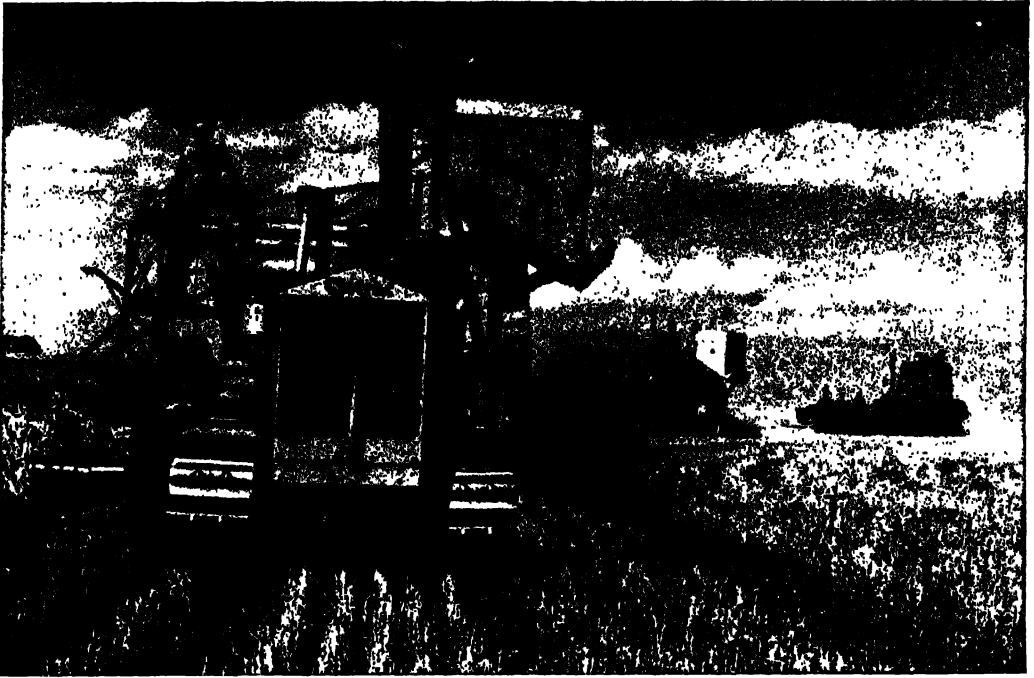
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Summary Statement

Since the first Dominion Day, Canadian history has closely paralleled American history after the Civil War. National growth

has followed the railroad and the opening up of the West. Prosperity and freedom have been Canada's lot.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA



Between the Great Lakes region and the Rocky Mountains there stretches, in both Canada and the United States, a vast rolling prairie suitable for growing wheat.

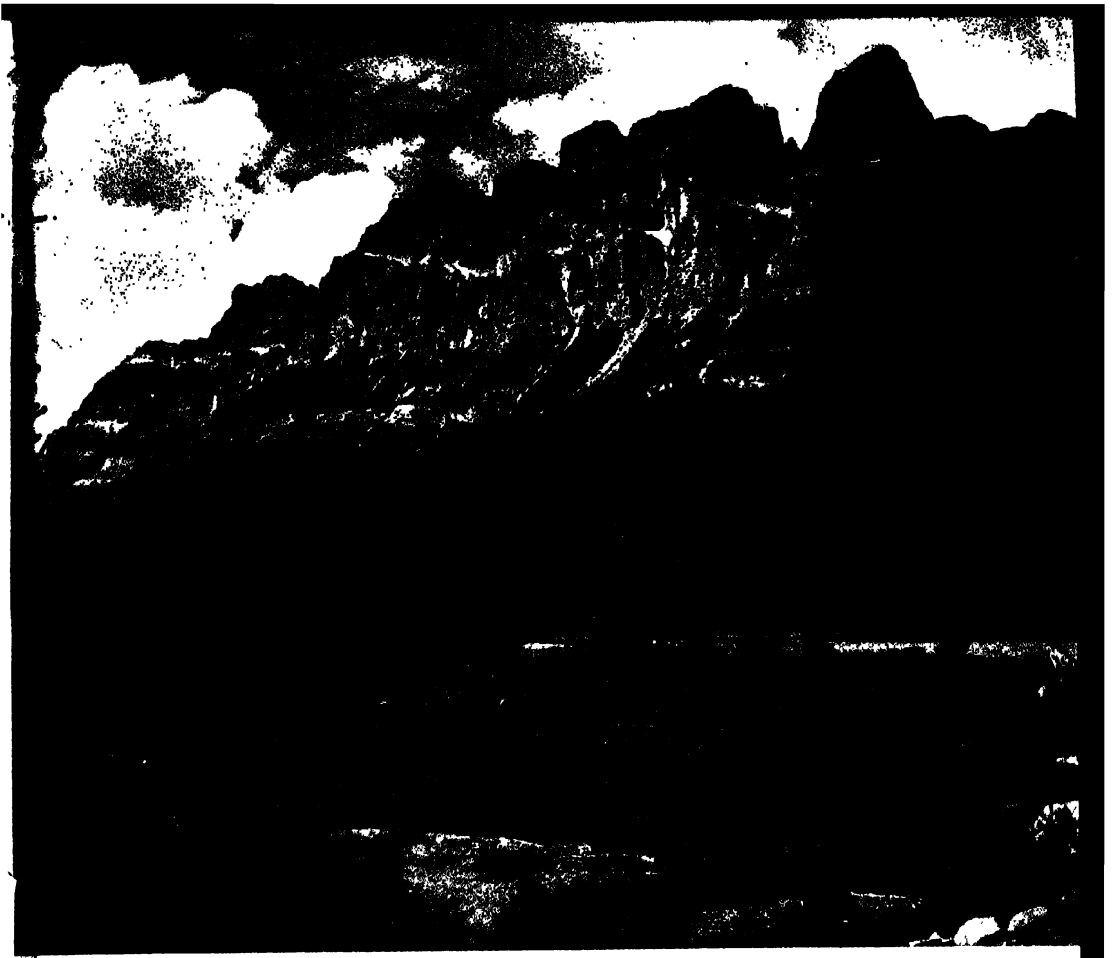
It was not filled with pioneers until the land both east and west of it had been settled. But now the harvesters toil over it, as this picture shows.



Photos by Canadian National Film Board

From your seat in the plane you see Winnipeg, with the business section of that great center spread out before you. In the distance the prairies of Manitoba reach to a far horizon—the source of much of the

wealth that has made Winnipeg a center of trade and culture. But factories too have come here to use power manufactured by the municipal hydroelectric plant and cheaper than power in any other city in America.



Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway

Mount Eisenhower, in the Canadian Rockies, was known as Castle Mountain until 1946. It is 9,380 feet high.

CANADA: EAST AND WEST

Niagara Falls, one of the greatest cataracts in the world



In autumn the Laurentian Hills are clad in brilliant colors



Victoria Glacier lies here in the mountains at the head of Lake Louise. Its melting snows feed the lake, which is famous for its vivid emerald hue.

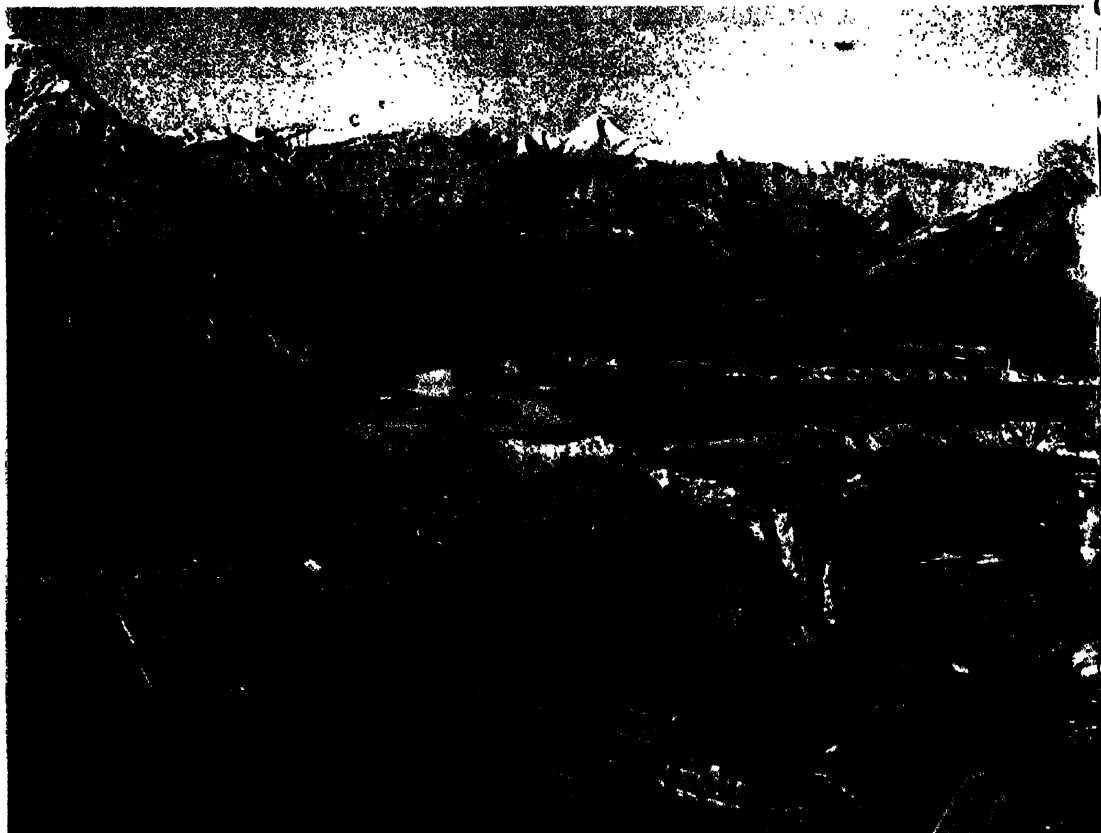


The Canadian national parks are enormous playgrounds for all who seek rest and fun. From Banff National Park in the Canadian Rockies come the three views shown on this page.



At Banff, shown below, is this magnificent view of the valley of the Bow River with its encircling mountains.

Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway



ONE NATION MADE of MANY PEOPLES

How Canada Pressed Forward between the Two World Wars to Take Her Place in the Modern World

THE story of the third period of Canada's history, from the first Dominion Day in 1867 to the end of World War I, tells of the ups and downs and the outs and ins by which she has forged ahead to take her place among the vigorous young nations of the world. It tells of the opening of the great West and North, of the fortunes of politics, industry, and trade, of the changing relations with the motherland which left Canada an independent state and member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In the united Canada which was born in the British North America Act of 1867 there were at first only four provinces—Ontario, once called Upper Canada, Quebec, which had been Lower Canada, and two of the maritime provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Prince Edward Island, the third of the old maritime provinces, did not come in till 1873, and when the people of Newfoundland were given a chance to vote on the question, they decided not to enter the union—because they were afraid it would mean more taxes.

It even looked for a while as though Nova Scotia were going to secede. Her people were angry that they had not been given a chance to vote directly on

the matter of joining the federation, and they were sure, besides, that the terms of the union were unfair to Nova Scotia. Joseph Howe, leader of the fight for responsible government in Nova Scotia, took their complaints, without success, to the imperial government at London. But soon the people of Nova Scotia began to change their minds, partly because the Dominion government led by Sir John Macdonald was ready to give better terms. Howe advised them to accept, and the province became a loyal member of the confederation.

Meanwhile great events were brewing in the West. The new Dominion government was eager to take over the enormous unpopulated frontier country between Ontario and

British Columbia and northward to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean, so that all British North America might be of a piece. It took a good deal of negotiation to do this, because this vast country, called "Rupert's Land," was controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. And the Company, though no longer hostile to settlement and willing enough to get rid of the responsibility for governing this territory where the Indians and half-breeds were beginning to make trouble, had to be paid for its rights.

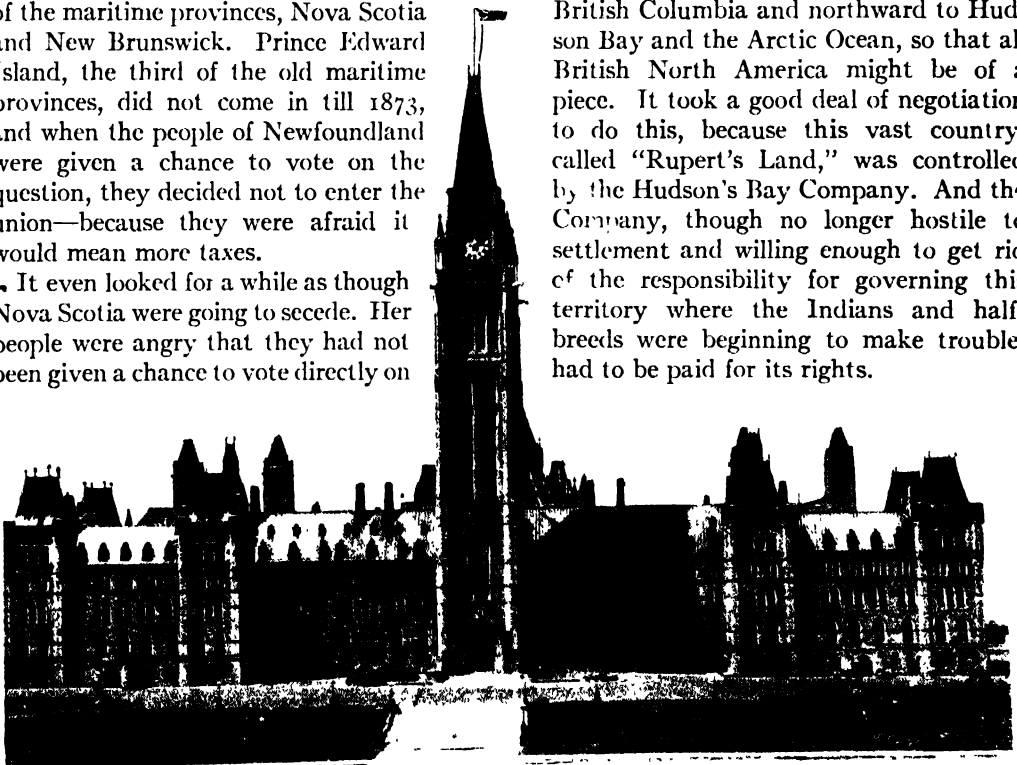


Photo by Solihelman Syndicate

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

In 1869 the government bought out the fur company, giving them £300,000—about \$1,500,000—in money, and letting them keep a twentieth of the fertile land in the territory, and some 45,000 acres around their trading posts. But at once trouble loomed in the direction of what was known as the "Red River Settlement." This was situated at Fort Garry, where the city of Winnipeg now stands. In 1811-1813 Lord Selkirk had sent some Scottish settlers into this district, and in 1869 their descendants were still living there, along with a community of Métis (mā'tēs'), or French-Indian people—a few thousand souls who formed a tiny island of civilization in the vast wilderness. And thereby, as the old story-tellers have it, hangs a tale.

The Province of Manitoba

When the Canadian government talked of taking over the country and sent its surveyors to map out the land about the Red River, the Métis were alarmed and suspicious. They were afraid that they were going to lose all their rights, and perhaps their land, and the government did not take proper care to see that they understood they would not be troubled. And there arose among the Métis a leader named Louis Riel (rē'él'), who wanted to see French rights guaranteed and a new province created.

So there was an insurrection. Riel refused to have anything to do with the new governor

sent out from Ottawa. He imprisoned the leaders of the Canadians who opposed him, and because a youth named Thomas Scott was especially bitter against him, Riel, after the form of a trial, had him shot. The Canadian government, having accepted Riel's terms, including a promise of amnesty, now sent out soldiers by canoe from the East, and in 1870 they arrived. But Riel had already fled across the border and his followers did not keep up the fight. That very year Manitoba was admitted into the federation on more generous terms than had at first been intended, as a full-fledged province.

The Northwest Mounted Police

One great problem of the Canadian government was to keep order on the great western plains, most of which were outside Manitoba. There was constant trouble among the Indians in the district. The solution was the organization in 1873-1874 of the famous Northwest Mounted Police, who, although they numbered only 300 men in the first place, soon quieted the Indians. Since that time Canada has not had a "wild west."

This handsome Parliament House is the seat of the government of British Columbia, at Victoria, on Vancouver Island. Victoria is the oldest city in the province, and is famous for its Pacific trade and for its magnificent gardens.

In 1871 the province of British Columbia on the Pacific joined the federation. And thereby hangs another tale, though a more peaceful one. For British Columbia wanted a transcontinental railroad which would connect her with the older lands in the East, and she came into the union only when the government promised to see that she got it. Sir

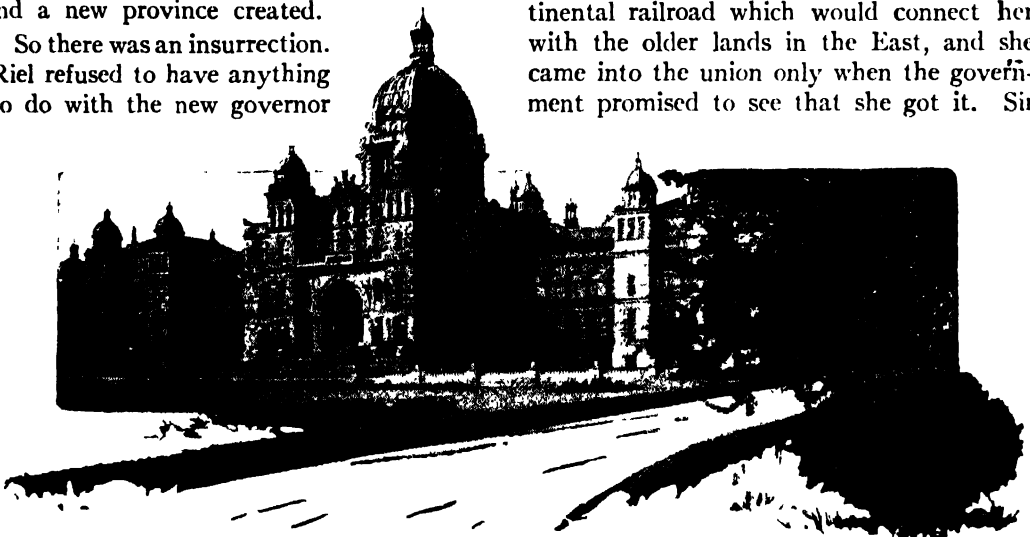


Photo by Great Northern R.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA



Photo Copyright by Canadian Pacific Ry.

On November 7, 1885, at nine-thirty in the morning, Lord Strathcona drove the last spike in the line of rails that bound British Columbia to the East. He had good reason to rejoice, for the building of the

Canadian Pacific had been one of the most difficult engineering feats of the century, and more than once it had looked as if he and his associates would lose all they had and still not succeed.

John Macdonald, who had been prime minister ever since the union, gave the contract for the railroad to a group of men headed by Sir Hugh Allan. Almost at once people began to cry, "Bribery!" For this Sir Hugh Allan had given nearly \$300,000 to the funds of the Conservative party, of which Macdonald was the head. As a matter of fact the task of building the railway had been given to a corporation of Canadians and British who were already building railroads south of the border. For the needs of the two regions were much alike.

The Scheme of "National Policy"

Feeling in Canada ran high, and when various investigations that were undertaken failed to clear up the matter of possible bribery, Macdonald had to resign (1873), and the new elections confirmed the Liberals in power.

But the new prime minister, Alexander Mackenzie, had as many troubles as Macdonald had had. British Columbia was clamoring for the railroad and threatening to secede if it were not instantly built. Not for the first time, there was trouble with the

United States over the use of the Atlantic fisheries. Business was bad. Industries in the United States had been developing faster than in Canada, and a good many Canadians were crossing the border to find work.

So it happened that in 1878, after only five years of power, the Liberals were out again and the Conservatives, under Macdonald, were again in. Macdonald had won the election by suggesting that Canada try to build up her industries by a protective tariff, or tax on goods brought into the country from outside, and now this scheme, called the "national policy," was put into effect. Railroads from the first had got a good deal of help from the government. In these ways Canada hoped to hasten the development of the country.

The Canadian Pacific Railway

As for the long-promised Canadian Pacific Railway, work began in earnest in 1881, and was pushed vigorously. On November 7, 1885, Lord Strathcona (străth-kō'nă) drove the last spike at the little station of Craigellachie in the Canadian Rockies—and the

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

dream had come true. In spite of skillful management and the help of the government, the road had many difficulties in its early years. But the company has had a hand not only in railroading but in colonizing and shipping as well, and it has become one of the greatest business enterprises of the world, as well as one of the strongest forces binding the Dominion of Canada together.

Riel's New Rebellion

The year the railway was completed had seen the history of the settlements along the Red River repeating itself along the Saskatchewan farther west. In this country too there were many Métis, and as the railway pushed itself through their half-settled land, and government surveyors appeared, they became alarmed, as their brothers in Manitoba had been before them. They knew that though Riel's rebellion in Manitoba had been put down it had really succeeded after all, for the Métis had been given title to their land. So in their alarm about their own land they sent out a call for the old rebel, who was now peacefully teaching school across the border in Montana.

Riel came, more ambitious and rebellious than ever, and proclaimed himself head of a new republic and a new religion as well. He set up his government on the banks of the Saskatchewan River, and took Gabriel Dumont as his military chief. His idea was to bring into his rebellion not only the Métis but

the Indian tribes of the region as well.

For a time things looked dangerous. In March, 1885, Riel's forces attacked a troop of the Mounted Police, and won a victory over them. The Indians muttered and stirred uneasily, and the white settlers knew that at any time the terrible tomahawks might descend upon them. A few Indians actually joined the rebels.

But help was coming from the East. The volunteer troops that were gathered to move against the rebels could come westward much more quickly now that the great railroad was nearly completed. In May, General Middleton with about four thousand militiamen reached the Saskatchewan and captured Batoche, the rebel stronghold.

A Brilliant Canadian Statesman

Dumont fled to the United States; Riel this time did not escape, but was put to death. In Quebec, where the French Canadians naturally had a good deal of sympathy and understanding for the rebels, many people thought Riel should have been pardoned, since the Métis did have grievances, even though they went the wrong way about it to argue their case. As it was a Conservative government which had done this, the Liberal party now became very strong in Quebec.

The Liberal leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was himself French Canadian. He came from a humble family, but he had the dignity and courtliness of a fine gentleman, and was besides one of Canada's most brilliant statesmen. He made his

This very modern-looking building is one of the huge grain elevators at Port Arthur, Ontario. Port Arthur is the great commercial center on the northwestern shore of Lake Superior. Grain is brought here from the vast harvest fields of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, to be shipped along the Great Lakes route to the East.

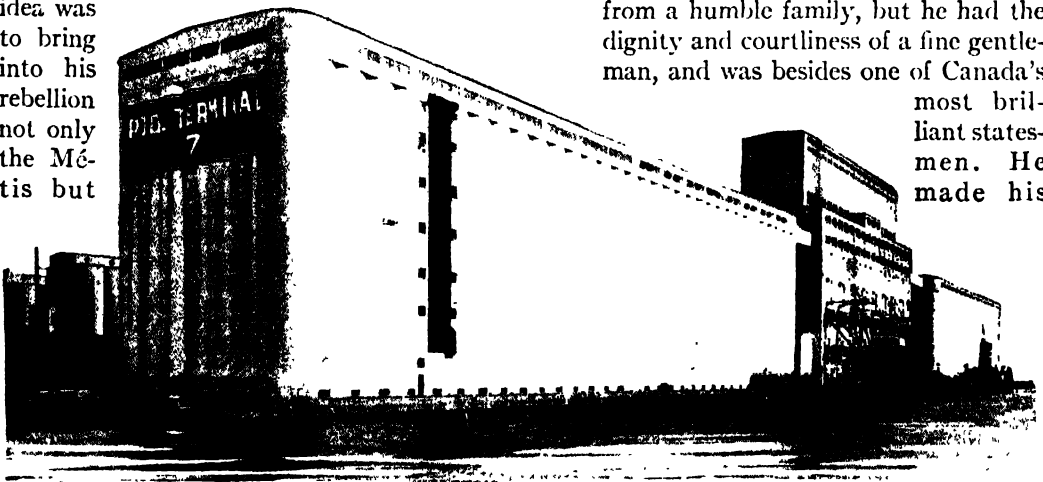


Photo by Canadian Govt.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

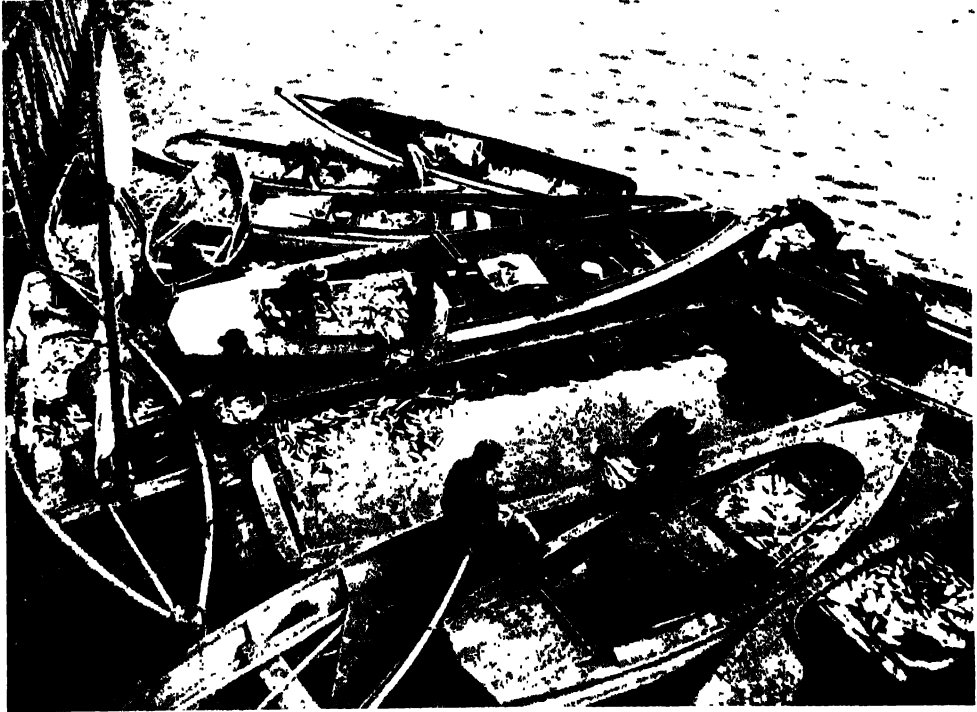


Photo by Canadian Govt.

Fisheries have always been a very important industry in Canada—in the old seafaring provinces on the Atlantic, in British Columbia on the Pacific, and along

the Great Lakes. These men are taking in a catch of herring in Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia follows Newfoundland and British Columbia in the size of her catch.

first fight to be prime minister in 1891, and lost to the Conservative leader Macdonald. But five years later the Liberals won and put him in power—to stay until 1911. For the pioneers in the West were dissatisfied with Conservative Eastern policies. And especially the French in Manitoba resented the fact that the Conservatives had not sustained them in their demand that part of their taxes be spent on Catholic schools.

One of the hardest problems the Liberals had to face was the tariff. The party was supposed to believe in free trade—no tariff at all—but business men raised such a clamor against this idea that Laurier brought forth instead the plan of “Imperial Preference,” which meant a lowering of tariffs on goods imported from England or other parts of the empire. The tariff has kept on being an issue in Canada, just as it has been in the United States. The tariff remained fairly stable until 1930, when it rose sharply in spite of protests from the farmers, who

claim that it raises the prices of things they use. Before the time of which we have been speaking—the 1890's—there had been for a time an agreement with the United States called “reciprocity” (rĕs'ĭ-prōs'ĭ-tĭ), which meant that each country lowered its tariff as far as the other was concerned. The United States had ended this arrangement in 1866; in 1911, when it was suggested that it be renewed, Canada decided against it.

The earlier reciprocity agreement had come to an end just at the time when relations between Canada and the United States were less friendly than at any time since the War of 1812. Americans were angry at England because of certain things that had happened during the American Civil War, and annoyed at Canada because she was British and because some Confederate sympathizers had tried, though unsuccessfully, to use Canada as a base. Canadians on their part were bitter because, when groups of Irish sympathizers called

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

Fenians (fě'ní-ān) had organized raids against Canada from the United States, the American government had been slow to stop their operations, as it was in duty bound to do. The disputes between Great Britain and the United States had been settled by arbitration, but the Canadians never got any satisfaction for the Fenian raids.

The Second Great Step for Peace

Still, since that unhappy time relations between the two neighbors had been getting steadily more friendly. Many Canadians had moved to the United States, and large numbers of Americans were settling in Alberta and Saskatchewan; and the United States and England were becoming good friends. Now along about the turn of the century two more bothersome matters stirred up bitterness for a while before they were peaceably settled.

Both disputes had to do with the far north, Alaska and the Yukon, now opening their treasures of fisheries and gold. First there was the question of the rights of Canadians to hunt seal in the Bering Sea; this was settled in 1893 definitely in favor of Canada. In the year that brought the Liberals into power (1896) gold was discovered in the Yukon and in Alaska, and there began the famous rush of hardy prospectors and adventurers for that land of midnight sun. So it was soon clear that the border between Alaska, which is a part of the United States, and the Yukon, which is a part of Canada, would have to be more definitely marked out. This matter dragged on till 1903, and the result was a great disappointment to Canadians, as it cut north-

ern British Columbia off from the ocean—and the Yukon as well.

In 1911 Canada and the United States set up a permanent joint commission—that is, a group of delegates from each nation who should be always in office—to decide on all questions of boundaries, of use of the waters for fishing, and so on. This was a long step forward for peace—as great perhaps as the Rush-Bagot Convention of nearly a hundred years before, which had disarmed the lake border.

All this time Canada had been growing up as fast as a boy in his teens. Tens of thousands of settlers were pouring into the West, until in 1905 both Saskatchewan and Alberta entered the federation as provinces. Two new transcontinental railroads, the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific, were built. Canada became more and more sure of herself as a nation, and began to take an active interest in literature and the arts.

Canada's Loyalty to the Empire

At the same time Canada was loyal to the British empire. She sent men, though not money, to help England during the Boer War in Africa (1899-1902).^{*} This was while the Liberals were still in power. The Conservatives came in again in 1911, with Sir Robert Borden as prime minister. Three years later World War I plunged the European nations, and England with the others, into agony and bloodshed. At once Canada sprang to England's aid. The Canadians raised 600,000 men to fight overseas in this war, and made a noble contribution to the Allied cause.



Photo courtesy of Canadian Information Service

Canada is the world's third largest producer of wood—largely in the form of logs, lumber, and wood pulp. Of course many other industries depend on this one. Since ninety per cent of her forests are government-owned and operated, Canada has here a never failing source of wealth. On much of her land trees grow better than anything else. In our picture trucks are moving logs over the surface of frozen Sloc Lake not far from Ottawa. In the East logs are cut mostly in winter.

The HISTORY of CANADA

Reading Unit

No. 4

THE CANADA OF TODAY

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

By working hard and courageously facing her problems, Canada has come to be a mature nation.

She has influence abroad and has built up a vigorous art and literature at home.

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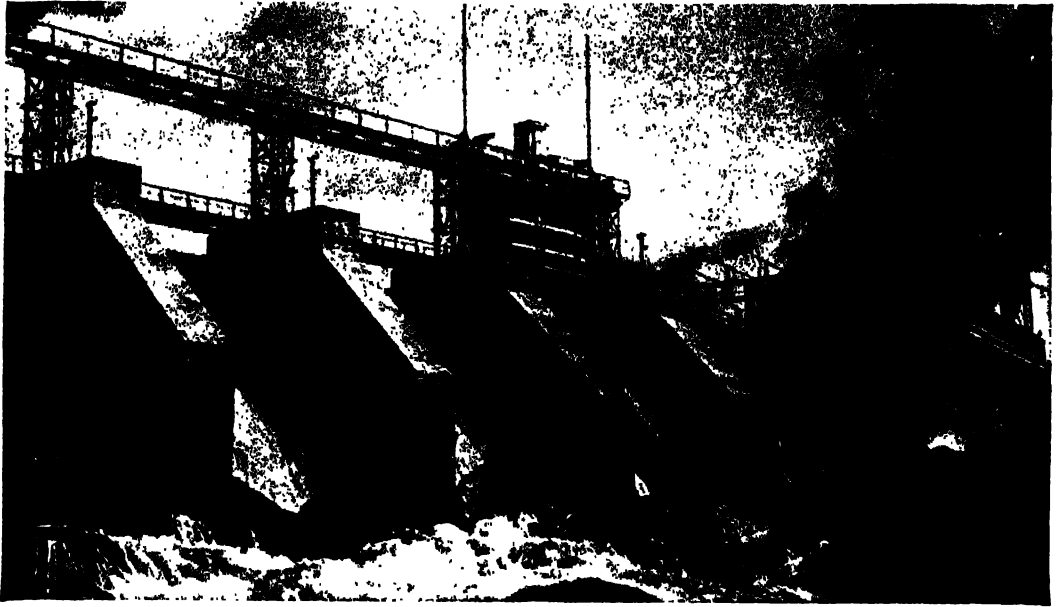


Photo courtesy Canadian Information Service

Strength and noble proportions give this structure the beauty that speaks to the men of modern times. For unless you feel a thrill at sight of a great dam or of the gigantic cylinders of a huge grain elevator, you

are hardly a citizen of the twentieth century. This hydroelectric power plant on the Saguenay River near Arvida, in the Province of Quebec, sends 540,000 horsepower to an aluminum plant nearby.

The CANADA of TODAY

This Will Tell about a Handful of People Who, after Years of Heavy Toil, Were Forged into a Strong Nation by the Second World War

LIKE many of her sons who fought for her, Canada came of age during the First World War. She had made huge sacrifices in men and materials. She had built factories, opened mines, and spurred the production on her farms. She had tested her resolution and had found it strong. And perhaps best of all, she had discovered that the respect of England and of the world had been added to her own growing self-respect. At last she was a mature nation— young, vigorous, and hopeful.

For this reason it was natural that Sir Robert Borden (1854-1937), the wartime prime minister, in representing his country at the Peace Conference should insist that Canada be one of the signers of the Treaty of Versailles and also a member of the League of Nations.

In 1926 an important matter came up for

discussion at the Imperial Conference—a meeting held in London at which the heads of the different British dominions met to talk over the affairs of the empire with the British government. The subject of this discussion was nothing less than the granting of complete freedom to the various dominions in the British empire. As a result of this conference the British parliament passed the Statute of Westminster (1931), by which the governments of the dominions were made equal in power with Great Britain. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Irish Free State all became independent countries, with liberty to manage their own internal and external affairs, to appoint their own ambassadors, to make their own treaties with foreign countries, and to declare war or make peace.

They are as independent of Great Britain

as the United States is. All that they have in common with her is that, as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, they share the same king. The King of England is also the King of Canada and of each of the other countries—a figure without power though rich in meaning. He is represented in Ottawa by the governor-general, who is appointed by the king on the advice of the Canadian government and, like the king, has no real power. He merely represents a common loyalty and a common affection.

Canada took her final step in full nationhood when Canadian citizenship was established (1947). Until then Canadians had simply been British subjects. Now they were citizens of Canada as well. The new status was set up with dignified ceremonies. The Prime Minister was the first to receive citizenship, and was followed by new citizens who were being naturalized from many different countries.

Prosperity and Depression

Between the two wars Canada and the United States had the same "boom and bust" periods and the same political dissatisfactions. Sir Wilfred Laurier (lō'rfī-ā) (1841–1919), the great Liberal leader, had died, and the leadership of the Liberal party now fell to William Lyon Mackenzie King (born 1874), a grandson of the William Lyon Mackenzie who led the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837.

Except for a short period of three months and a longer interval of five years, Mackenzie King was prime minister from 1921 when his party came to power, until he withdrew in 1948 to be followed by Louis St. Laurent, also a Liberal. It was during the depression that the Conservatives won an election (1930) and R. B. Bennett (1870–1947), their forceful leader, was for five years prime minister.

Bennett tried his best to overcome the depression. His most important step was the laying of further tariffs on imported goods. The matter was discussed beforehand at the Empire Trade Conference, which he called to meet in Ottawa (1932). Here were gathered representatives from the whole British empire as well as those from the

sister dominions in the Commonwealth of Nations.

It was a time of high tariffs. Everywhere in the world nations were struggling against the depression, and each one was fearful that its own employment would fall off if foreign goods were let in freely. The United States had been one of the countries to put up a high tariff wall—a heavy blow to Canadian industry. Bennett hoped that by getting all the peoples in the British empire to make agreements giving one another special trade preferences over countries outside the empire, he could bolster up business in them all. Even Great Britain, long a free trade country, had (1931) put a tariff on certain goods.

The incomplete success of this large scheme brought great disappointment and led many British and Canadians to the belief that high tariffs are not the answer to economic problems and that, in so far as business goes, all the world is sick or well together.

In the meantime, Canadians were having a very hard time, especially in the prairie provinces, where, to add to their other troubles, there came nine years of poor wheat crops. The region was full of abandoned wheat farms, and in certain communities every inhabitant was on relief. Some settlers even went back to their native lands.

The Conservative government made a brave effort to cope with affairs. Besides giving direct relief it laid plans for big work projects—such as the building of a fine trans-Canada highway—and passed a certain amount of "New Deal" legislation. But matters grew worse, and in the election of 1935 the Liberals were returned to power by a big majority, which reflected the people's hope that a change might help them.

New Political Parties

Slowly conditions improved a little, but people were growing tired of hunger, of low prices, of unemployment. As a result a new and radical party, called the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation—the CCF—sprang up, demanding public ownership of banks, industries, and public services, together with planned production and all forms of coöperative marketing. This party

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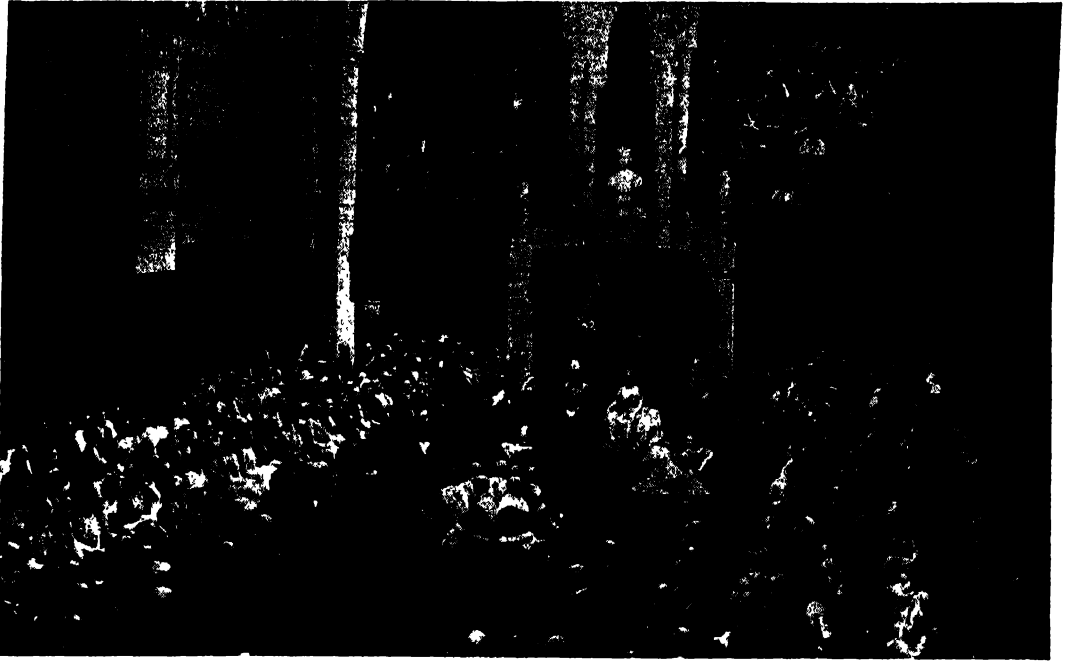


Photo courtesy Canadian Information Service

When King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visited Canada in 1939 they received heartening demonstrations of loyalty and affection. And the ties that then seemed

strong were knit still more firmly in the war years that followed. Above, Their Majesties are shown in attendance at a session of the Canadian Parliament.

spread rapidly, especially in the West. It won control in Saskatchewan in 1944, and in 1945 elected 28 representatives to the House of Commons out of a total of 245. Another radical movement brought the Social Credit government to power in Alberta.

But these various movements stopped growing after the war got under way. National defense called for arms, munitions, ships, food, and countless other things. Factories and farms were put to work, and prosperity came back to Canada—as to all the other warring countries. In general the Canadian people, under the leadership of Mackenzie King, have preferred to take a middle course, firmly establishing their new statehood and setting up thriving trade relations with the rest of the world.

No other man in Canada's history served as prime minister for so long a time as Mackenzie King. He seems to have won the confidence of his people by his cautious and steady leadership. He had not the political daring of Sir John Macdonald (1815-1891), the father of confederation, who formed the Dominion out of scattered prov-

inces. He was not gifted with the graceful talents of Sir Wilfred Laurier. But he had tireless patience, which helped him greatly in bringing unity to Canada's varied population and in developing a great and growing friendship with the United States.

The War Clouds Gather

In the years between the two world wars, Canada, though she took little part in international affairs, shared with all decent nations a desperate wish for peace. With the clouds of war gathering after Hitler and Mussolini came to power, Canada felt a growing foreboding, and drew closer and closer to the United States. So she was greatly heartened when President Roosevelt, on a visit to Canada in 1938, said: "The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire." Canadians knew that such support would go a long way toward insuring their freedom.

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And so the Second World War came, and with it Canada came to her full stature as a nation. When England went to war with Germany in 1914, Canada too had been automatically at war. But in 1939 this was not so. Now Canada went to war of her own free will. She could have stayed out, but she chose to take her stand for what she felt to be the cause of human freedom. With the same independence, when the time came, she declared war on Italy and Japan.

And once in, she bent all her energies toward winning. She set up conscription for home defense and at once began voluntary enlistment for service abroad. In the black days that followed the fall of France and the retreat of the British army from Dunkirk, Canada became Great Britain's strongest ally. She sent trained troops for the defense of Britain and provided war supplies and food for the British Isles.

It was in those grave days that Canadian and American friendship was cemented by the meeting at Ogdensburg (1940) of Mackenzie King and President Roosevelt. The United States was not yet in the war, but the two statesmen set up a Permanent Joint Board of Defense, with representatives from both countries. The object of this board was to plan defense in case the continent

should be invaded. By the Hyde Park Agreement (1941) the two countries arranged to work together to provide war supplies.

This tie was strengthened in 1942, long before the war was over, by agreements between the countries for a postwar exchange of goods. The board is still at work for the common defense of Alaska and the Canadian North.

Canada Fights for Freedom

And now, as part of a fighting team, Canada became the fourth greatest air power among the United Nations. More than a million men and women joined the armed services. She increased her navy from only 15 ships to more than 800, and did much of the dangerous convoy work in protecting shiploads of war supplies and men on their way across the Atlantic. At the end of the war her navy ranked third in the world in size and strength.

She organized and put into effect the great empire training scheme for fliers, and established 90 training schools throughout the country, where Canadian, British, Australian, and New Zealand boys formed a great reservoir of air power. The Royal Canadian Air Force alone numbered some 222,000. At Dieppe and Hongkong Cana-

In August, 1943, Winston Churchill, prime minister of Britain, here shown seated at the right—and Franklin D. Roosevelt, president of the United States here shown at the left—met in Quebec to lay plans for the war against Japan. The press conference shown in our picture was attended by William Lyon Mackenzie King, Canadian prime minister, who is seated in the center.



Canadian National Film Board Photo

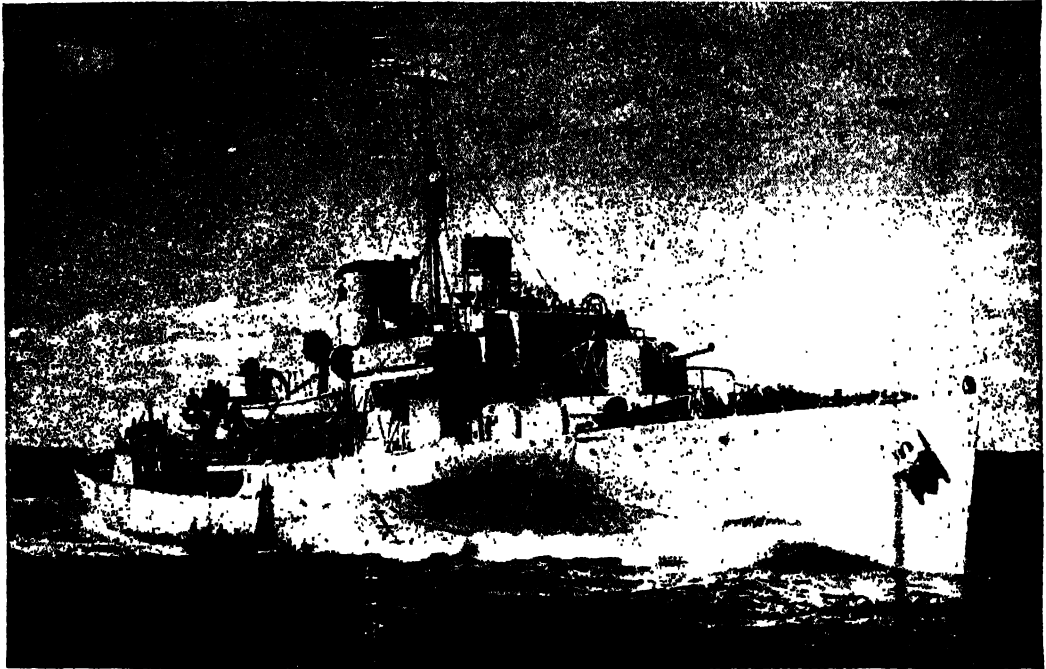
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Canadian Army Overseas Photo

Canadians shared in the baptism of blood that Allied forces had to meet among the hedgerows of Normandy after landing on the Normandy beaches in 1944. Here

Canadian armored units are moving forward to engage the enemy at the northern end of the gap that was opened between Falaise and Argentan.



Royal Canadian Navy Photo

This is His Majesty's Canadian Ship "Agassiz." It is one of the fleet corvettes that made up the bulk of the Canadian Navy in World War II. It is not a very large warship, but its deadliness is not to be judged by its

size. The enemy's submarines hated it. In escorting convoys the corvettes were of the greatest value, for they could twist and turn and dart about with ease and had a long cruising range.

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diar troops took terrible losses. Before the war was over they had fought grim battles in five countries of Europe, and had played a gallant part in the invasion of Germany.

This is an astonishing record for a country of only some 12,000,000 people—two or three million fewer than there were in the state of New York at that time. But even more remarkable was the industrial development that made Canada the fourth nation among the Allies in the provision of supplies—of aircraft, tanks, ships, weapons, steel, aluminum, and especially uranium, source of material for the atomic bomb.

After the United States came into the war Canada helped to fly American bombers and supplies overseas. She furnished the land for the great Alaska-Canada Highway, built by the United States to maintain service stations for planes on their way to Russia. Relying on Canada's companies, her scientists, and her labor, the United States War Department built the Canol—Canadian Oil—project for supplying oil to the Alaska-Canada Highway and its airfields and also to a refinery at Whitehorse, in the Yukon. All her staggering war costs Canada met by taxation and the issuing of bonds. She did not borrow a penny abroad.

And more than that, she became for the first time a lending and giving nation. Besides paying her own war bill of nine billion dollars, she provided under the system of Mutual Aid, or lend lease, nearly four billion dollars' worth of food and war materials for her allies, and she gave generously to wartime charities.

A Remarkable Fighting Team

But all this successful war effort, as well as her peacetime growth, could never have come about if Canada had not shown complete coöperation in working and planning with Britain and the United States.

Meanwhile Canada was ordering her life at home in a way to prevent war profiteering and a rise in the cost of living. Rents, prices, and wages were frozen and remained so for a long time after the war was over. In a multitude of ways she was trying to lay a solid foundation for her future and

for the security of her people. And she was doing so with great speed. As a matter of fact, through her great war effort Canada crowded what would have been twenty-five years of normal growth into five short years.

The changes that came were enormous. Canada went into the war a country that was largely agricultural. She came out of it highly industrialized. In spite of her small population she is now one of the great exporting nations of the world, and, for the number of her people, sells three times as much goods abroad as the United States does. In times past her exports were largely in the form of raw materials—timber, fish, wheat. Now she is sending away more and more manufactured goods.

Ahead of Canada's industries lies a promising future. For besides her wealth of raw materials she is rich in water power, which government projects are fast turning into electricity. Already Canada has more than a tenth of the world's supply of hydroelectric power—the great force which makes industry move. Every year Canadians are turning out more and more wood pulp and paper, wool, cotton, rayon, and nylon cloth, machinery, and chemical products. The country has enormous wealth hidden in the ground. In nickel, uranium, platinum, and asbestos she has the largest part of the world's supply. She is rich in coal and iron and in many other metals as well.

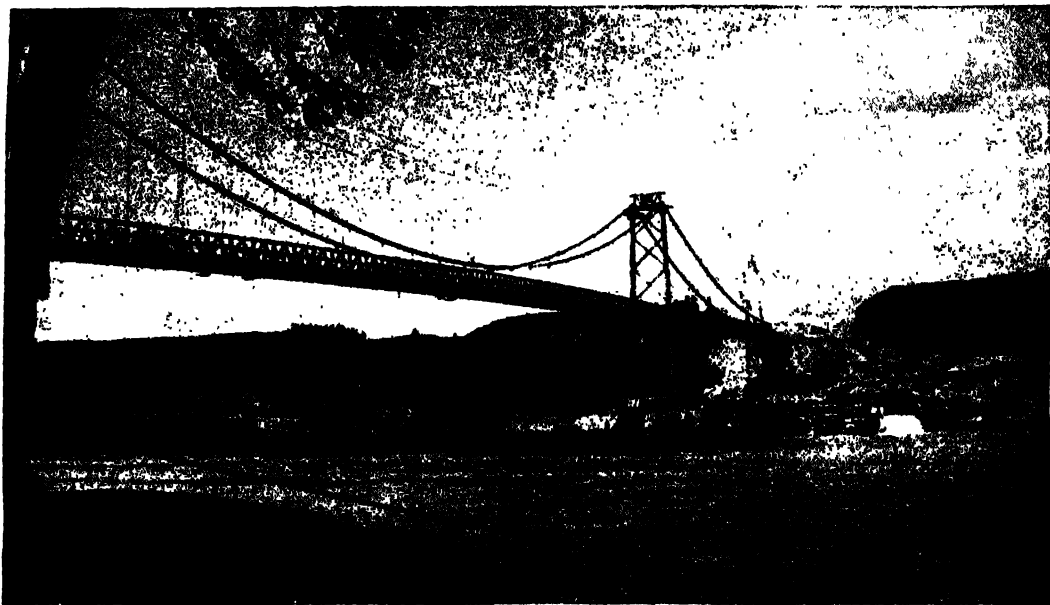
To help her in her foreign trade Canada has great ports on both the Atlantic and Pacific. The United States is her chief customer. Inland trade moves along a fine system of railways and airlines and a remarkable network of lakes, rivers, and canals.

Canada's Tenth Province

On March 31, 1949, Newfoundland, after a long independent history, joined Canada as the tenth province. She brought the Dominion a heavy burden of debt but also fisheries and minerals of immense value and the New World's chief airport for trans-Atlantic flight.

With her growing trade Canada is taking a larger part in world affairs. She is a member of the United Nations and is active in its work. She is one of the leaders in

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Canadian National Film Board Photo

Flung across the Canadian wilderness in the space of nine short months, 1,671 miles of the Alaska-Canada Highway were built in 1942 between Dawson Creek,

international civilian aviation. Everywhere she is reaching out to other nations and helping in practical efforts to bring them together. She needs world peace to work out her destiny, for without foreign trade her industries cannot work at full capacity.

An Income for Every Child

And this is not the only way in which Canada is showing her greater maturity. She has a deep and growing concern for the welfare of her people. This led her, for instance, to pass the Family Allowance Act (1945), which provides that every child under six years of age shall get \$5 a month from the government, \$6 a month between the ages of six and ten, and then an increasing allowance until, from thirteen to sixteen, it will receive \$8 monthly. This, it is believed, will provide healthier citizens for the nation and also better educated ones—for the allowance is stopped if the child does not go to school regularly.

Canada's plans for her schools and colleges and for the education of her people are generous and intelligent. For example, the government is studying carefully the problems of the country school and of the underpaid and poorly trained teacher. It

Alberta, and Fairbanks, Alaska. This steel bridge across Peace River, in northern Alberta, is only one of five hundred bridges that the highway had to have.

has opened Women's Institutes to help housewives living on the lonely prairies, and directs many other activities in the little scattered communities there. It has established traveling libraries, and to dozens of villages and small towns it sends good films throughout the winter. Such showings are the centers around which people get together to debate questions before the country.

In the various arts, too, the government feels responsible for the progress of its people. As in England, the radio is under government control through the agency of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Canada Builds Her Art

Today Canada has a vigorous art, and her people are all the while growing in their enjoyment of beautiful things. But this too takes time. It was a long while before Canadian artists began to paint pictures that were especially Canadian. In the first place, a small population in a new country is too busy making a living and clearing the soil to have time for making beautiful things, which are likely to seem a luxury when there is so much work to be done. Rich Canadians bought pictures in Europe and

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put, them into galleries in the large cities. And Canadians who wanted to be artists went to Europe to study. But they came back to paint landscapes that imitated the scenery as well as the style of painting they had seen abroad.

What Was the Group of Seven?

It was not until 1919 that seven young artists, now well known as the Group of Seven, made up their minds to start something new in Canadian painting. Inspired by their leader Tom Thomson (1877-1917), they saw their own countryside as something fresh and different and they wanted to paint it in a different way from the one they had been used to. In 1922 they had their first exhibition of paintings, and the catalogue said bravely: "Art must take the road and risk all the glory of a great adventure. New material demands new methods and new methods fling a challenge to old conventions."

One of their principles was to use more solid design and construction than other artists were using at the time, to make much of color and pattern, and to play up the great rock masses of the Canadian countryside. There was a broad simplicity about their work that made it strong and vivid. They had the inspiration to set the French Canadian "habitant"—or peasant—together with his crude sleigh and his horse and oxen, into their landscapes.

Their pictures and their ideas were laughed at, as many new things are, but they were young and ardent and enjoyed argument. One of the Group explained their work by saying: "Our atmosphere was clear and sharp, our colors bright, crude if you will—and on top of this were four changes of scenery such as they never knew in Europe. In summer it was green, raw greens all in a tangle; in autumn it flamed in red and gold; in winter it was wrapped in a blanket of dazzling snow; and in the springtime it roared with running water and surged with life."

Their zest was rewarded when in 1924 their pictures were shown in England and admired by European art critics for emphatic design and bold simplicity. Since then

there have been exhibitions in many of the great foreign cities, and everywhere Canadian artists are especially successful in painting the strangely beautiful effects of light and shadow on snow. The great wheat fields, the Rockies, the old parts of French Canada, all provide splendid subjects, and there are more and more artists who want to try to paint them.

But better than this, art has come out of the museums into the schools and the life of the people. A field service brings to lonely and distant country schools exhibits of prints and slides. It teaches children to know about pictures and even takes them on sketching trips. More and more the Canadians are coming to realize that art is not a luxury, but is something that helps you live a good and happy life.

What Early Canadians Wrote About

Canadian writers, too, were slow in beginning to be themselves—to write as Canadians about their own country. For a long time what they wrote was likely to be an imitation of English or American poetry and prose, copies of English or American life and manners instead of their own. French Canadian writers, in their turn, imitated the writers of Old France, though there was always more that was native in their work than there was in the work of the English Canadians—a love of the soil, an interest in country legends, in things that were a part of their life. Some of their books have been greatly honored in France.

With bookshops and libraries full of foreign books it was hard, perhaps, for the majority of Canadians to think of literature as something that had to do with the places and ways they knew well. But the nineteenth century did see a certain number of books about Canada. There was "The Seats of the Mighty," by Sir Gilbert Parker (1862-1932), and an exciting tale of New France in the eighteenth century, "The Golden Dog," by William Kirby (1817-1906). William Henry Drummond (1854-1907), an Irish doctor who knew the country districts in the Province of Quebec and liked his French Canadian neighbors, wrote many

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poems about them in the broken English they spoke. It is not good poetry but it is full of the humor and high spirits of the habitant, and has caught his gift for telling vivid tales even when he is speaking English.

It was a Frenchman from France who wrote the novel about French Canada which has become a classic, until now the only great book about Canada. Louis Hémon (*ā'mōN'*) (1880-1913) came to Canada from France when he was a young man. He fell in love with the country and understood his French Canadian cousins so well that his book "*Maria Chapdelaine*" not only pictures the scenery of the lonely settlements in northern Quebec, at the head of the Saguenay River, but gives a beautiful and simple picture of the goodness, the courage, the family affection, and the deep religious devotion of the French Canadians. His book has been translated into English and illustrated by the fine artist, Clarence Gagnon (*gā'nyōN'*), whose pictures show the special qualities that mark modern Canadian art. Another truly Canadian book that everyone enjoys is "*Canadian Wonder Tales*" by Cyrus Macmillan.

Stories about a Canadian Family

For some twenty years Mazo de la Roche has been writing her series of novels about a family living in Ontario. The first of these is "*Jalna*." As a matter of fact her family might live almost anywhere, but this is not true of many later Canadian novels, particularly of such ones as "*Two Solitudes*," by Hugh MacLennan. This tale is not only set in Montreal but deals with the theme of the two peoples who live there.

A good many such "regional" novels about Montreal and the Province of Quebec are now being written by both the French and English, and show the special problems of people who live in a land of two races. Some of the best are written by French Canadians, and many have been best sellers in England and the United States.

Other regions too have had their tellers of tales. There was Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796-1865), the famous humorist who lived in Nova Scotia and created "*Sam Slick*." Bliss Carman and Sir Charles G.

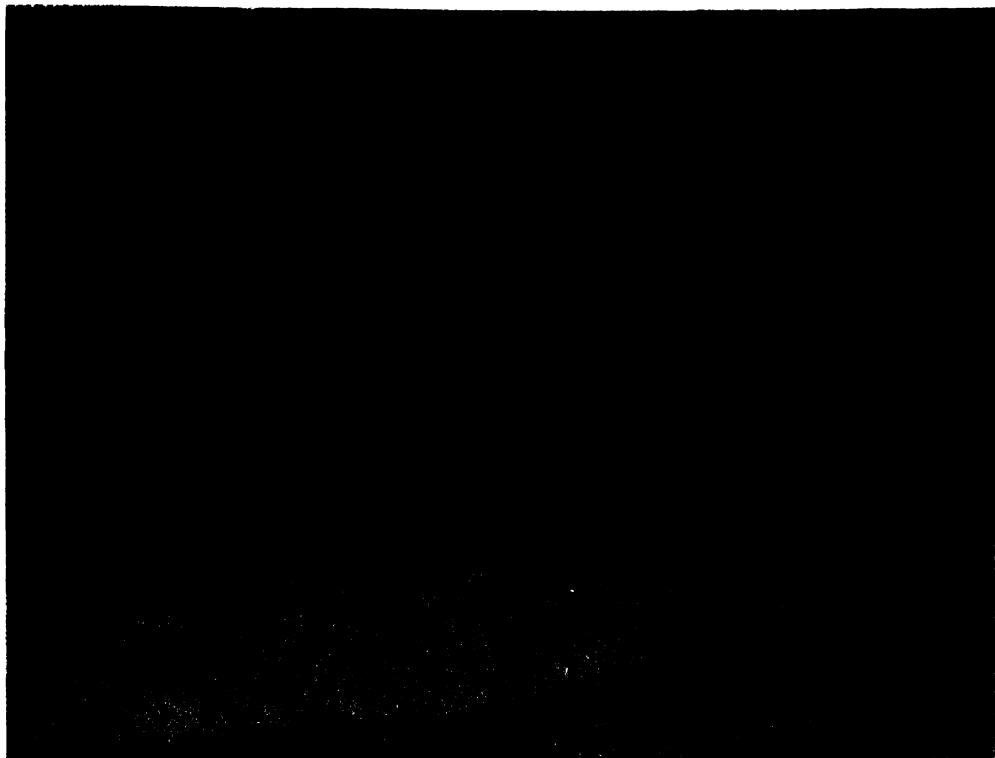
D. Roberts, well-known poets whose stories we have told on other pages, came from New Brunswick. Lucy Maud Montgomery (1874-1942), author of the beloved "*Anne of Green Gables*," grew up on Prince Edward Island. And Frederick William Wallace (1886-) wrote tales of Nova Scotia fishermen that are widely read. Canada's literature began in the maritime provinces.

Farther west we find the Reverend Charles William Gordon (1860-1937)—"*Ralph Connor*"—who wrote widely read stories of the Canadian West, and Susanna Moodie (1803-1885), author of "*Roughing It in the Bush*," should be remembered.

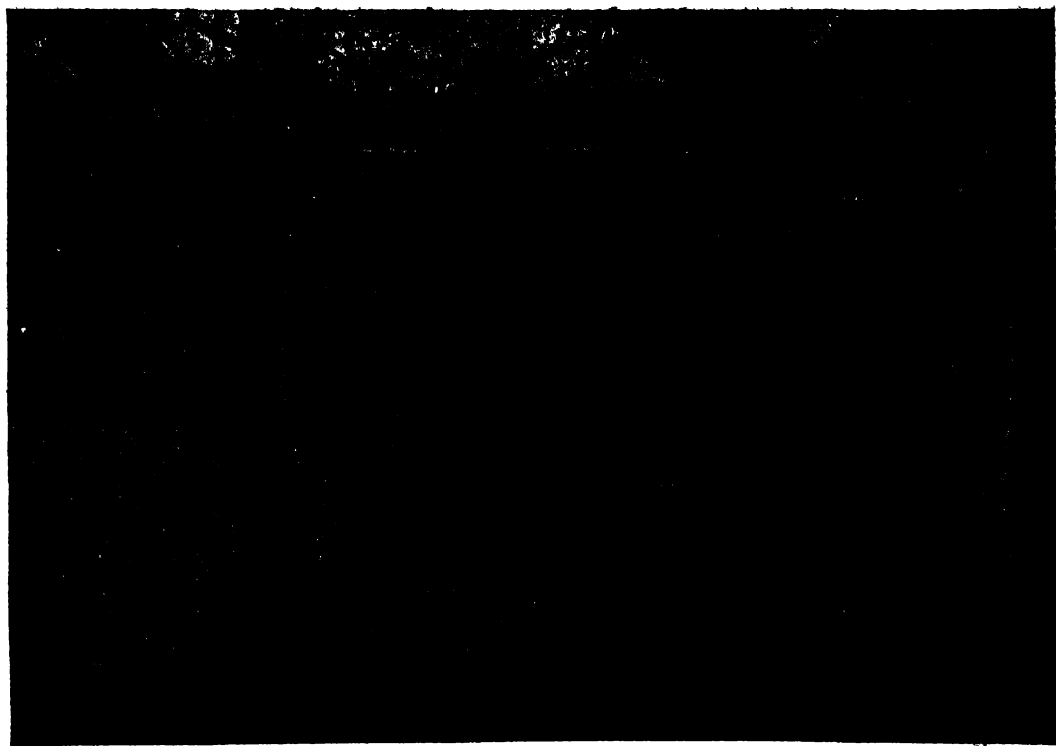
A Great Humorist

But the Canadian literary man who has been best-known throughout the English-speaking world was Stephen Leacock (1869-1944), a humorous writer and lecturer who found a welcome everywhere. He was full of laughter and of a rich common sense that led him to make fun of human folly and humbug wherever he found them, whether in literature or education or politics. All his life he was professor of economics at McGill University in Montreal, and was famous as a teacher. Perhaps more than any other Canadian, he taught his students to like and understand America. He loved the United States nearly as well as he loved Canada, and when he was an old man wrote that Canada was the best place in the world in which to live—"with our backs up against the North Pole and our feet stretched out towards the warm fire of American friendship."

Since the First World War there has been a great wave of Canadian poetry, thought by some critics to be stronger and better than the poetry written over the same period in England and the United States. The best of it has the kind of strength that marks Canadian art, and many of the poets, especially Edwin J. Pratt, a professor in the University of Toronto, have written about Canadian subjects. Mr. Pratt, one of the most distinguished of the group, has celebrated the Jesuit martyrs of French Canada in his long poem "*Brébeuf and His Brethren*," and has written about the war.

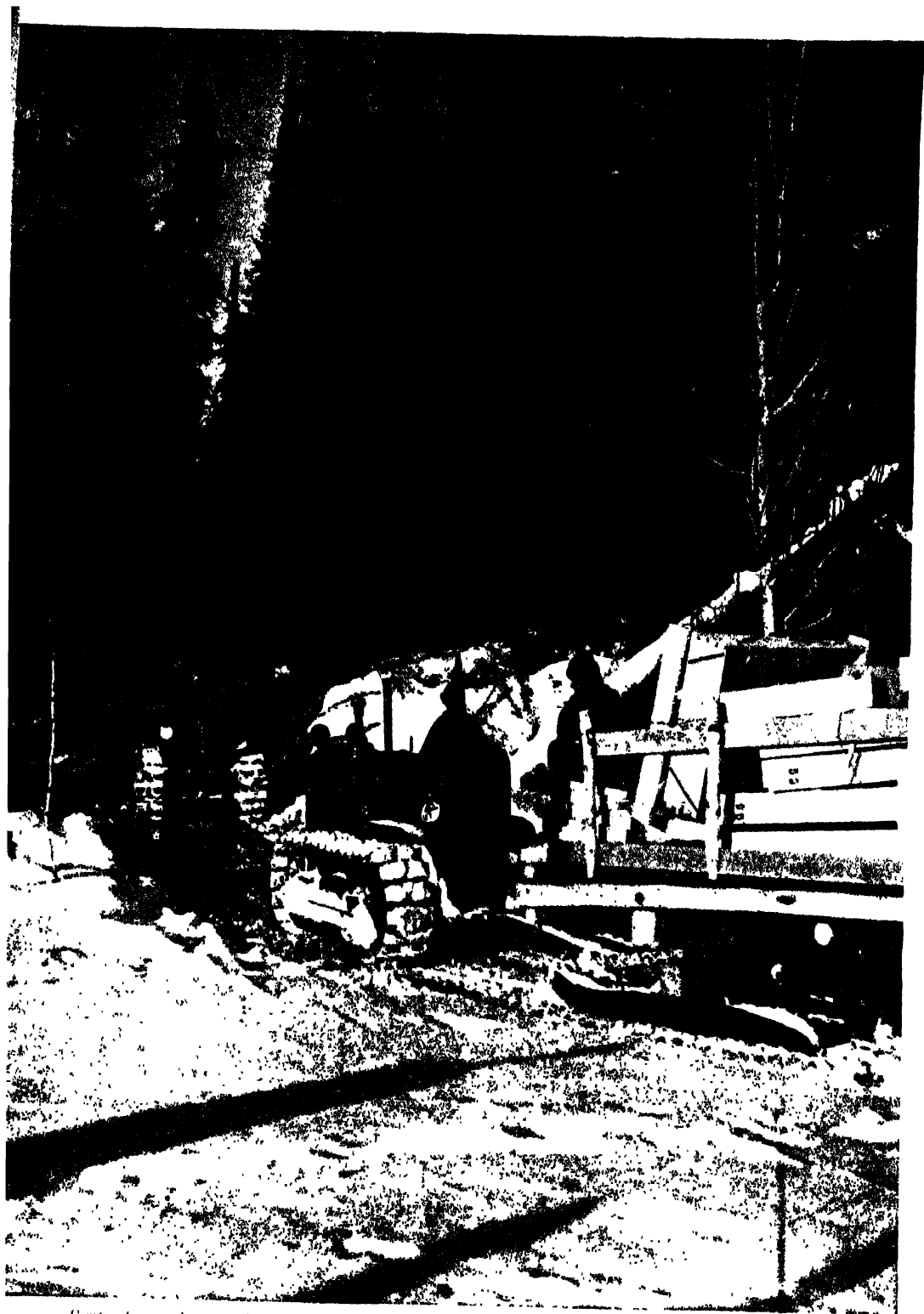


"Street Scene, Quebec," by Clarence A. Gagnon (1881-1942).



Reproductions courtesy of National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

"Spring Ice," by Tom Thomson (1877-1917).



Courtesy Gypsum, Lime and Alabastine, Canada, Ltd.

The old-fashioned logging team with its shouting driver and straining horses is fast disappearing from Canadian forests. Instead, the silence of the winter woods is

broken by the throb of the tractor's motor as logs and equipment are hauled through piled up snow drifts and over icy, deep-rutted roads.

The HISTORY of CANADA

Reading Unit No. 5

A LAND THAT IS OLD AND YOUNG

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

Geography affects the people and the nation, 7-29-K
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Natural barriers, 7-29-L
How old rocks of the "shield" were bared, 7-29-L
Why Canada is like the United States in some ways, 7-29-L
Visiting Acadia, 7-29-L
The parks in Nova Scotia attract visitors, 7-29-M
"Spud Island," 7-29-M

Nova Scotia's tides and apples, 7-29-M
How Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island got their names, 7-29-M
Halifax, a great port and the provincial capital, 7-29-N
Ontario's rich farm land, 7-29-O
Mines and mining in Ontario, 7-29-Q
Where Ontario's people came from, 7-29-Q

Picture Hunt

A church to visit, 7-29-K
Spring clothes a Nova Scotia apple tree, 7-29-L
Fishing nets dry in the sun, 7-29-N
Busy blast furnaces, 7-29-P

Winter surrounds a French house, 7-29-O
Boats come and go at Montreal, 7-29-P
Toronto, center of Canadian culture, 7-29-Q

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A potato a day, 9-142-145
How coke is made, 9-446
Colonial homes in the United States, 11-501-508
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Inland waterways connecting the United States and Canada, 10-267

Leisure-time Activities

PROJECT NO. 1: Read Montgomery's "Anne of Green Gables."

PROJECT NO. 2: Read Longfellow's "Evangeline."

Summary Statement

Both the city people and the farmers of Canada's eastern provinces live near the sea and inland waterways. This land, rich

in history and story, absorbs the modern factory but remembers the past and keeps up many old customs.



Photo by Canadian Pacific Ry.

This is the little church of Grand Pré, a name dear to all who have ever read of the trials of Longfellow's gentle heroine Evangeline. It is to hundreds of peaceful little churches like this one in Nova Scotia that

the devout people of French Canada go to pray and meditate, and to hear the Mass on Sunday. The church is the center of village life, the joy and the solace of the people whose homes cluster around it

A LAND THAT IS OLD *and* YOUNG

Here You May Read of the Romantic Background and the Busy Life in Canada's Five Eastern Provinces

IF WE want to understand a nation we must know something about its geography, for to quite an extent that is what makes the people what they are. It shapes their growth, decides what their exports will be, and often determines their strength or weaknesses as a nation. So for a little while we shall talk about the vast and varied and beautiful land that is the home of the Canadian people.

On the south Canada has no natural boundaries such as, for instance, the mountains that separate Spain from the rest of Europe or the ocean that makes a single nation out of a big country like Australia. Except for the region along the Great Lakes, Canada lies open to the United States, and much of that long international frontier is simply a line drawn on the map, following, for the most part, one of the artificial lines called parallels, by which man has marked off

divisions of the earth on his map of the globe. Maine, it is true, sticks up in a wedge that separates the maritime provinces from Quebec, but mostly the boundary runs without a swerve.

On the map you see Canada as a huge country, bigger than any other land in the world except Russia and China. But it is important to remember that sixty-five percent of this vast area is covered by what is called the Canadian—or Pre-Cambrian—Shield, a waste land of rock, swamp, and bush. This is frozen solid for a good part of the year, and then the only way to get about is by airplane or dog sled or “snowmobile.” In summer parts of it are soggy with swamps.

This wild region lies like a great U-shaped collar around Hudson Bay. In the east it reaches down into western Quebec and eastern Ontario, so that there is a difficult

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

barrier between those two provinces, and it forms another natural barrier between Ontario and the prairie provinces. The St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, Lake of the Woods, Lakes Winnipeg, Athabaska, Great Slave, and Great Bear lie along its southern rim.

In this great "shield" are some of the oldest rocks on this continent—worn down and pared away by the glacier that once covered the region. Hidden under the soil is vast and often unexplored mineral wealth. The uneven surface nurses countless lakes and rivers, which could furnish enormous quantities of hydroelectric power. Great forests of evergreen, poplar, and birch cover the southern part of the section, and everywhere there are valuable fur-bearing animals. In the north is the tundra, where the earth is always frozen except for a few inches that thaw out on the surface under the summer sun.

Since so much of Canada has always been just about uninhabitable, it is not surprising that three-quarters of the people live within 200 miles of the southern border. In spite of its large area on the map, Canada is really like a country 4,000 miles long with an average width of some 150 miles.

Geographically the land falls into the four great zones into which the United States is divided. For in general the natural land formations of North America run north and south for the whole length of the continent. Look at a map and you will see that the maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island are a kind of extension of coastal New England. In the same way the Upper St. Lawrence Valley is like Ohio and New

York, and the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta are one with the great central plain south of the border. On the west coast the mountainous region makes up the northern section of the great mountain system that runs the length of North and South America.

As you read the early history of what is now Canada, you will see that the country did not begin as a single unit. The maritime provinces and Quebec and Ontario were settled, as was natural, by men who came up from the south or sailed into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and upstream along the St. Lawrence River. On the other hand, the early settlers on the plains came by way of Hudson Bay. To British Columbia people came by the western ocean. And each of these three groups, set off from the others by thousands of square miles of wilderness, felt itself to be separate from the rest. To quite an extent each section still has a quality all its own.

But let us see what these various regions are like today. If you drive down to Maine from New Brunswick you will find in general the same barren soil, the same small school houses, the same little villages that you left behind. Geographically the regions are much alike. Besides, like New England, the maritime provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island—have a long history, which you may read about on other pages of these books. Together with a part of Maine, they made up the old French colony of Acadia, which saw many of its people sent into exile by the British (1755).

Today it is a beautiful and gracious land, green and peaceful and full of orchards



Photo by Canadian Pacific

In springtime Nova Scotia is bright with apple trees like this one in the Annapolis Valley.

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and streams—a kind of paradise for people on a holiday. New Brunswick is said to be richer in game than any other region in North America. Moose, caribou, deer, bears, and all sorts of fur-bearing animals abound in the forests. There are countless game birds, and the streams are full of fish—salmon, trout, pickerel, and others dear to the angler's heart.

Picturesque fishing villages hug the rocky coasts, where in many places the French Canadian population still clings to its old ways. Cape Breton Highlands National Park (390 square miles) on the coast of Nova Scotia attracts large numbers of artists, and so does Prince Edward Island National Park, a strip twenty-five miles long on the island's northern shore. In normal times hundreds of thousands visit these provinces every year—to see the fifty-foot tides in the Bay of Fundy, to visit the beautiful orchards of the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia, one of the finest apple-raising sections in the world, to watch the fishing fleet sail from the port of Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, or to stand in the historic Confederation Chamber of the Provincial Building in Charlottetown, capital of Prince Edward Island. There on a bronze tablet they may read the following words: "In the hearts and minds of the delegates who assembled in this room on September 1st, 1864, was born the Dominion of Canada. Providence being their guide, they builded better than they knew."

"Spud Island"

The maritime provinces are highly varied. Prince Edward Island, the smallest of them, uses its beautiful bright red soil for farming. Cartier, its first white visitor, described it as a land that was "low and flat and the fairest that may possibly be seen, and full of beautiful trees and meadows." It is no different today. Its most valuable crop is potatoes. In fact it is affectionately known as "Spud Island." But it has fine herds of cattle and exports dairy products, as well as eggs and poultry. Its fisheries are growing fast, and of late years it has developed a thriving industry in fox farming.

To Nova Scotia belongs the honor of

having sheltered the first permanent white settlement in North America outside the Spanish posts along the Gulf of Mexico. For it was here that Champlain founded (1604) his first trading post, which, as Port Royal, became the capital of the colony of Acadia. It is now Annapolis. For some 150 years Nova Scotia was constantly fought over, until the English at last founded a strong settlement at Halifax (1749).

The district was given its present name of Nova Scotia—New Scotland—in 1621 by James I of England, who was also James VI of Scotland. When New Brunswick was made into a separate province (1784), it was named for the royal family at that time ruling in England. It had been settled during the preceding two years by Loyalists who had left the United States after the Revolution.

Prince Edward Island, which became a separate province in 1769, was given its present name in honor of Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria.

Over half the people in Nova Scotia are farmers, and agriculture is the province's most important industry. In a land where the cool moist climate makes fine pasturage it is natural that dairying and live stock should bring the farmer his biggest returns. Fine fruit is raised, too.

Since some four-fifths of the land is forested, lumbering and the manufacture of wood products—wood pulp, paper, building material—bring handsome returns. Only Newfoundland and British Columbia have more valuable fisheries. Canning, drying, or freezing the huge catch of cod, lobster, herring, mackerel, and many other fish gives work to a great many Nova Scotians.

Then, too, Nova Scotia mines soft coal and ranks with Alberta in coal production. At Sydney are ovens for making coke, and also iron and steel works. Salt is mined in Cumberland County, and most of Canada's gypsum comes from Nova Scotia. The province contains other minerals—gold, tungsten, manganese, and copper.

In spite of their busy mills the Nova Scotians keep up their fine home handicrafts—weaving, wood carving, and the making of pottery and hooked rugs.

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Photo by Nova Scotia Board of Information

Canada's eastern provinces are full of seagoing folk and fishing is one of their chief industries. The fishermen often live in picturesque little villages. And

At Halifax, the capital, is one of the world's great ports. Like St. Johns, New foundland, it is ice free all winter. It is the terminus of Canada's transcontinental railways and has an enormous trade. Here is Dalhousie University. Acadia University is at Wolfville, and at Antigonish is St. Francis Xavier University, which is Roman Catholic.

St. Francis Xavier University, under the leadership of Father Coady, a great priest, has done everything it could to help the people of Nova Scotia. They have been led to establish canneries, coöperative stores, credit unions, and other modern social organizations.

New Brunswick, the largest of the maritime provinces, draws its biggest income from its fine forests and the manufactured products they can be made to yield. Lumber in various forms, pulp wood, paper, plywood are all exported. In agriculture too New Brunswick leads the maritime provinces, with field crops and live stock bringing the largest returns. Only Quebec out-

artists who come to paint the quaint houses and sturdy people find that among the shore's chief beauties are the fishnets—like this one—hung up to dry.

does her in raising potatoes. The province has important fisheries in her coastal waters. And she mines a little coal. Her factories mostly spend their time working her raw materials.

The University of New Brunswick is at Fredericton, the capital, and Mount Allison University at Sackville.

The people of the "Maritimes" claim that they have for some time been at a disadvantage in building up their industries. With ten percent of Canada's population, they have an industrial output that is less than four percent of the whole—and this in spite of fine water power. They want lower freight rates for shipping their goods.

In fact, they sometimes complain that their chief export is "brains," and it is true that many of the sons and daughters of the region have gone elsewhere to important posts in business, government, and the universities. Four of Canada's eleven prime ministers have come from the maritime provinces, which have a population outstanding for ability and character.

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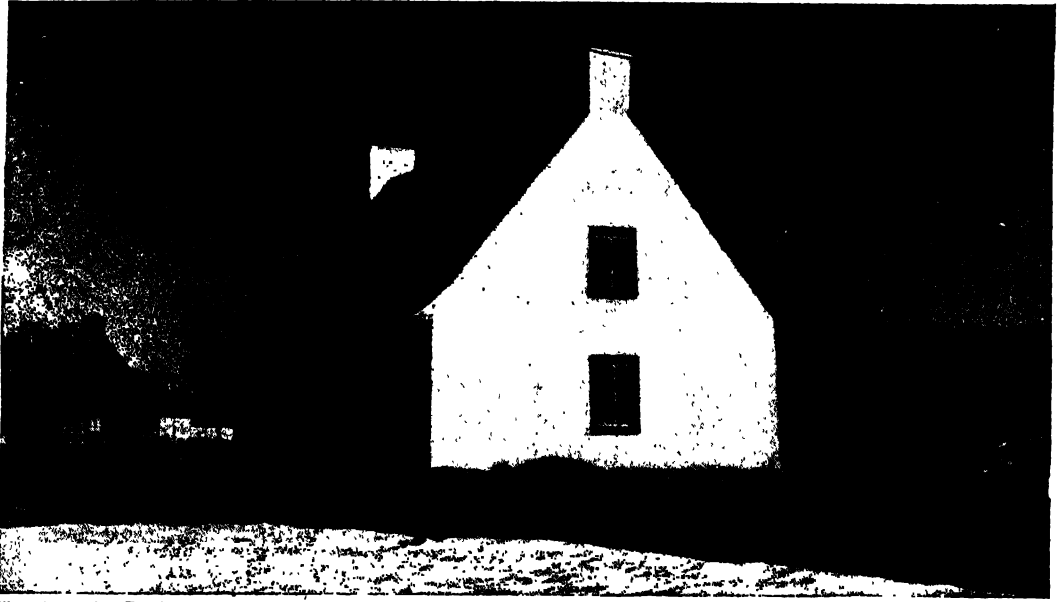


Photo by Quebec Tourist Agency

From colonial days come the charming stone cottages of Quebec, each one with the "bellcast" curve that

joins the eaves to the roof. They belong to French Canada and only there are they found.

If we sail up the St. Lawrence from the coastal provinces we shall come to what is known as Central Canada. Though it is no longer central on the map, it is still at the heart of the nation's life. Here lie the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, including the fertile valley of the St. Lawrence and the triangle the river makes with Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron. In these two provinces live nearly two-thirds of Canada's population, here is her capital, and here are most of her factories. So we shall not be surprised to find more people in the cities than on the farms, though the farmers of Ontario are the most prosperous in Canada.

A Land Rich in "White Coal"

It is hardly strange that this region should hum with factories. Many rivers and countless waterfalls give cheap hydro-electric power, and a fine natural waterway along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes provides cheap and easy access to the sea and to the coal fields of Pennsylvania, which send the region coal. Besides, in these two provinces are some of the country's finest farms and richest mines. So even the small towns have their industrial plants, and the region turns out everything from

automobiles to bread, cheese, and sausages.

Moreover, the two great cities of Toronto and Montreal are so placed as to be convenient points for sending out goods over the whole of Canada. They are the hub around which Canadian business and industry revolve. And into them is gathered much of Canada's financial wealth. Here are the great stock exchanges, the central offices of most of the large banks, and the headquarters of the railway and shipping companies. The farmers in the West blame Toronto and Montreal for their troubles just as farmers in the United States blame Wall Street.

Of the two provinces Ontario raises the larger crops because of the good land and mild climate in her southwestern triangle. She plants a variety of crops, most of them used to feed the live stock that brings in the larger part of the farmer's income—in meat and dairy products. But Ontario also raises fruits, tobacco, and sugar beets. A great many of her farms have electricity.

Northern Quebec and Ontario are still covered with timber, which yields great wealth, not only in lumber and wood products, such as pulp and paper, but also in furs. Of course the region is loved by big

THE HISTORY OF CANADA



Photo by Canadian Pacific Ry

To this great port at Montreal come boats from the Great Lakes and ocean-going steamers sailing up the St. Lawrence—which is here shown stretching away

into the distance. The city is built on an island, and is a busy center of manufacture and transportation. Boats from New York reach it via the Hudson River.



Photo by The Steel Company of Canada, Ltd.

Blast furnaces like these are common enough in Canada, but like the rest of Canada's busy industries, they

are most numerous in Quebec and Ontario, where water power is cheap and rich mines abound.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA



Photo by Canadian National Rys.

Toronto is the chief center of Canadian culture, and also an important port on the Great Lakes and a busy financial and commercial city—as its skyline will prove.

game hunters and many other sportsmen.

Here too are most of the region's mines. Ontario's lead all others in Canada, for the province contains about all the valuable minerals except coal. Nickel, copper, and platinum from Sudbury, silver from Cobalt, gold from the Porcupine and Kirkland Lake areas, with still other rich deposits of it, lead from a mine near Galeffa, iron west of Port Arthur, with rich deposits elsewhere, a little petroleum and natural gas from the peninsula between Huron and Erie, zinc, cobalt, magnesium, uranium—together they yield enormous wealth. Since mines must have miners and miners must eat, a good many farmers have come to this "barren" region, where they have cleared fine farms, for in what is called the Northern Clay Belt there is good land.

Quebec also has rich mines. She leads the world in asbestos, which is found in the southeast. She digs copper and gold and zinc and lead, and has vast iron deposits along the Labrador border.

Ontario has thriving fisheries, especially in the Great Lakes. And into the ports of Quebec the fishermen bring a valuable salt-water catch. Many of them sail from the harbors of the Gaspé Peninsula.

Though she has people from every corner of the globe, most of Ontario's citizens are of British stock, and are close to Britain

Industries have gathered here to use power that is generated by Niagara Falls, and here also is one of the largest mining exchanges in the world.

in feeling and customs. Many of them are descendants of Loyalists—or "Tories"—who came from the United States just after the Revolutionary War. In general the population is gathered into the southern part of the province, and there most of the larger cities are to be found—Toronto, the capital, Hamilton, Brantford, London, and Windsor, all of them busy factory towns. At Toronto, Canada's leading center of culture, is the University of Toronto, one of the finest in Canada.

Ontario has five national parks—Point Pelee, a fine bird sanctuary on Lake Erie; Georgian Bay Islands, containing interesting remains of an Ojibway settlement; and St. Lawrence Islands, with some fine river scenery. Fort Malden and Fort Wellington became national parks in 1941.

Montreal, Canada's greatest city, is a fascinating combination of modern enterprise and the romantic past. For here we are in Quebec, the largest of the Canadian provinces and the one that today is most closely bound to the past. Here is a land where two races, two languages, and two religions are able to live together in harmony. Eighty-five percent of the people speak French, and of those the majority live on their own farm—often a long narrow strip of land running back from the river on which the house stands.

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Here the family raises most of its food, cuts its fuel from its own wood lot, builds its own furniture, and spins and weaves the wool for its clothing. When the neat little houses are gathered into villages they cluster around the gray stone church, which is always Catholic. The priest is a father to the village, adding to his priestly duties the tasks of a social worker and sometimes those of a teacher.

The Catholics and Protestants have separate school systems, each one with its own course of instruction. In the cities Catholic children are taught in French, as a rule, and Protestant children in English. The Catholic schools give much more instruction in Latin and Greek. High schools and even colleges are Catholic and French, or Protestant and English in their course of instruction. Of the French universities the most famous are Laval University in Quebec—with a history going back to the Seminary of Quebec (1668)—and the University of Montreal. The best English university is McGill in Montreal.

But in spite of the fact that Quebec has different ways and likes to cling to them, the majority of its people live in cities,

and it gets more of its income from manufactures than from anything else. Quebec is richer in hydroelectric power than any other province. Wood pulp and paper are the most valuable manufactures, but there are many others. Montreal, a busy shipping point, is one of the most important seaports in the world, and ships more grain than any other. Quebec, Three Rivers, Sorel, and other ports are crowded during much of the year. And besides all this, Quebec is fast coming to be a crossroads for air travel.

Thousands of tourists visit this fascinating land every year. They love to take the drive around the Gaspé Peninsula, where age-old French fishing villages hug the shore. They flock to Montreal, where they are in the largest French city in the world except Paris, and one of the most historic cities in this hemisphere. Here is Mount Royal—Montreal—with the newer parts of the city clambering up its sides and the mighty river at its feet. Quebec, the capital, is the only walled city on the continent. In the Lower Town, along the waterfront, are quaint old streets that belong to another world and echo to the French tongue. But half way up the bluff the Upper Town, which is English, begins to dominate the landscape. Here, amid fashionable houses and the fine buildings of the provincial government, one can look down on several centuries of history. It is only one of the many contrasts in this beautiful province.



To the famous shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, not far from Quebec, many thousands of people come every year to find healing. This is the fine modern church, built (1922) to replace an earlier structure.

Photo by Province of Quebec Tourist Agency.

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Reading Unit

No. 6

THE CANADIAN WEST AND NORTH

Note For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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PROJECT NO. 2: Make an igloo after a big snow storm.

Summary Statement

Western Canada first drew explorers and men seeking quick

fortune. Now steady farmers and miners dwell there.

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Photo courtesy Canadian Information Service

Against a background of ice-scarred mountains this wheat has grown and is bearing its grain inside the Arctic Circle in Northern Canada. Below the surface soil, where its roots are spread, is ice that has lain

there for thousands, perhaps millions, of years. But though snow lies on the mountain tops and the growing season is short, the days are long enough to ripen the grain, which will be of the best quality grown.

THE CANADIAN WEST *and* NORTH

The Story of Canada's Western Provinces and of a Wild New Land That Is Still Unexplored

BETWEEN the Lake of the Woods and the eastern foothills of the Rockies lies a great land of prairie and plain with a fertile soil that is often hundreds of feet deep. Here are Canada's three prairie provinces—Manitoba (măn't-tô'bă), Saskatchewan (săs-kăch'ê-wăn), and Alberta (ălbûr'tă). Into this belt of farmland some 700 miles long and in places 300 miles wide—people from every corner of the globe have come crowding since the opening of the century. Here is Canada's melting pot. The rich virgin soil produces the finest wheat that has ever been grown. As "Number 1 Northern" it has become the standard by which wheat is judged and priced in the markets of the world. No wonder people from every land want to come and raise it.

It is a very hard wheat and very high in food value, and it will be at its best only when grown where the winters are very

cold and the annual rainfall is low. Of course this makes the risk and discomfort much greater for the farmer. In winter the temperature in Manitoba and Saskatchewan goes far below zero. But the long hours of brilliant summer sunshine will mature the crop, which sells for such a good price that the farmers have made it the backbone of their agriculture on the Canadian prairies.

Since they are both skillful and sensible they do not trust to this crop alone, but raise various kinds of grains and other food for the live stock that brings them a large part of their income—in meat and dairy products. Great herds of cattle roam the plains in southern Alberta. Sugar beets too are found to yield well, and flax is grown in some parts of Manitoba. Many of the farms are very large, and most of the farmers rely on machinery to help them. There

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Photo by British Columbia Travel Bureau

On the great ranges in the Canadian West the cattle roam at large, with cowboys to see that they find good pasture. This herd in British Columbia is only one of

many that are being fattened before they are sent to market. After World War II Canadian food saved thousands of people from starving, in every corner of the world

is a good deal of irrigated land in Alberta.

Much is being done to make life more attractive to the people who raise so large a part of Canada's food. Plans are on foot to bring electricity to light the farms and run the machinery. Saskatchewan has a system of state medicine, the first in this hemisphere, and the other two provinces have municipal doctors and hospitals, with free traveling medical and dental services in some places. Farmers' coöperatives are numerous and strong, and provide all kinds of services. The Canada Wheat Pool is an enormous organization that owns hundreds of grain elevators over the prairies for the benefit of farmers who want to hold their grain for higher prices. In politics the prairies tend to be radical.

In education the people are making progress in spite of many handicaps. Each province has a university, and the government sends traveling libraries and film services to the outlying communities. Of course the cities are far apart, for though this region is a fifth of Canada it has only three or four persons to a square mile.

The largest city in this region is Winnipeg, capital of Manitoba and Canada's fourth city in size. It is on the site of an old trading post at the meeting of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, and is a huge dis-

tributing center. The opening of the Panama Canal (1914) hurt its trade, for wheat could then be shipped easily to Europe from Vancouver and did not have to travel east by rail. But Winnipeg built factories, which today mill flour, process meat, and make a host of things. To her are shipped gold, copper, and zinc from Manitoba's famous Flin Flon mine. At Winnipeg is the University of Manitoba, one of the best in Canada.

Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Calgary (kāl'gā-rī) are the chief cities of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The first two are commercial centers. Regina (rê-jī'nà) is the capital of Saskatchewan, and Saskatoon the seat of the university. Edmonton and Calgary, in Alberta, are near the great Alberta coal fields and have a fine industrial future. Besides, there are deposits of oil and natural gas not far away. Edmonton is the capital and seat of the university. It is there that the great Alaska-Canada Highway starts north to Fairbanks. Both provinces mine copper and zinc. Saskatchewan is rich in potash, and Alberta's oil sands have the world's richest deposits of petroleum—still undeveloped. The eastern and northeastern prairie region yields fish and furs.

On the slopes of the Rockies in Alberta—where the warm "Chinook" winds from

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

across, the Divide often bring spring days in winter—are two national parks, Jasper (4,200 square miles) and Banff (2,585 square miles). Both have scenery of startling beauty. Lake Louise in Banff Park is world-famous. Waterton Lakes Park in Alberta is the northern part of the International Peace Park, which has Glacier Park, in Montana, as its southern half.

In Saskatchewan is Prince Albert National Park (1,860 square miles), a paradise for fishermen, and in Manitoba is Riding Mountain Park (1,148 square miles), a popular vacation center. Besides these, several national parks in Alberta were set aside as wild life sanctuaries—Buffalo (197 square miles), Elk Island (51 square miles), Nemiskam (8 square miles), and Wood Buffalo (17,300 square miles), the last partly in the Northwest Territories.

Across the Rockies

When we cross the Rocky Mountains and go down through the foothills to the sea we find ourselves in a different world from the one we left behind. This is beautiful British Columbia, the most English of the provinces as well as the most thinly settled. Victoria, the capital, is said to be more English in some ways than a British city is.

Though the province has less agriculture than any other in Canada, it comes next to Ontario in natural riches. As a result, the people here have a higher income per person than any other Canadians. The Panama Canal brought the world's great markets

within easy reach of the fine port of Vancouver (văn-koō'vēr), and there, in the province's southwest corner, most of the people live—in a climate that is warm and friendly and a land that is breath-taking in its beauty.

British Columbia has been called "a sea of mountains." Here are crowded three main ranges and several smaller ones, all lying parallel with long narrow valleys and deep bright lakes between. Tumultuous rivers scar the surface and eternal snows lie on the higher summits. Along the coast the thermometer never goes very high or very low and there is fog and heavy rain. But behind the southwestern countryside—as green and gentle as any in England—are set barren wildernesses of terrible austerity and beauty. The westernmost ranges wring the winds dry, with the result that the inland valleys can be very hot in summer and cold in winter.

To this bright country people were first drawn by furs and then by the lure of gold. The strike at Cariboo on Williams Creek, brought one of the world's great gold rushes (1856). So many people came in from California that in 1871 British Columbia was able to join the federation of Canadian provinces. But it was the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1885) that ush-

Sheep will fatten and grow thick wool in Western Canada, where this flock is grazing. On the high plains of Saskatchewan and Alberta and in the comfortable valleys of British Columbia they can graze all winter.



Canadian National Film Board
Photo

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

ered in the modern age for the province. Today, in spite of high freight rates to the east, Vancouver is Canada's third largest city. From her piers ships carry goods all over the world, with more and more of them sailing to the Far East.

She is in a region tremendously rich and varied. British Columbia still mines gold at Cariboo, and also in the Kootenay and Bridge River areas. She leads Canada in producing silver, which, along with zinc and lead, comes from the Sullivan mine. Her rocks hold copper, platinum, mercury. large quantities of coal, and various other minerals. Her fisheries are the most valuable in Canada, with vast wealth gathered every year when the salmon run, and her forests are rich in furs.

From the coast, the fertile inland valleys, and the Peace River plains come fine fruits. Those from the Okanagan (ô-kân/ô-gân) Valley are famous. On the delta of the Fraser over 100 bushels of oats may be harvested from an acre. And in British Columbia are some of the largest cattle ranches on the continent. Dairying is coming to be an important industry.

But most valuable of all is the lumber the province cuts every year from her magnificent forests of Douglas fir, cedar, pine, and other evergreens. The first of these makes the finest building timber in America. It comes from the coast and the islands, and much of it is sawed at the mouth of the Fraser River.

It is not strange that, with all these valuable resources and with electric power that is second only to Quebec's, British

Columbia should now rank third among Canada's provinces in the value of her manufactures. Much of this lies in shipbuilding. But the making of wood pulp and paper from her forests, the canning and preserving of her fish and fruits, and many other growing industries help to swell a total that is bound to grow as the years go by. For the province has a brilliant future.

British Columbia has a number of national parks: Yoho (507 square miles) and Kootenay (476 square miles), both surrounded by amazing scenery on the western slopes of the Rockies; and Glacier (521 square miles) and Mount Revelstoke (100 square miles), in the Selkirks, the second at a height of 6,000 feet. All of them have a fascinating wild life.

The Wild and Mysterious North

North of the busy provinces along Canada's southern border lies a wild and mostly barren land that is known as the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. It covers the whole of the Canadian North--about a third of the Dominion. During many months of the year it lies under the paralyzing hand of winter, when temperatures may go to -80° in Yukon. Much of it fails to thaw out even under the summer's sun, when the temperature in some places may reach 100°. Flowers and grasses may bloom and ripen on the treeless "tundra" up by the Arctic Circle, but underneath them the ice lies solid from one year's end to the other.

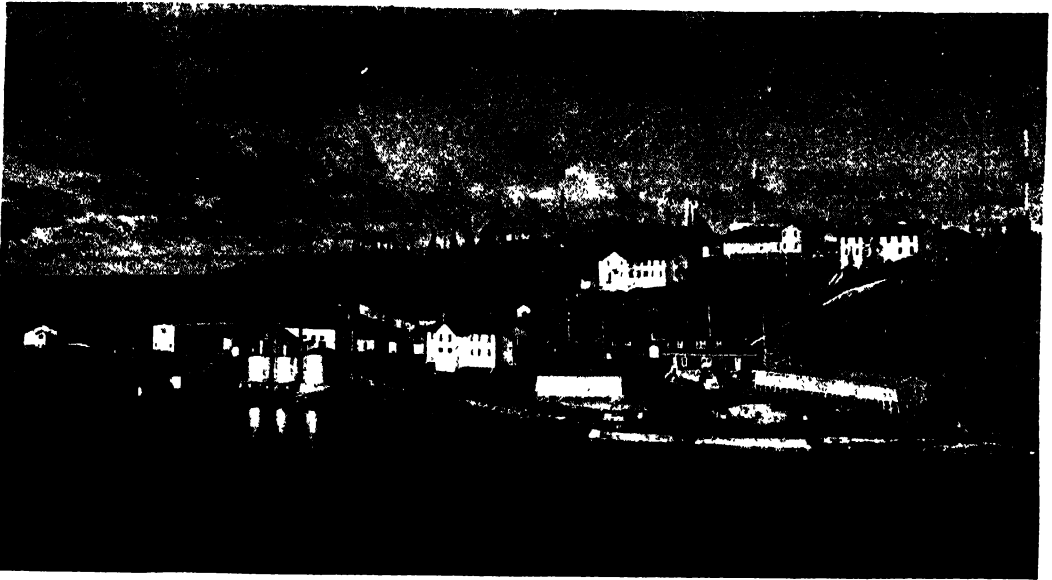
Strange as it may seem, the farmers are learning that they can grow the best wheat

When the hand of winter has fallen on the land, Canada's Far North is full of silence and mystery. The rivers, covered with ice, are still the best routes of travel--just as they are in summer. The Mackenzie, shown here as it looks at the famous oil village of Norman Wells, is the great highway into this part of Canada. From Norman Wells the Canol Project surveyed the route for its pipeline across the mountains to Fairbanks, Alaska.



Courtesy of Standard Oil Co. (N. J.). Photo by Collier

THE HISTORY OF CANADA



— courtesy Canadian Information Service —

From this desolate settlement at Port Radium on Great Bear Lake is coming the magic substance that bids fair to change the world. Not until World War

II were these houses built and the Eldorado mine developed, that we might have uranium to give the explosive power to the atomic bomb.

in the world in that desolate country. The long days will ripen it, even though the season is short, and the ice that keeps melting underneath gives the roots plenty of water all summer long.

At present only a handful of people live in this distant land, but plenty of others will come as the country's riches are better known. Much of it has never been explored. A few Eskimos hug the coasts and a handful of Indians trap furs in the fine evergreen forests of the Mackenzie District. But white men are to be found only at an occasional airfield or trading station. They lead a lonely life and communicate with the outside world only by boat, dogsled, or plane. It was not until 1944 that a ship—the "St. Roch"—sailed around Northern Canada in a single summer. For the Arctic Ocean is not meant for pleasure trips.

It was in 1870 that Britain gave to Canada the "North Western Territory" and Rupert's Land, which included northern Quebec, the prairie provinces, and the eastern part of the present Northwestern Territories. Those territories took their name from the fact that they were northwest of what was then the inhabited part of Canada. All the region had been controlled by the Hudson Bay Company. Later the Yukon

became a separate territory (1898), other parts of the region were distributed among the provinces to the south, and finally what remained was divided (1920) into the Mackenzie District to the west, the Keewatin District east of it, and the Franklin District reaching northward to the Pole. These districts are administered by the federal Department of Mines and Resources. A hundred officers and men of the Royal Mounted Police are enough to keep order.

A Land of Fabulous Riches

During World War II people began to hear of this wild, rich land. The oil wells and refinery at Norman Wells, the large deposits of uranium in the Eldorado mine, discovered in 1930 on Great Bear Lake, the building of the Canada-Alaska Highway and of the Canol Project, and the laying down of many new airfields for war planes, all turned our eyes northward. Today we get gold from the Yellowknife mine on Great Slave Lake, and know that vast riches in tungsten, iron, coal, and many other useful minerals lie scattered through the region. Thousands of soldiers and aviators learned how to live comfortably here, and more and more of them will go back to seek their fortunes.

The HISTORY of NEWFOUNDLAND

Reading Unit No. 1

THE GREAT ISLAND OF THE FISHERMEN

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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ernment, 7-32
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Summary Statement

Newfoundland, though small and poor, has had an honorable history of self-reliance. Now, as part of Canada, she has a prom-

ising future, for she is important to the world by reason both of her fisheries and of her position as an air base.

THE HISTORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND



Photo by Publishers Photo Service

This is a scene at St. John's, Newfoundland. In the background are the tall masts of the fishing fleet. In the foreground are roofs strewn with branches—and

here the codfish will be laid out to dry. During the drying season hundreds of thousands of square feet of cod are thus exposed along the Newfoundland coast.

The GREAT ISLAND of the FISHERMEN

Newfoundland Is Famous for Many Other Things besides Its Codfish and Its Fine Scenery

OF COURSE everyone knows and loves the big shaggy dogs which are named after the island of Newfoundland (nū'fünd-länd'). But there are many other reasons for being interested in this northern land. It is a very large island, larger than Ireland and nearly as large as Great Britain, and for centuries it has been the center of the world's codfishing industry. Although not many people live in Newfoundland—only some 321,000—it was an independent British dominion until 1934, with a government of its own. In recent times men have discovered great mineral riches in the island. And besides all these things, the land is coming to be a famous vacation resort, whose

bays and rivers and rocky cliffs draw tourists from far and near.

These are by no means the only things that make Newfoundland interesting. Its position gives it importance, since it lies just about halfway between New York and London, the world's two largest cities. When a cable was laid to connect the United States and England by telegraph, it was laid by way of Newfoundland. When men began to fly across the Atlantic, they "took off" from, or landed in, Newfoundland. It is safe to say that its position will give this island more and more importance with the coming years. For there are many places that now seem out of the way which are

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going to play a much larger part in the world as men grow more numerous and civilization advances.

It was its fish which made Newfoundland such an early British settlement in America. Of course John Cabot, who probably landed at Bonavista in 1497, did not know about the armies of codfish waiting to be caught in the waters about the island; and neither did the Portuguese discoverer, Corte Real (kôr'tâ rā-äl'), who came to Newfoundland in 1500. But very soon the secret was known, and fishermen from France, England, Spain, and other nations began to seek out the rich fishing grounds in their little boats. Soon (1527) the fishers from Devonshire, in England, had big merchant ships to help them carry home their catch. By 1578 there were several hundred vessels every year on the Banks, as the wide, shelving coast of the island is called. These Banks are now the most famous fishing grounds in the world, and hundreds of fishermen flock there.

The early fishers did not live the year round on those foggy coasts. They used the island for drying their fish, and went home when they had taken the season's catch. But little by little settlements sprang up along the coast. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed from England with the intention of founding a colony. His venture was a complete failure, and several other attempts were hardly more successful. Yet by 1650 there were about two thousand people living in Newfoundland the year

round, in fifteen small settlements. The traders in fish, who controlled the island, did not want either settlers or a government. They preferred to have things all their own way. But the number of settlers slowly increased until finally, in 1728, a regular government was formed, with Captain Henry Osborne as its first head.

By 1763 Newfoundland boasted eight thousand inhabitants, with five thousand more who came to stay during the summer fishing season. In this year the coastal region of Labrador, with its great forests, was placed under the control of the Newfoundland government. There was a long dispute between Canada and Newfoundland over the boundary between Labrador and the province of Quebec. In 1927 the highest court of the British empire gave a decision in favor of Newfoundland, and now the island owns territory on the mainland three times as large as itself, valu-



Photo by London Library

It was a queer mixture of hardy seamen, ex-jailbirds, and raw adventurers who sailed with Sir Humphrey Gilbert to try to found the first English settlement in America. Here he is with a few of them, after they had landed (1583) where St. John's now stands. He found these men unmanageable as colonists, and soon all were on their way back to England. Sir Humphrey's ship was lost on the voyage, and all hands on her drowned.

able because of its timber, its vast deposits of iron, and Grand Falls, which is greater than Niagara and some day will produce a great deal of electric power.

During the Napoleonic wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century Newfoundland was very prosperous, and in the year 1814 there were seven thousand immigrants to the island. But the years which followed brought many disasters. Fire destroyed St. John's, the capital city (1846). About 1860 the fisheries became unprofitable, and men saw that farming must be developed if the

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Photo by Marine & Fisheries Dept., Ottawa

Such scene, to this are an everyday matter to the Newfoundland fishermen, though most of us, who do

island was to regain prosperity. Things took a turn for the better in 1864, when copper mining was begun. Then, in 1869, better catches of fish were brought in, and the skies grew brighter.

When the other British provinces formed the Dominion of Canada in 1867, they naturally hoped that Newfoundland would join with them. But Newfoundland had already won a government responsible to the legislature (1855), and was well enough satisfied as she was; so she refused. A generation later (1894-1895), when her financial affairs were in a bad way, she offered to join Canada if Canada would assume her debt of \$16,000,000. This time it was Canada that declined.

Newfoundland's public debt grew very fast. In 1927 it had risen to some \$260 per person. At this time Britain awarded Newfoundland the almost undeveloped territory of Labrador. But the world-wide depression of the 1930's followed and Newfoundland still suffered. In 1934 Britain finally made her a crown colony and took over the direction of her affairs.

World War II helped Newfoundland. One of the world's biggest landing fields was opened at what is now Gander, to serve bombers going to Europe, and the island be-

not come from the region of the famous Banks, would find such a wriggling pile of cod exciting enough.

came an important center on world airways. Besides, she began during the war to work her rich deposits of iron. By 1946 she was again on her feet, and in 1948 voted to join Canada as a tenth province—the union to take place on March 31, 1949.

The schools and the welfare of the fishermen have given grave concern in Newfoundland. The schools have been supported by public money but conducted by various religious bodies, and the system has not worked very well. The island has had a larger number of people who could not read and write than almost any other British possession with a white population. It has no university.

The Fishermen's Union

The problem of the fishermen has been their dependence on the merchants who buy their fish and sell them supplies. They have usually been in debt to these men, often receiving payment merely in goods, not in money, and being unable to save anything. Before World War I a great coöperative association, the Fishermen's Union, grew up to fight these conditions, and it has accomplished a good deal. As a part of the Dominion, with the help, stability, and security that this great nation can lend, Newfoundland's future is brighter.

(History of World War II, 6 493)

DOMINION OF CANADA

AREA

Total area, including the recently added province of Newfoundland: 3,843,000 square miles—100,000 square miles larger than Europe.

LOCATION

The Dominion of Canada occupies all the northern half of North America, with the exception of Alaska on the northwest. To the south lies the United States. On the west is the Pacific, on the east is the Atlantic. The southernmost point in Canada is at 42° N. Lat., which is the latitude of Rome. On the north the country reaches far beyond the Arctic Circle.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

The eastern part of Canada is largely covered with rolling hills. Newfoundland has rugged shores, and bogs and forests in the interior. Labrador, its dependency, is largely mountainous except along the coast. The most important uplands in this section are the Laurentian Highlands, which form the watershed between the rivers that flow into the St. Lawrence and those that flow into Hudson Bay. These hills belong to what is called the Canadian Shield, a rugged and often barren region torn by the glacier and strewn with lakes. It lies in a great arc around Hudson Bay and covers some 65% of Canada's mainland. The St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, Lake of the Woods, and Lakes Winnipeg, Athabaska, Great Slave, and Great Bear lie along its southern rim. In the Shield are most of Canada's rich mines, which make her the world's greatest producer of asbestos and also rich in silver, gold, coal, iron, petroleum, antimony, and other minerals.

Canada's eastern coast line is irregular and fringed with islands. The St. Lawrence is navigable as far as Montreal, a great grain-shipping port. The central region of Canada is covered by immense prairies, which rise in three great levels from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains. Here in a large triangle at the south are Canada's grasslands. Across this "prairie West," the Canadian wheat belt, lies a trough which drains to Hudson Bay through the Red River, Lake Winnipeg, and the Nelson River. The principal river of the prairies is the Saskatchewan.

West of the plains Canada is covered by high north-and-south mountain chains. Here the forests yield valuable timber, and magnificent scenery attracts the tourist. The chief rivers are the Fraser and the Columbia, both flowing to the Pacific. The great Mackenzie, flowing to the Arctic Ocean, drains the eastern face of the Rockies and the western edge of the Shield. In the Canadian North lie tundras, where

the ground, which thaws only on the surface in summer, is covered with grasses and other low plants.

CLIMATE

Generally the climate of Canada shows great extremes of heat and cold, but the dryness of the atmosphere makes both extremes more pleasant and healthful than similar temperatures in Europe. The Mackenzie River has a remarkably mild climate for its latitude—in fact farming is possible almost to the Arctic Ocean. The Pacific coast region is moist and mild, but the plains east of the Rockies are much drier, with warm west winds to raise the temperature at times. The central prairies and the eastern provinces have cold winters and short summers. The country east of Hudson Bay has the most severe climate of the Canadian mainland, but of populated Canada the climate of the prairies is most severe. The peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario is relatively mild. The mean annual temperature is 42° F. at Montreal, 44° at Toronto, 34° at Winnipeg, and 49° at Victoria. The latitude has much less influence on Canadian temperatures than one would expect. Lines connecting places with similar readings often run from southeast to northwest rather than east and west, especially in summer. Thus a place on the Mackenzie River in the Arctic will have the same temperatures as one in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. In the Far North the long days in summer make certain kinds of farming possible.

PEOPLE

Many European countries have representatives living in Canada, and there are Americans and Chinese and Japanese as well. Roughly about half of the people are of British stock. In the Province of Quebec the people are mostly of French descent and have kept their French speech and customs. In Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and in Labrador are Indians and Eskimos. Total population: about 14,000,000.

GOVERNMENT

The Dominion of Canada is a federation of provinces, much as the United States is a federation of states. The legislative body of the dominion is composed of the House of Commons—elected by the people for five years—and the Senate, nominated for life by the governor-general, who is appointed by the British crown. The prime minister, with his cabinet, advises the governor-general. The British dominions have been defined as "autonomous (or self-governing) communities within the British empire, united by a common allegiance to the crown."

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF CANADA

THE MARITIME PROVINCES

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island make up the Maritime Provinces. Nova Scotia has an area of 20,743 square miles and a population of 578,000; New Brunswick, an area of 27,473 square miles and a population of 458,000; and Prince Edward Island, an area of 2,184 square miles and a population of 95,000. The inhabitants of these provinces are largely of British and French descent, with the British in the majority. Whatever their background, most of them are Canadian-born. Throughout their history the Maritimes have given Canada some of her ablest statesmen and most distinguished scholars.

Lying on the eastern coast and almost completely surrounded by water, the region might be expected to have a temperate climate. But the Arctic Current,

which comes down from the north, brings extreme cold. Summer temperatures, however, rise to 85° and 90°, and this warmth, with ample rainfall, adapts the Maritimes to agriculture.

Prince Edward Island is low, with fertile red soil. Nova Scotia has fertile valleys to the west, but is rugged over much of its surface. New Brunswick is a rolling country. Its highest peak—over 2,600 feet—is in the east.

The principal occupations of the Maritimes are fishing, forestry, farming, and mining. Fish of many kinds, lumber and pulpwood, fruits, vegetables, poultry, dairy products, coal, and iron are the chief products. The ports of Halifax and St. John carry one-fifth of Canada's shipping.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF CANADA—Continued

QUEBEC

Quebec, with an area of 532,860 square miles, fills most of the country's eastern arm. Its northern tip reaches to Hudson Strait at the entrance of Hudson Bay. It has a population of almost 3½ million people, over four-fifths of whom are of French origin.

Temperatures in northern Quebec are extreme in winter. Southern Quebec has a temperate climate, though winter temperatures run low. Some 90% of the province is rugged, but the southern portion lies in the fertile St. Lawrence lowlands.

The livelihood of the people is closely linked with the St. Lawrence. Montreal, Canada's largest city and the world's greatest inland port, is the industrial center. Among occupations manufacturing is first. The aluminum plant at Arvida is the world's single largest aluminum producer. Paper and pulp, textiles, chemicals, tobacco, and railway machinery are also important. Agriculture is the occupation of second rank. Dairy products, sugar beets, and maple sugar and sirup are the leading farm crops. Quebec mines almost 70% of the world's asbestos and a fair amount of zinc, copper, and iron. A substantial part of its income derives from its attraction to tourists.

ONTARIO

Ontario, lying between the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay, is Canada's second largest province, with an area of 363,282 square miles. It ranks first in industry and in population, with over 4 million people, most of whom are of British stock.

Northern Ontario has extremely cold winters and a short growing season, but the southern part is temperate. The country is generally rugged or rolling.

Ontario owes much of its industrial development to its hydroelectric power and its closeness to the Great Lakes, by which coal and iron are shipped from the United States. It has many of the minerals important to industrial development. Nickel, gold, platinum, iron, and copper are among leading metals. Automobiles, bicycles, farm machinery, electrical supplies, silverware, wood, and paper are all products of Ontario's industries. Agriculture is important, too. Livestock, poultry and dairy products, fruits, and vegetables are produced.

Toronto, with its university, its publishing business, and its Conservatory of Music, is Canada's leading cultural center.

THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

Extending westward some 900 miles from Ontario to the Rockies are Canada's Prairie Provinces—Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Manitoba has an area of 219,723 square miles and a population of 730,000; Saskatchewan, an area of 237,975 square miles and a population of 896,000; and Alberta, an area of 248,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 800,000.

The Prairie Provinces are a continuation of the Great Plains of the United States, though they are rugged and wooded in the north. The Rockies extend into western Alberta. This province is warmed by the "chinook" winds and less subject to extreme cold than Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Known first to fur traders, the Prairie Provinces have been open to general development only since the late 1800's. Agriculture is the principal occupation and grains of all sorts are produced. The region is famous for its wheat and ranks as the world's greatest exporting center for this cereal. Cattle too are raised in great numbers. For industrial purposes Alberta has both coal and petroleum and Saskatchewan has coal. Such metals as gold, copper, zinc, silver, and cadmium are also mined in the area.

The prairie city of Winnipeg is the halfway point for two trans-continental railways and is a cosmopolitan center, with several foreign language newspapers.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

British Columbia, including Canada's entire Pacific Coast area, is her fastest-growing province. With an area of 366,000 square miles, it now has a population of a million people, about two-thirds of whom are of British descent.

Here is the mildest climate in Canada, the heaviest rainfall, and some of the most beautiful scenic spots. Forests of white pine, Douglas fir, hemlock, and red cedar make this province Canada's best producer of lumber. Lumbering is the leading occupation. Fish are abundant, too, and the salmon, herring, halibut, and cod caught here make up more than a third of Canada's total income from fish. Diversified farming is possible in the valleys—dairying, truck, and fruit farming. Grain growing has a promising future.

British Columbia has large quantities of lead and other minerals and almost unlimited hydroelectric power. Industrial development, already speeded by World War II, is very promising.

THE TERRITORIES (YUKON AND THE NORTHWEST)

Yukon, bordering Alaska, and the Northwest Territories, stretching across Canada and reaching to the North Pole, are too thinly populated to rank as provinces. Yukon, with an area of 205,346 square miles, has only 5,000 people; the Northwest Territories, with an area of 1,253,438 square miles, have only a little over 12,000 people. More than half the combined population of the two territories are Eskimos and Indians, whose ways of living are adapted to the cold which rules in these lands most of the time. The climate varies widely, however, and is least extreme in the Mackenzie River Valley.

Fur trading and the discovery of gold in the Yukon first attracted white men to the Arctic regions. More recently unmined wealth in such minerals as silver, lead, tungsten, pitchblende, and petroleum has focused attention there. Their strategic importance to transportation in the air age has also opened up a lively interest in these regions as the possible landing fields of globe-encircling planes. In the world of tomorrow the icy deserts of the Far North will have enormous importance.

NEWFOUNDLAND

The island of Newfoundland, with its dependency of Labrador on the eastern mainland, became a province of Canada in 1949. Newfoundland has an area of 41,700 square miles and a population of 315,000. Labrador, with only 5,500 people, has an area of 110,000 square miles. Most of the people of Newfoundland are of British descent, and nearly all those in Labrador are Indians and Eskimos.

Newfoundland has a steep rugged coastline. Labrador is somewhat mountainous. Newfoundland has a moist cool climate with no extremes in temperature; Labrador is much colder, with large areas icebound. Fishing is the most important occupation of Newfoundlanders. Pulp and paper making and the mining of iron, copper, lead, and stone are also carried on.

As the easternmost land area on the northern air route to Europe, Newfoundland can look forward to an assured "place in the sun." Its airports alone at Gander and Goose—make it a vital part of the Dominion, as do recent discoveries of iron in Labrador.

The GOVERNMENT of CANADA

Reading Unit No. 1

HOW CANADA GOVERNS HERSELF

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

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Ties that unite the Commonwealth of Nations, 7-33-D
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Why Parliament has those powers, 7-33-E
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Summary Statement

Canada's people, though varying in many ways, have set up a

democracy that brings them justice and freedom.

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA



Courtesy Prince Edward Island Travel Bureau

Here in the Confederation Chamber in the Provincial Building at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, the

first steps were taken in welding the scattered population of Canada into a single united people.

HOW CANADA GOVERNS HERSELF

An Outline of the System by Which One of the Great Free Peoples Brings Justice and Safety to Her Citizens

It is a long time now since the various colonies that had England as their mother began to grow up and leave home—as long ago as 1776, when the first American colonies broke away. That time there was a bitter quarrel and plenty of blood was shed. The two countries now are the best of friends, but, as the United States of America, those children of Great Britain have gone their own way ever since.

It was different when most of the other colonies set out for themselves. Some of them—Canada and Australia, for instance—had really been mature nations for a long time, and when they finally became independent of the mother country they had her

love and her blessing as they took leave. But the old ties of habit and affection have always held, and as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations the separate “dominions,” as they are called, still have a deep feeling for the mother country and many interests in common with her, even though they all are independent nations in full charge of their own affairs. It is much as we should expect to find it in any right-minded family of individuals.

The most important of the ties that bind the whole family together is their king, who is king of each of the separate countries and represents to its people the power and dignity of its own government as well as the far-flung

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majesty of the Commonwealth of free nations to which they belong. To be sure, the office of the king varies in the different dominions, but in Canada he is king as he is in England. In Canada he acts on the advice of the Canadian ministers—or cabinet—not on the advice of the British cabinet, but he commands the same love and respect in Ottawa as in London.

Another strong tie is the habit of discussion which has grown up among the dominions over the years. Like the members of an ordinary family, they consult one another on matters of interest to them all. During World War II, for example, the prime ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa conferred frequently with one another throughout the struggle, and together worked out plans for victory. But since these dominions are independent nations, the British government could make no decisions affecting their armed forces without the consent of their governments.

The important thing to remember about the British Commonwealth, then, is that it is a free association. Each of the members—the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon—governs itself, and no one of them can be made to take any step without the consent of its government. They make their own declarations of war and send their own representatives as ambassadors to foreign lands.

A Nation in Her Own Right

Canada, oldest of them all, has her own Department of External Affairs, and sends ambassadors and ministers to represent her in foreign countries and high commissioners to represent her in the other dominions and in the United Kingdom. She handles her business with the government of the United Kingdom through her own secretary of state for external affairs and not through the governor-general—who is the king's representative in Canada. Like most of the other members of the Commonwealth she is a member of the United Nations, and in 1947 she was elected to its Security Council.

But though Canada was an independent nation, until 1949 the British Parliament had to give approval to amendments to the British North America Act. And civil law cases might be sent on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the high court of appeal in London. Canadian and other dominion judges were members of the council, along with British judges. We naturally ask why it was that, when Canada was entirely self-governing in other ways, there were still those two limitations on her political power. To answer this we shall have to understand why they were agreed upon in the first place.

Guarding the Rights of the French

Canada, as we know, is a country with an English-speaking majority but a very large French-speaking population. Before the French of Canada would give their consent to the British North America Act—giving Canada her independent government—they wanted to be sure that their rights were going to be protected. They were afraid that their language, customs, and beliefs, so different from those of the English in Canada, would be wiped out by the English-speaking majority. They thought that they should have the right to appeal to some authority outside the Dominion to protect their special interests. The removal of the limitations showed the old mistrust to be dead.

As for the matter of amendments, the approval of the British Parliament was long purely formal. When the various Canadian groups finally decided how they wished to amend their constitution, the British Parliament gave up this power (1949).

As we have seen, the presence of two language groups in Canada led to certain special provisions for deciding cases in civil law and for amending the constitution. It also influenced the form of Canada's government. For the Canadian founding fathers, who met together in 1867 to draw up a constitution for their new nation, were eager to safeguard the rights of the French-speaking people. And they also remembered that there was a strong feeling of local independence in what are known as the Maritime Provinces—along the eastern seaboard. So

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they chose a federal system of government, in this way making it possible for each province, faced with its own problems, to decide them for itself.

So Canada, like the United States, is a federation of a number of different provinces, with the Dominion government and the provincial governments sharing all powers



Photos Courtesy Canadian National Film Board

Here we have two residents of Canada each one a chief in his own way. Above is Louis Stephen St. Laurent, who became prime minister in 1948. At the right is a western Indian chief in full tribal regalia. Though they are poles apart in background and culture, the welfare of each is a matter of concern to the Canadian government.

between them. The constitution of the United States, however, after listing the powers of Congress, the Supreme Court, and the president, says, in the Tenth Amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, or to the people." These are what we call "residuary (rê-zîd'û-â-rî) powers," and they have become more and more important as our modern age has brought into our daily lives changes of which the framers of the constitution never dreamed.

In Canada these important residuary

powers are left to the Dominion government and not to the provinces-- just the opposite of the provision for them in the constitution of the United States. At least, that is what the framers of the British North America Act intended when they provided that the Dominion Parliament should "make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada, in . . . all matters not . . . assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces." What actually happened, however, is that the courts, especially the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London,



have, ever since around 1900, decided in favor of the provinces except in time of war or other great emergency. When, in 1940, the Dominion government wanted to insure people throughout Canada against unemployment, it was necessary to amend the British North America Act. Otherwise the courts might have ruled that this was a job for each province and not for the federal government.

The unusual thing about the British North America Act is that it provides for two sets of powers which are quite separate from each

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other. These are supposed to cover all possible fields of lawmaking. The Dominion Parliament alone has power to regulate trade and commerce, banking, criminal law, patents and copyrights, and a number of other matters of general interest to the country.

The Powers of the Provinces

The provinces, on the other hand, control the public lands within their borders, supervise property and civil rights, can, among other things, amend their own constitutions, and take care of "all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province." Education is in the hands of the provinces, but the Dominion and the provinces share the power to regulate agriculture and immigration. On the other hand, the Dominion Cabinet can reject laws of the provincial legislatures within a year after their passage — though as a matter of fact it rarely does so now.

We might suppose that there would be a good deal of friction between the Dominion and provincial governments. Actually, the various governments often get together to pass joint laws in order to take care of pressing problems, and they hold conferences and make agreements among themselves. Besides, much of the constitution is not written down, but is based on the common law and customs which Canada, like the United States, inherited from England. This part of the constitution is not so rigid as the provisions of the British North America Act, and it makes the whole business of government much easier to adapt to conditions than it would seem to be at first glance.

We have referred to the "Dominion government." How is it organized? In the first place, the executive and legislative powers are not so clearly separated as they are in the United States. As in Great Britain, government is "by king in Parliament," and the king's ministers—unlike the cabinet in the United States—are members of Parliament.

The king is represented in Canada by a governor-general. Just as the king does in England, he calls Parliament together, closes its sessions, and dissolves it when a new general election is held. He also gives his consent to the bills it passes.

But he does not do any of these things on his own initiative. This is because the king of Canada is what is called a "constitutional monarch," who reigns but does not rule—that is, he can make no laws and has no real governmental power. He acts only on the advice of his ministers. The governor-general is merely his representative in Canada, and therefore acts entirely on the advice of the Canadian ministers, who represent the majority party in the House of Commons and therefore the views of the majority of the people of Canada.

In the same way the king acts on the advice of the Canadian ministers when he appoints the governor-general. With only one exception the governors-general of Canada have been British peers at the time of their appointment—that is, they were barons or of still higher rank. Usually they have been men of high attainment. They serve for five years. The post is one of great honor, for although the governor-general has little real power, he represents the crown that links the British Commonwealth together.

It is the business of Parliament to make laws and vote the money necessary for carrying on the federal government. It meets in Ottawa, the federal capital, and is made up of two houses, the Senate and the House of Commons. The Senate, or upper house, has 96 members, each of whom must own at least \$4,000 worth of property. Senators are appointed for life by the governor-general, who follows the recommendations of the prime minister of the Dominion Cabinet.

What the Senate Does

Originally the Senate had as great powers as the House of Commons, except that it could not originate bills appropriating money. But over the years its powers have dwindled. By custom it amends bills passed by the House of Commons—provided they are not money bills, over which it has no power. This change of status is only natural in a democratic country, for the Senate is not an elected body and its members are therefore not directly responsible to the voters.

The House of Commons, on the other hand, is elected directly by all Canadian citizens,

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men and women alike, who are over twenty-one years of age. A few small groups of persons cannot vote. Among them are judges, prisoners, Eskimos, and Indians who live on reservations and who are not veterans of either world war. The members of the House serve as long as Parliament lasts, which must not be more than five years.

Few Parliaments last so long. Usually they are "dissolved," and a new general election is held, well before the five-year period is up. As a rule the majority of the members belong to either the Liberal Party or the Progressive Conservative Party. In recent years a number of smaller parties, such as the socialist Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, have won a number of seats in the House of Commons.

Each member of the House represents an electoral district called a "riding" or "constituency" of about 45,000 persons. The number of representatives from each province depends on its population, and by law seats are redistributed every ten years to take care of shifts in population. Prince Edward Island, the smallest province, is given four seats by the constitution, although it has less than 90,000 inhabitants. One member is elected from the Yukon Territory. As in Great Britain, members of the House of Commons need not live in the districts they represent.

The Prime Minister

The House of Commons is more than a legislative body. The leader of the majority party in the House becomes prime minister. As such, he is both the legislative leader and the chief executive of the Dominion—corresponding to the president of the United States. He appoints the members of the Cabinet—all but one or two, who are senators, are members of the House—and they in turn are in charge of the various federal executive departments.

Those governmental departments are Veterans' Affairs, Justice, Reconstruction, and Supply, Agriculture, Trade and Commerce, Secretary of State, External Affairs, Labor, Public Works, Post Office, National Defense, Mines and Resources, Transport, National Health and Welfare, Finance, National Revenue, and Fisheries. There are

usually cabinet members who are not in charge of departments. They are called ministers without portfolio. As a rule, the prime minister chooses his cabinet so that it will represent the various regions and interests of the country. In fact, that was the original purpose of the Senate as well.

When Does a Cabinet Resign?

The prime minister and the members of the Cabinet must defend their actions and the direction of their departments before the House. If the House decides that it is not satisfied with the management of the executive departments or with government policies, it may vote that it no longer has "confidence" in the Cabinet. If the Cabinet is defeated on a vote of confidence in the House or if a bill it has introduced is voted down, it may resign or, without resigning, may advise that Parliament be dissolved. If it resigns, a new Cabinet is chosen or Parliament is dissolved.

Whenever Parliament is dissolved a general election is held. Because a new vote might bring the opposition party into power, the members of the majority, or "government," party in the House practically never force a vote of confidence or vote down a government bill. The prime minister may call a general election when he chooses, and this power also influences members of the majority party to support government measures.

This is what we call "responsible" or "parliamentary" government. The Canadian system is modeled on that of Britain, and many of its features are to be found in European governments also. It is quite different from the government of the United States, where the president and Congress are elected separately and for a fixed term during which they must serve, and have separate and distinct powers. Moreover, the president may belong to a different party from the majority of the House of Representatives or of the Senate, whereas in Canada the chief executive—that is, the prime minister—is always the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons.

During the war the business of the House of Commons and the Cabinet increased enormously. Many matters which the provinces

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had always handled, and many new problems as well, had to have federal action. The House therefore passed a good deal of emergency legislation—laws regulating prices and wages, controlling scarce materials, and setting up rules for collective bargaining and for the arbitration of disputes in war industries.

The Dominion Parliament also reached out into the field of social security, with national unemployment insurance (1940), the National Physical Fitness Act for giving aid to provinces which set up satisfactory programs of physical fitness (1943), and the Family Allowances Act, granting fixed monthly allowances to mothers for their children under sixteen years of age (1944). Some of the wartime laws have expired or will expire when the period of postwar readjustment is over.

In many cases departments of the Dominion government have had the task of helping and guiding the provinces, which have continued to do much of the actual carrying out of the laws. For example, the Dominion Department of Labor, which is in charge of the Vocational Training Coördination Act (1942), allots money to the provinces for their separate programs for training people for jobs. The National Physical Fitness Act works in much the same way.

Who Owns Canada's Railways?

It has been the custom for the Dominion Government to have charge of international affairs and of matters affecting two or more provinces. Under the second heading come the railroads. Canada has two great railway systems. One, the Canadian Pacific Railway, is a private company. The other, the Canadian National Railways, is owned by the Dominion government and operated by a public corporation, the Canadian National Railways.

The federal government also owns the Trans-Canada Air Lines, the country's transcontinental and international airline. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, too, is owned by the Dominion. The owners of radio sets help to maintain it by paying a small license fee. In this way they are able to do away with much of the radio advertising

that would otherwise seem to be necessary.

One of the most interesting federal departments is the Department of Mines and Resources. Through its National Parks Bureau it has charge of the 30,000 square miles of national parks, which attract thousands of visitors each year. Through its Indian Affairs Branch it takes care of the many thousands of Indians who live on reservations—though the Department of National Health and Welfare looks after the health of the Indians. Local agents of the department administer each reservation. Usually the agent is assisted by a physician, a clerk, a farming teacher, a matron, a constable, and a stockman. On some reservations there are also teachers of handicrafts or fur farming.

When Indians May Vote

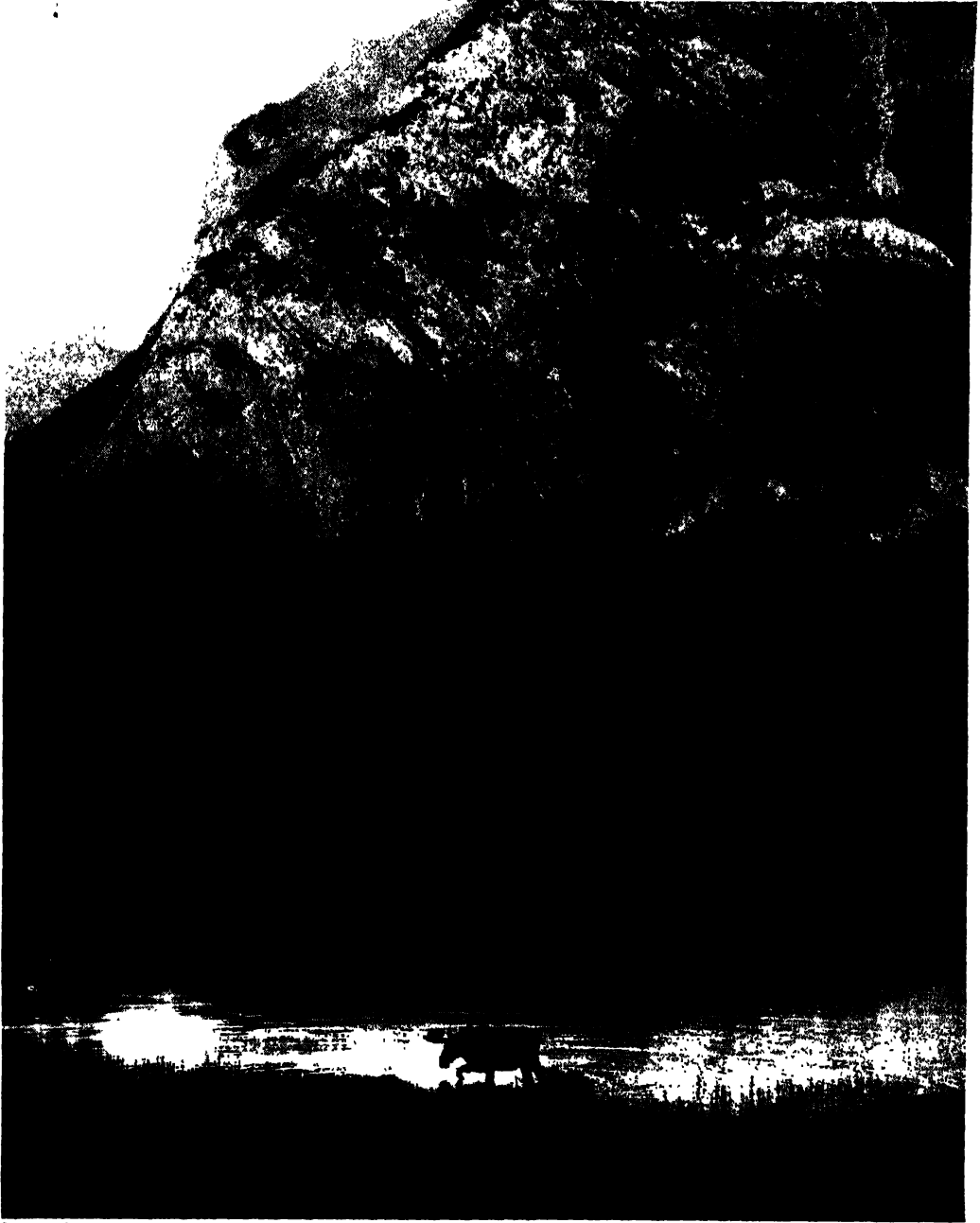
Reservation Indians do not vote. They are wards of the Canadian government, which furnishes them with aid and advice. Other Indians, who have left their reservations and live in Canadian towns or farming communities, vote and are in all respects full Canadian citizens. Under Canadian law they are not classified as Indians.

Another division of the Department of Mines and Resources—the Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch—is in charge of the affairs of the Canadian Eskimos. It maintains permanent stations, with physicians in attendance, in the Eskimo districts. In addition patrols of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the radio, the steamships of the Canadian Eastern Arctic Patrol, and motor vessels keep the government in touch with its Eskimo wards.

Although there is a large body of federal law in Canada there is no separate federal judicial system. There are two federal courts, the Court of Exchequer (ěks-chěk'ěr) and Admiralty, and the Supreme Court of Canada. In nearly all cases they serve only as courts of appeal from the provincial courts. The Supreme Court is made up of a chief justice and five associates, who are called puisne (pū'nī) justices. At least two are French-speaking judges familiar with the legal system of the Province of Quebec.

Federal law includes all criminal law as

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA



Courtesy National Film Board

The most beautiful scenery in North America is in the Canadian Rockies. It was there, in Banff National

well as much of the commercial code. Like the basic law of the United States it rests largely on English common law. So does the law of eight of the nine provinces. In Quebec, however, civil law is modeled in large part after old French law—the *Coutume de*

Park, that this superb picture was taken. Such preserves protect natural beauty and wild life forever.

Paris (kōō'tüm' dē pā'rē'), or custom law of Paris—and the more recent Code Napoleon, which Napoleon I drew up in France early in the nineteenth century. In this respect Quebec is like the State of Louisiana, which has laws based on French law.

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

The provincial courts enforce both federal and provincial laws, and each province has its own attorney general. Police magistrates and justices of the peace are appointed by the provincial governments. The provinces are in charge of their own courts, but no province has the right to bar appeals from the courts unless Parliament has itself limited the right of appeal.

The Provincial Governments

The form of government in the provinces is in many ways like that of the Dominion itself. Each province has a lieutenant governor, appointed by the governor-general for a five-year term. In this, as in other matters, the governor-general of course follows the advice of the Dominion government. The lieutenant governor is the Crown's representative in the province, but the real head of the government is the premier (*prē'mī-ēr*) of the province, who is the leader of the majority party in the provincial legislature. His cabinet is called the Executive Council. All the provinces except Quebec have one-chamber legislatures called legislative assemblies. Quebec has an upper house called the Legislative Council, whose members are appointed for life.

The legislative assemblies are elected by the vote of the people in each province. As we have seen, they have wide powers to make laws in many fields. But if they pass laws which the Dominion government considers unwise, it may reject such laws within a year's time.

Each province has a department of labor, which administers provincial laws regulating such matters as factory and mine inspection, wages and hours, the work of women and children, apprenticeship rules, and workmen's compensation. Each province has, too, a department of agriculture, a field which the provinces share with the Dominion government. The provinces also maintain their own public parks, and some of them have public power plants. In Ontario, for instance, power is a public utility, administered by the Ontario Hydroelectric Commission. The provinces operate many welfare services and oversee the work of local and private social agencies.

Over a third of Canada is wooded, and except in the Maritime Provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island—ninety percent of the forest lands belong to the Crown—that is to say, to the government. Most of the forests are controlled by the provinces in which they are located. The provinces are careful to conserve the forest resources, leasing to lumbermen the right to cut trees under supervision.

In most of the provinces the public schools are divided along religious lines. The educational system varies from province to province, but usually the schools are supported partly by local taxes and partly by grants from the provincial departments of education. The right of each religion to have its own schools is guaranteed by the British North America Act. In certain provinces such schools are supported out of taxes provided they were getting that support at the time when the provinces became part of the Dominion confederation.

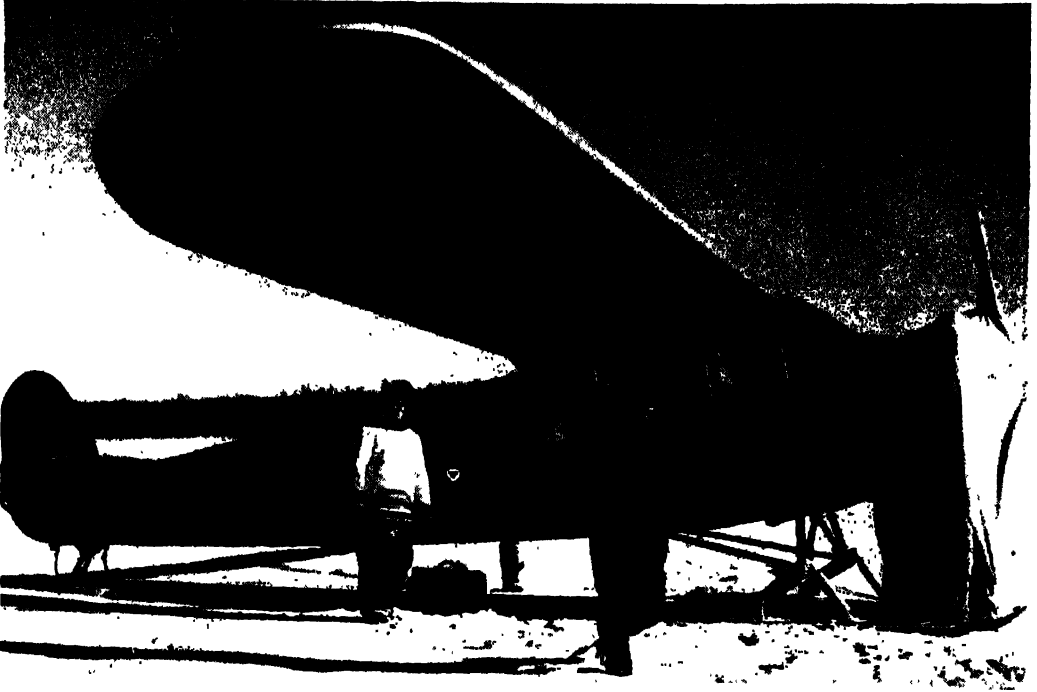
The Far North

The two Canadian territories—Northwest and the Yukon—are not governed as the provinces are. The people of the Yukon elect a territorial council of three members, which corresponds to the provincial legislative assemblies. There is also a controller, whose duties are like those of a cabinet. The government of the Yukon, however, does not enjoy the wide powers of the provincial governments. Crown lands in the territory, for example, are administered by the Dominion government.

Government in the Northwest Territories is less advanced than in the Yukon. There are no elected representatives, and ordinances are enacted by an appointed commissioner and council of six members. They act only under instructions from the governor-general of Canada or the Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch of the Dominion Department of Mines and Resources.

The provincial governments are in charge of local government. Incorporated municipalities, however, have some degree of home rule. There are nearly 4,000 of these municipalities, both rural and city, in Canada. In general the provinces are divided into coun-

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA



From the Far North a young patient has been flown in by the Canadian government. She will be taken to a

hospital, where she will have the best of medical care. This is a regular service for people living in the wilds.

ties, which are subdivided into townships and school districts. In some provinces the counties are merely judicial districts, but in others the counties are not divided into townships but themselves serve as units of local government.

What Rural Governments Do

Rural government varies from province to province. In Ontario the property holders in each township elect officials called "reeves" to serve for one year. They are assisted by several deputy reeves, also elected, and together they take care of local matters. They keep roads and bridges in repair, collect school and county taxes, and meet with the reeves of other townships in the county as well as with those of incorporated towns and villages in county councils which handle the business of the county as a whole.

In Alberta the property holders of each municipal district elect a council of six members, and the council chooses one of its members to serve as reeve. In Quebec some counties are divided into "parishes" originally a parish was a unit served by a single

priest—and others into "townships." Each has an elected mayor, and the mayors of the county form the county council. The head of the county council is called the warden or *préfet* (prā'fě'). In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the voters elect the county councils directly, while in tiny Prince Edward Island the Legislative Assembly itself handles local affairs in the rural communities.

The voters of incorporated villages, towns, and cities elect their own reeves or mayors and councils. In the larger cities the councilors are called aldermen. Usually they serve for one year, but in Montreal and Quebec mayors and aldermen are elected for two-year terms. Voters in local elections in many towns and cities must own property. Usually the amount is small, but the electorate is nonetheless restricted in comparison with that for parliamentary elections, in which all adult citizens may vote.

We have described some of the variations in local government. These are differences in form only. The purpose of Canadian government is always the same—to serve the needs of the Canadian people.

NORTH AMERICA

AREA AND LOCATION

North America has an area of 8,300,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean and an arm of the Atlantic called the Gulf of Mexico, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, and on the west by the Pacific and Bering Sea. The most northerly point on the mainland is Cape Murchison, on the peninsula of Boothia in Canada, at $71^{\circ} 50' \text{ N. Lat.}$ The southernmost point is in Panama, at $7^{\circ} 15' \text{ N. Lat.}$ The mainland of the continent extends from Cape Prince of Wales in Alaska, at $167^{\circ} 21' \text{ W. Long.}$, to Cape Charles in Labrador, at $55^{\circ} 40' \text{ W. Long.}$ Labrador is 1,900 miles from Ireland and San Francisco is 5,300 miles from Yokohama. North America is separated from Asia by narrow Bering Strait, and it is connected with South America by the Isthmus of Panama.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

North America has its greatest breadth between Labrador and British Columbia, where it is a little over 3,000 miles wide. The northern coasts of this great continent are very much indented from Alaska to Labrador, with many islands lying offshore. The largest of the islands is Greenland, but Baffin Island, Victoria, and Ellesmere Island are all sizable. Off the east coast lie Newfoundland, Long Island, the Bahamas, the Bermudas, and the Greater and Lesser Antilles. The west coast has fewer islands, and there they lie for the most part off the coasts of Canada and Alaska. Among them Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands are among the most important. The Aleutians stretch in a long chain from Alaska across the North Pacific. On the north coast of the continent Hudson Bay reaches far into Canada. The east coast is indented by numerous bays and gulfs—the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Long Island Sound, Delaware Bay, Chesapeake Bay, and the Gulf of Mexico. Mexico is cut on the west by the narrow arm of the Gulf of California, but north of that the west coast is largely unbroken as far as the Strait of Juan de Fuca. North of this strait the coast is indented by many fjords and fringed with islands. All the arms of the sea that we have mentioned create the peninsulas of the continent—Alaska, Nova Scotia, Florida, Yucatan, and Lower California.

A great mountain system called the Cordillera runs along the whole length of the continent near the west coast. In it are a large number of separate ranges—the Coast Range near the ocean, the Sierra Nevada and the Cascade Range a little farther inland in the United States, and eastward from them the high plateaus and rugged mountain chains that belong to the Rockies of Canada and the United States. The Cordillera reaches its greatest breadth in the United States, and there it has numerous peaks over 14,000 ft. high, most of them in California and Colorado. The Cordillera is narrower in Canada, but it extends far north into Alaska, where it has the highest peak on the continent—Mount McKinley (20,300 ft. high). The mountains of Central America belong to a formation that extends around the Caribbean; in the east it is sunk below the sea, and only the peaks rise above the water as the islands of the Antilles.

East of the western mountain system a great central plain extends the full length of the continent, through Canada and the United States. Except where it is broken by the low Ozark and Ouachita mountains in the south-central part of the United States it reaches all the way to the mountains that lie near the eastern coast of the continent. For a considerable distance east of the Rockies the land is high and the climate dry; this portion of the great central region is known as the High Plains. East of them the land—in what is known as the Prairie Plains—is lower and very fertile. The mountains along the eastern coast are called the Appalachians. Here too are a number of famous chains

—the Great Smokies near the southern end, the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies farther north, the Catskills in New York, and the Green Mountains and the White Mountains in New England. Throughout its full length the Appalachian system is divided into an eastern and a western part by what is known as the Great Valley; and on the side toward the plains it is bordered by a plateau. In eastern Canada is an upland region known as the Laurentian Highlands, the oldest part of our continent. It reaches down into the United States in the Adirondacks in New York and the Superior oldland in northern Wisconsin. East of the Appalachians a plain slopes down to the sea.

In the west most of the rivers empty into the Pacific. A large part of Alaska and of the Yukon Province of Northwestern Canada is drained by the Yukon River, which empties into Bering Sea. Farther south the Fraser River from Canada and the Columbia from the Northwestern United States have their outlets in the Pacific—as do the San Joaquin and Sacramento in California. The great Colorado drains a vast region east of the Sierra Nevada and empties into the Gulf of California. The northern part of the great central plain is drained into the Arctic Ocean by the Coppermine, the Mackenzie, and other streams, or into Hudson Bay by the Nelson River. In the east the plain is drained by the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence into the Atlantic; and its southern portion has the mighty Mississippi, which after gathering up many tributaries, finds an outlet in the Gulf of Mexico. Shorter rivers like the Potomac, the Delaware, and the Hudson drain the eastern coast. Besides the Great Lakes the continent has many smaller lakes.

CLIMATE

North America north of the 60th parallel of latitude has what is known as a polar climate. The soil is covered with snow nearly all the year; the winters are long; for months the sun never rises above the horizon and there is little moisture. South of this parallel the winters are still severe but the summers are warmer and cereals can be raised. Most of Canada has great extremes of heat and cold, but the air is dry and the climate more pleasant and healthful than the temperatures indicate. The warmest region is on the west coast, where the Pacific winds temper the cold in Southern Alaska and bring a climate like that of England to Vancouver Island and British Columbia; the summers are even warmer and moister than in England. The Mackenzie River has remarkably mild temperatures for its latitude, and northern Manitoba, because of the wind called the "chinook," has a climate like that of the St. Lawrence Valley. On the east coast the temperatures are much colder. The region around Newfoundland has the most moisture, and the rain decreases toward the interior. In the United States the differences in climate between the north and the south are no greater than between the east and the west. The warm Pacific winds bring the west coast a much milder climate than the east coast has. The temperatures there do not drop much as one goes north, and the extremes of winter and summer vary no more than 20 degrees. But the Pacific winds do not reach far inland because of the mountains, and most of the rest of the United States has severe winters and hot summers. As far east as the prairies the country is dry, with wide stretches of desert; but the Great Lakes, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Atlantic Ocean keep the rest of the country supplied with moisture. In parts of the United States and Mexico temperatures rise as high as anywhere on the globe. On the vast high plateau of Mexico there is never any great heat or cold, but the lowlands are hot and unhealthy, with heavy rainfall. Central America has a tropical climate, with great heat on the coasts and heavy rainfall. The higher interior is cooler. The Antilles have less heat and heavy rainfall.

NORTH AMERICA—Continued

DIVISIONS

Independent states: In North America are Canada, the United States, and Mexico; in Central America are Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama; in the West Indies are Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.

British possessions: the Bahamas, Jamaica, the Bermudas, British Honduras, and some of the Lesser Antilles (in the Leeward Islands—Antigua, Dominica, certain of the Virgin Islands, and various others; in the Windward Islands—Grenada, St. Vincent, and others). Canada recognizes the British king as head of her government, but he is without power.

French possessions: St. Pierre, Miquelon, Martinique, Guadeloupe and dependencies

Possessions of the United States: Alaska, the Canal Zone, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John

Possessions of the Netherlands: Curaçao

Possessions of Denmark: Greenland

PEOPLE

Most of the inhabitants of North America belong to the white race; in Canada 97% of the population is white, and in the United States 89%. Mexico, Central America, and the Antilles have small percentages of white stock, and are occupied by people of mixed Spanish, Indian, and Negro blood. Canadians are mostly English and French. In the far north are Eskimos and other Indians, and also a number of Chinese and Japanese. A small percentage of the population of the United States is Indian; a somewhat larger number are Asiatics; and a little less than 10% are Negroes.

LANGUAGE

English is the language of most of North America. It is spoken by the inhabitants of the United States; by the English of Canada, who are the great majority of the population there; and in the islands under British control. French is the language of the French Canadians; it is spoken in Haiti also and in the islands under French control. Spanish is spoken in Mexico, Central America, and in most of the Antilles.

RELIGION

Since most of the inhabitants of North America are of European stock, the prevailing religion is Christianity. Over half the population of the continent belongs to the Protestant churches, and somewhat over 40% to the Roman Catholic church. The rest are Jews and Greek Catholics, who live chiefly in the large cities of the Eastern United States. The Protestants are most numerous in Canada, where the majority of the people are English, and in the United States.

MINERALS

North America is very rich in minerals of all kinds. It supplies 82% of the world's petroleum, 49% of the iron, 43% of the coal, 62% of the copper, 62% of the lead, 49% of the zinc, 90% of the nickel, 72% of the silver, 25% of the gold, 85% of the asbestos, 44% of the aluminum, 28% of the salt, and half of the manganese and natural phosphates. Canada has almost a monopoly of the world's nickel supply, produces a small amount of the coal, 6% of the lead, occupies fourth place among the nations in gold mining, and is third in the mining of platinum. Mexico leads the world in silver, producing 38% of the world supply; it has sixth place among the gold-producing countries, and produces 11% of the petroleum and 10% of the lead. The United States is the greatest oil-producing country in the world, and also has first place in the production of coal. It supplies 59% of the copper used

in the world and leads the world in its supplies of lead, iron, and zinc. It follows Mexico in producing silver and also is the third greatest gold-producing country. It controls the world supply of sulphur, natural phosphates, and manganese. Half of the salt used in the world comes from this country. Central America is thought to possess valuable deposits of minerals, but at present the production is very low. The only coal deposits of any importance are in Guatemala, on the Atlantic side.

VEGETATION

The frozen lands of the Arctic have the usual mosses and lichens and low-growing shrubs springing up on their surface in summer, and the areas to the south are rich in hemlock, spruce, and firs. Both Canada and the United States are heavily forested; as one goes south the hardwoods appear, and in the southern states the yellow pine. The western prairies are covered with grass or cultivated cereals, but in the drier regions of the West cacti, yucca, and other thorny desert shrubs are the only vegetation. Central America has tropical forests which produce rosewood, mahogany, and other cabinet woods, as well as dyewoods. Guatemala is famous for having the tree from which chicle for chewing gum is extracted. North America supplies one-third of world's crop of cereals. It furnishes twenty-five percent of the oats, sixty percent of the corn, and large quantities of barley. Little rye is raised. In the production of tobacco, also, this continent has a leading position, with twenty-five percent of the world crop. It leads the world in cotton. The great wheat belt—where barley is also raised—is Southern and Northwestern Canada and the northwestern states of the Union. Corn is the chief product of the north-central states; and farther south we find also apples, hay, oats, and potatoes. Tobacco, rice, and cotton are the chief products of the southern states. The sugar beet is grown in California, Utah, Colorado, and also in Canada, and sugar cane on the coasts of Louisiana. The United States is famous for its fruits. The chief products of Central America are coffee, pineapples, sugar cane, cacao beans, and bananas.

ANIMALS

In the wide unsettled tracts of Canada and the United States live many fine specimens of animal life. Here are the Rocky Mountain goat, the Big Horn or mountain sheep, the moose, bison, antelope, grizzly bear, Alaskan brown bear, the musk ox, and the timber wolf. Among the smaller animals are the gopher, marmot, weasel, beaver, rabbit, squirrel, porcupine, fox, wild cat, and the opossum. The musk ox is an American animal, found nowhere else in the world. Other species found only on this continent are the mountain lion and the skunk, valuable for its fur. The alligator lives in the streams of Florida. The domestic animals are the sheep, goat, cow, pig, and horse; there is one species of native hog, found in Texas. Donkeys and mules are used in Central America and Mexico as beasts of burden; and the working animal of the frozen north is the reindeer, which draws the sleds of the Eskimos. The animals of Central America, which resemble those of South America, include the cougar, fox, one species of bear, the tapir, and the blood-sucking or vampire bat. There are also various kinds of lizards, and among the snakes the boa is common. Other snakes of the continent are the rattlesnake, the moccasin, and the copperhead, all of them poisonous. Both the Atlantic and the Pacific are rich in fish. The salmon of the west coast and the cod and oysters of the east are famous. Northern waters also produce the seal, which is valuable for its fur. It should be said that seals do not abound in Hudson Bay; the fur called "Hudson seal" is really some less valuable fur—such as muskrat—dyed black.

The HISTORY of the ESKIMOS ..

Reading Unit

No. 1

IN THE LAND OF THE NORTHERN LIGHTS

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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IN THE LAND OF THE NORTHERN LIGHTS



Photo by the National Museum

IN the LAND of the NORTHERN LIGHTS *How the Sturdy Eskimo Has Learned to Be Cheerful during a Night That Is Six Months Long, and to Be Happy though the Thermometer Stays at Sixty Degrees below Zero*

HOW should you like to live in a snow igloo and dine on walrus meat that you had hunted across snowy ice floes with a spear? It sounds as if it might be delightfully exciting for a time, but doubtless most of us would soon be longing for our warm furnace-heated homes and the cook's best chops with fresh green peas. Yet the Eskimos seem to like their wintry land and to lead jolly enough lives among the arctic snows.

The Eskimos' name for themselves is Inuit, and they probably are related to the American Indians. They live in many tiny settlements dotted along the northern edge of the North American continent from Labrador and Greenland on the east to Alaska and the Yukon on the west, with a few across the sea in Siberia. Some of them, especially those to the east, have mixed with white people for centuries. Others have seldom or never seen a white man. Of course the "civilized" Eskimos have lost many of their former ways.

We suppose that the Eskimos have lived less than two thousand years in their northern home. They probably came across from Asia along with various Indian tribes, nobody knows how long ago, and may have gone south as far as Lake Superior, where they seem to have been living about the time of Christ. When they moved northward again, they seem to have split into two groups, one going east and one west. These two groups are still similar in language and habits, but not quite the same.

Before the white man came there were perhaps a hundred thousand Eskimos living in the far north. But the white men brought their diseases along with them, and many of the Eskimos caught these diseases, especially measles, and died of them. In 1928 there were only about thirty thousand Eskimos left, and many of those were partly white. Whole tribes had been almost wiped out. Now, however, the Eskimos seem to be increasing once more.

No one can say positively that Eskimos

IN THE LAND OF THE NORTHERN LIGHTS

do this or think that, for they do not all act or believe alike. A few tribes make snow houses such as we imagined ourselves living in; but more live in huts pieced out of earth, stone, wood, skins, and even bone. Some go to sea in their kayaks (ki'äk), or light skin boats, to fish and spear seals or walrus; others hunt the caribou in the great northern forests. Some use modern rifles like those of the white men; others still have only bows and arrows tipped with copper or stone.

But all of them live so far north that they cannot get a livelihood by farming. The arctic winter is long and dark and deadly cold, and the summer only a sunny interlude before another winter. So the Eskimo lives by his hunting and fishing. How he gets along so well without vegetables is a problem we must leave our diet experts to solve—if they can. The very name Eskimo, given to the Innuits by neighboring Indians, means "people who eat meat raw."

Another thing in which all Eskimos are alike is their language. It is amazingly complicated and hard to learn. A noun, like "baby," that has only four forms in English—baby, baby's, babies, babies'—in Eskimo might take any of 150 separate forms. And there are all of 350 forms for a verb like "see"! As we may well imagine, very few white men have learned the Eskimo language. But there is a jargon—made up of a few hundred words from Eskimo, English, Danish, and other languages—which is used in trade.

A queer thing about the Eskimo speech is that most of the words are definite; there

are very few words for general ideas. The Eskimo speaks of "red" and "blue," but not of "color"; he has words for "iron" and "copper," but no word for "metal." Another queer thing is that the Eskimo often says a thing in a round-about way by denying its

opposite. There is no term for "to be good," only "to be not bad." "I know" is "I am not ignorant," and so on. We do this sort of thing ourselves sometimes, for effect, but not regularly as the Eskimo does.

The Eskimos, where they have not become Christians, believe in the existence of a tremendous number of spirits, one for each cloud, pebble, or piece of ice, as well as for each living thing. With all these spirits about them, they must behave carefully so as not to offend any one of them. So there has grown up a very complicated system of rules and prohibitions, or taboos (tä-bōō'), covering every detail of life, just as has happened with the South Sea Islanders. The Eskimos

believe that if the rule breaker confesses his fault, perhaps the spirits will not make trouble for the tribe after all. The spirits, they think, can be controlled and influenced by human beings; and so the shaman (shä'män) or medicine man is a very important person among the Eskimos.

Beyond this, the Eskimos have little government in their tribes. There are no law courts, not even regular chiefs. Now and then a tribe will agree that one of its members is too evil to live any longer. Then the nearest of kin to the wrongdoer is made the agent to kill him. But such strong measures



Photo by Bureau of Education

These three young Eskimos come from the White Mountain region in Alaska. The girls especially look as if they were about to break into laughter. As a matter of fact, travelers tell us how happy these people all are; it is said that they laugh more in a month than most of us do in a whole year.

IN THE LAND OF THE NORTHERN LIGHTS



Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

The Central Eskimos, who live in the arctic regions between Labrador and Alaska, are most remote of all from civilization and have mixed less with other races. On this page are two brief glimpses of their life in

that land of ice and snow. The picture above shows a polar bear hunt, with the bear brought to bay on an ice crag at the edge of the polar sea. It all looks like a scene from a play, but it is very real.



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

In a land where a few roots and berries are the only plants that grow, "home" must always be in a spot—never far from the sea—where there is good hunting. As long as there are reindeer, bear, seal, or whale in

plenty, the Eskimo village you see above will be teeming with life. But when game grows scarce, the people will leave their snow huts, harness their sturdy dogs, and seek new hunting grounds.

IN THE LAND OF THE NORTHERN LIGHTS



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Here is a scene inside an Eskimo snow house at Cape Fullerton, Hudson Bay. Since an Eskimo house has

only one room, the family are pretty crowded in it, especially when they are snowed in for long periods.

are rarely needed, for the people want to be good members of the tribe.

Usually an Eskimo man has only one wife, but sometimes he may have more, or a woman may have more than one husband. An Eskimo readily takes into his household anyone who is old or sick or helpless, and he is proud to be able to care for a number of people. Yet in some of the tribes the stern rule still holds that when the tribe moves on in the spring at the breaking up of the ice, all who are too old or weak to bear the hard journey must be left at home to die. This is not done at all in cruelty but from harsh necessity. For how could a tottering old man flee with the tribe before the terrible breaking of an ice jam? And if the dog teams were loaded with the feeble and sick, the whole people might perish.

In truth, the Eskimos are a kindly and generous people, taught by the hardships of their life to help each other. If an Eskimo

hunter kills a seal, either he will cut it up on the spot and give strips of meat to all who want any, or else perhaps his wife will cook the meat and then call her neighbors to take what they wish. Certain things, like dogs, needles, and household articles, belong to the family that owns them, but food—so hard to find, so necessary for all must always be shared.

It is not only food that the Eskimos get from the animals they hunt. They burn seal fat in lamps to light their huts or their igloos, those strange round houses made of snow and ice. All their warm clothes are taken from the animals. From the skin of seal, walrus, caribou, or whatever else they have hunted, they make coats, leggings, shoes, and mittens, sewing them with sinews of the same animals. It takes many skins, some worn with the soft fur inside, to keep out the arctic cold.

From walrus tusks or bits of fossil ivory, from wood when they can get it—many

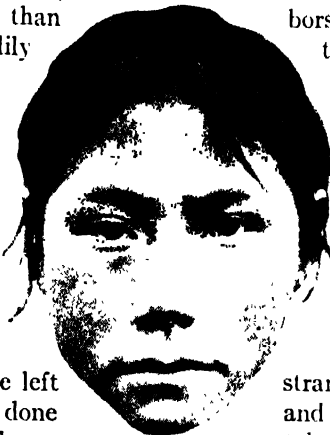


Photo by Field Museum
This youthful Eskimo with the quiet, intelligent face comes from Northern Labrador.

IN THE LAND OF THE NORTHERN LIGHTS



Photo by An al His

All these Eskimo knives, tools, and the like have come from around Coronation Gulf, a great inlet of the Arctic Ocean about halfway between Hudson Bay and the Alaskan border. In this region live the Eskimos who have had least contact with white men. That

Eskimos have never seen a tree—the Eskimos fashion delicately carved and decorated weapons and ornaments. This is a very old art among them, and since the white men have given them sharper steel instruments, they have developed it even more beautifully.

Too often there are blood feuds among the Eskimos. One family will have a grievance against another, and the members of the two families will seek each other out with murderous intent. Sometimes such a quarrel is quieted by having one of the families move off and join another tribe. Then once more each tribe can hunt and feast—when there is anything to feast on—in peace. But recently the Eskimos—especially those in Canadian territory—have been learning to follow the white men's laws. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, whose business

means that they have kept most of their own ways, and that these primitive tools are still in use among them. In fact, as late as 1910 they did not know anything about the white men's guns, but still hunted with bows and arrows tipped with copper or stone.

it is to enforce the laws in the north country, have found them honest and law-abiding people, easy to deal with and ready to help.

Whether he has to dig in against an arctic blizzard or eat his beloved dogs to stave off starvation, the Eskimo meets the hardships of his life as matters of course. And he is usually a jovial person, quick to laugh and dance merrily around the impromptu feast, forgetting the lean weeks that went before. He finds his hard life and his frozen home delightful, and looks upon himself as fortunate to have been born amid the sparkling snows. Not many years ago two Eskimo boys were brought south to school in Southern Canada; but though they were happy enough there, the warm climate and strange food disagreed with them, and to keep healthy they had to be sent back to their own cold land.

The HISTORY of CENTRAL AMERICA

Reading Unit No. 1

OUR NEIGHBORS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

The conquest of disease and ignorance is making Central

America a delightful place to live in, work in, and visit.

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA



Photo by James Sawyer

The history of banana growing in Central America is one of the romances of modern industry. A few decades ago the inhabitants had to eat up nearly all the bananas grown, for the simple reason that there was no way to get them out of the country to other people. Then enterprising companies started building up a transportation system—one company built a fleet of

ships and several railroads. Soon thousands of trainloads of the yellow fruit were setting out from plantations like this one in Guatemala, and steamers carried the bananas on to New Orleans or across the sea to Britain. Of course the disadvantage of this system is that the foreign companies which worked it out control the industry and are influential in politics.

OUR NEIGHBORS *in* CENTRAL AMERICA

Seven Smiling Little Countries Lie in the Neck of Land between the Continents, Where They Beckon Visitors from Sterner and Less Romantic Climes

BETWEEN Mexico and South America, with their modern improvements, their mines and railroads, their farms and factories, lies a mountainous, twisted triangle of land where about five million people—less than half the population of New York State—live in the leisurely, happy ways of past centuries. Here the Indians, driven out from so many lands, still flourish; their blood flows in the veins of about four-fifths of the people. Here old Spanish buildings, old Spanish customs, survive in all their comfort and graciousness. Here deep jungles and mountain trails invite the adventurous traveler. Here lie buried the mysterious relics of civilizations centuries old—some dating back to a time before the birth of Christ.

Five states—Guatemala (gwä'tä-mä'lä), Honduras (hön-dōō'räs), Salvador (säl'vā-dōr), Nicaragua (nĭk'ä-rä'gwä), Costa Rica (kōs'tä rē'kā)—with British Honduras to the northeast and Panama to the south, make up this thousand-mile-long triangle. Running through the center is a plateau from three to six thousand feet high, its top dotted with the peaks of old volcanoes. On the eastern side the plateau slopes gradually to the Caribbean, and here are many great coffee and sugar plantations. Along the damp, low-lying coast there was once almost unbroken jungle, but recently much of it has been cleared away to make room for the immense plantations where grow most of the bananas of the world. On the western, or Pacific, side of the central ridge the

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA

mountains drop more abruptly to the sea; and on these slopes too a great deal of coffee grows. mingle, and a new mixed people appeared—the “mestizos” (mēs-tē’zō) who largely people Central America to-day.

These three regions—the high, cooler plateau, the hot eastern slope and lowlands, and the steeper western slope—make up the world of Central America. The plateau, which has the climate best suited to white men, contains the great cities. The eastern slope has been developed since the opening of the century with the help of thousands of black laborers from the islands of the West Indies. The western slope, drier and so more healthful than the eastern, has been a coffee country for close to a century.

Even before the Spaniards came to Central America, an Aztec king of Mexico, grandfather of the ill-fated Montezuma (mōn’tē-zōō’mā) whom Cortes overthrew, had conquered the northern part of the country, forcing the natives to pay tribute of cotton cloth, pottery, feathers, and gold. When the Spaniards came soon afterward, the people did not have to pay tribute any longer to Mexico—but the Spaniards demanded gold and silver, tobacco, dyes, medicinal herbs and gums, feathers, sugar, and cacao, or chocolate, as tribute to Spain.

The natives bent before the storm. They listened to the priests who came to convert them from paganism. They allowed their possessions to be taken by the invaders. Soon the conquered and conquering races began to

Centuries ago the Mayas had a great ceremonial center of their religion at Quirigua, in Guatemala, and set up there marvelous monoliths, or pillars made of a single stone. These strange pillars stand twenty to twenty-five feet high and must sink at least ten feet into the ground. They are carved with intricate patterns and signs and the calm faces of old Mayan gods. The one shown here bears signs which have been interpreted to mean that it was set up in the year corresponding to 232 A.D., to mark the end of one of the five-year periods into which the Mayan calendar divided time.

Spain was supreme in Central America as early as 1526, five years after Cortes had conquered Mexico. The wealth of the land was now flowing eastward to the land of the conquerors. But the other European nations were of course jealous of all this Spanish wealth and glory. From the first, buccaneers and freebooters preyed on the Spanish treasure ships and raided the shores of Central America. Later, the European governments themselves schemed endlessly to weaken Spain’s hold on this rich section of the New World.

This sort of thing went on for centuries. Meanwhile Spain had lost her ancient glory, and often her rule was tyrannous as well as weak. Then there came a time after the American and French revolutions, when freedom and independence were in the very air men breathed. So it came about that a hundred years or so ago, Central America, like South America, revolted against Spain. Guatemala was the first to break away (1821). Soon the others followed suit. For a time they entered into a federation, but it broke up in 1838.

Since that year the political divisions of Central America north of Panama have not changed.

A hero of

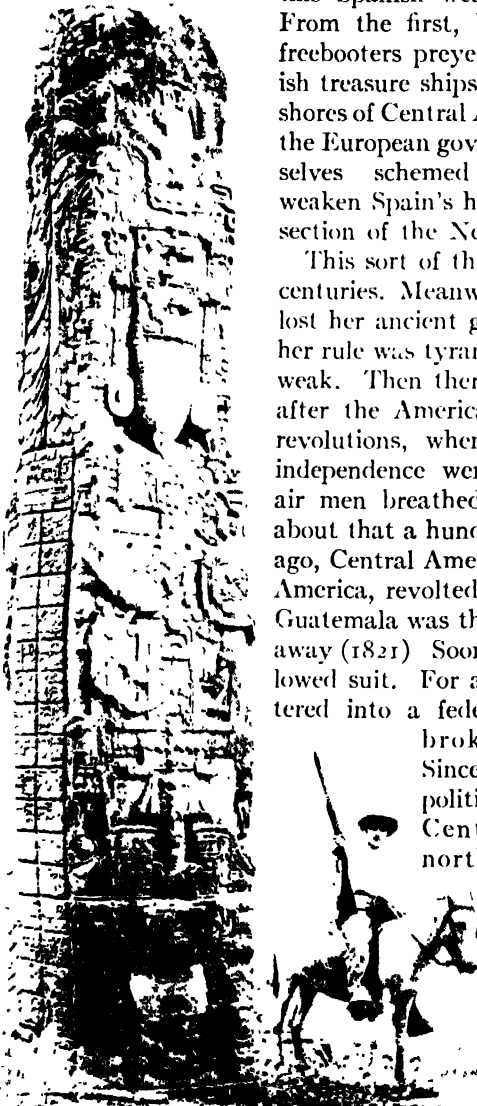


Photo by Fruit Dispatch

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA

the revolutionary period was Rafael Carrera (kär-rä'rá) of Guatemala, an uneducated but active and intelligent Indian youth, who fought for the church as opposed to those who wished to weaken her power. Carrera's work was successful; the Catholic

The poorer Indians and the mestizos of this tropical country live an outdoor life in wooden huts with roofs of thatched palm leaves. They drink black coffee, and eat black beans, meat, fruits, and tortillas (tôr-têl'yä), which are flat cakes made of corn meal or cassava (kä-sä'vâ) flour. Near the towns their quaint and attractive native dress is being replaced by draggled skirts and cheap trousers, but in the forests Indian

life is very much like what it must have been four centuries ago.

The more cultivated classes of Central America live in

Here are contrasting types of Guatemalan Indians. At the left is a ragged, happy-go-lucky family of beggars. Below are a mother and children of the better class.



Photos by Visual Education Service and Field Museum

In the mountainous interior of Guatemala are many villages that have scarcely a decent road, let alone a railroad. When the people of this region want to send anything to market, they load it in huge packs on the backs of the men and boys, as shown in the picture above. These patient Indian pack-bearers sometimes travel in this way as much as fifty miles.



church is to-day supreme in his country.

If we visit Central America, we shall almost certainly be charmed by the people. The Spanish settlers who came here were of the highest type, and at least in Costa Rica, their descendants carry on the old gracious ways. In Nicaragua, Salvador, and Honduras the Spaniards mixed with the Indians, and as the Indians here were descended from the ancient Mayas (mä'yä)—who long ago built up one of the earliest and finest civilizations in America—this mixture has produced a quick-witted and delightful people.

There are great numbers of pure-blooded Indians, too, in Central America. In Guatemala and along the Caribbean coast are many Indian tribes, living a lazy, peaceful life, hating to work for money, getting their food by hunting, fishing, and a little farming. Other groups of Indians live along the west coast; some of these still shoot fish with bow and arrow!

one-story houses of sun-dried brick—or adobe (â-dô'bê)

with tile roofs. They build their houses around a patio (pat'yô), or inclosed garden, the house itself opening directly on the street in front. In their comfortable homes the women entertain their guests, while the men receive their friends in well-appointed clubs. They all know how to talk—among them conversation is not at all a "lost art." The language of these people of the middle and upper classes is Spanish, though the Indians still use their native tongue.

Ages ago other tongues were spoken in these lands, other races lived and flourished.

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA

All through the forests and jungles of the Central American plateau the traveler finds ruins dating from centuries before the white man's coming. There are great carved faces with thick lips, curled hair, and intricately designed ornaments. There are pillars, or stelae (stē'lē), covered with strange carvings of men and beasts. There are even stone temples of skillful design, their walls carved with patterns and pictures.

What Is Left of Mayan Culture

All these ruins speak to us of the great days of the Maya Indians, whose descendants live in Central America even to-day. From these remains scholars have worked out the Mayan calendar and the Mayan system of writing, and most of what we know of this old race, as we have told it in our story of the American Indians. Theirs was by no means the earliest American civilization, but it is the first one with fixed dates. Its earliest date falls somewhere within a century or two of the birth of Christ. About 600 A.D. the Mayas' power was at its height. Now all that is left of their art and their empire are these silent ruins with the forest gradually closing in upon them.

Nowhere are these stone records more plentiful than in Guatemala, and from Guatemala, too, comes the curious record called the Popul Vuh, written in Spanish

letters but in a Mayan dialect by an unknown Quiché (kē'chā') Indian centuries ago. In the Popul Vuh we are told of four men made by the gods out of Indian corn. At first these men were too clever to please their creators; so the gods made them more stupid, but to make up for this, gave them wives! The gift of fire, the beginning of religious sacrifice, the building of the Quiché nation—all are told in this quaint chronicle.

The Beautiful City of Guatemala

Guatemala is one of the two biggest of the Central American states, and the most largely Indian in population. Its capital, Guatemala City, lies seventy-six miles from the Pacific coast, up a winding track which the train takes a day to cover. The white tiled streets of the old city, the pink, blue, and white walls of the low houses, the brilliant red roofs, and the riot of tropical flowers make the place a delight to the eye. There are modern improvements in Guatemala City, a good hotel, beautiful parks, electricity, sewers; and in the streets automobiles clash with two-wheeled oxcarts for the right of way.

All this smiling countryside is shaken often by earthquakes, and three times (1541, 1773, and 1918) the capital city itself has been destroyed.

It was after the shock of 1773 that the present city was built, on what was thought to be a safer site. But when the earthquake came again in 1918, the people

These large and important-looking sea birds have the amusing name of boobies. The flock pictured here nests on an island off the coast of Honduras.

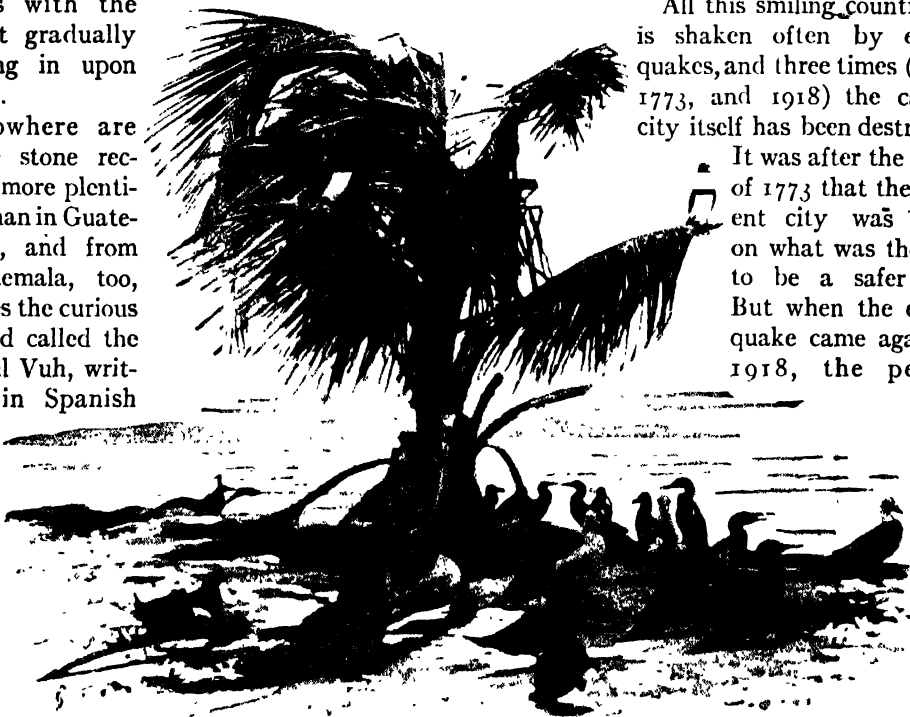


Photo by International News Photos

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA



Photo by James Sawyer

The city of San Salvador, one of whose streets is pictured here, is not so picturesque as many towns in

Central America, but it has all the modern improvements, such as electricity, paved streets, and plumbing.

simply rebuilt their homes and went on living as before. The volcanoes which rise here and there above the Guatemalan plateau are no danger at all in comparison with the earthquakes. Only once in a long time will a stream of lava flow down the mountain and over the plain; many craters are so cooled that they have been made into farms.

A Town Named for a Bird

In the land about Guatemala City lie plantations, smaller towns, and Indian villages. The traveler may visit Quetzaltenango (kā-sāl'tā-nāng'gō), a large town in the heart of the Indian country, named for the bird the Indians call the quetzal (kēt-sāl'). This magnificent bird is about the size of a pigeon, but its tail is over three feet long, and it builds its nest with holes at opposite sides, so that it can go in and out of its home without disarranging its tail feathers. Because of its beauty and its wild, free spirit, unable to endure captivity, the people of Guatemala have chosen it as their national emblem.

East of Guatemala, in the very northeast corner of Central America, is the only Central American state still belonging to a European power. British Honduras has belonged to England since 1798, when some British lumbermen who had settled at St. George's Cay—that is, St. George's Island—succeeded in beating off the attack of thirty-one Spanish ships. Lumbering has ever since been the chief industry, for the forests of British Honduras are rich in mahogany and other fine hard woods. But to-day not all the people work at lumbering. More and more of them help in the growing of chicle for chewing gum, of bananas, pineapples, or cacao.

The Prosperous Republic of Salvador

South of Guatemala is the tiny republic of Salvador, which holds over a million and a half people—more to the square mile than any other Central American state. The inhabitants of Salvador are energetic beyond most Central Americans, and they have made their country modern and prosperous. Their cities, with fine public buildings, lux-

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA



Photo by United Fruit Co.

To say "Panama" is, for most of us, to think of the Panama Canal. And here is a glimpse of the famous

"Big Ditch"—the Gatun Locks at night. They are an important part of the canal that marries the two oceans.

urious clubs, and comfortable homes, are built of earthquake-resisting materials. Much of the land is divided up into small farms, where the people grow sugar cane, coffee, and other things, which they ship by the single railroad the country boasts down to the single port, La Union on the Pacific. When the coffee-picking season comes around, even the clerks in city offices seek the country to help harvest the crop. In the days when Central America was always having revolutions, the people used to be glad of the coming of harvest time because then there would be no fighting—all the soldiers would go home to harvest their crops!

Across the border in Honduras, which cuts Salvador off from the Caribbean, the little farms give way to great plantations, and only 15 people live in each square mile instead of 125, as in Salvador. Honduras too grows much coffee, but its special crop is bananas; three great fruit companies control the banana industry of the land. Among the plantations and through the scattered villages runs a fine highway between the eastern and western seas; it is the pride of the state. Along this highway one may see all sorts of ways of traveling and of carrying things—from automobiles and mammoth motor trucks to Indians trudg-

Below is a brief glimpse of Costa Rica—a farmer with the patient oxen which haul his produce to market.



Photo by Publishers Photo Service

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA



Photo by W. R. Grace & Co.

The city of Panama is the oldest white settlement in the continental Americas. In the old Spanish days it was so rich and handsome that the bold buccaneers

looked at it with longing eyes. The old city was destroyed in 1671, but its picturesque ruins remain—among them this “Cathedral of Old Panama.”

ing along with packs strapped to their backs.

There are only two towns of any size in Honduras—Santa Rosa and Tegucigalpa (tâ-gōō'sê-gal'pā). Tegucigalpa is the capital. It lies high in the hills, away from the warm, moist coast lands. Here everybody thinks and talks politics. Honduras has always wanted the little Central American states to draw together in a close union, but, as we know, she has not yet succeeded in persuading the others to want it, too. She herself has a huge national debt which would be quite a problem if such a union were to be planned.

Nicaragua's New Canal

Nicaragua, to which we come next as we travel south, is about the size of Guatemala, and therefore larger than the other five of the Central American states, but it is even more thinly peopled than Honduras. Its scattered farms are mostly coffee plantations. The pride of its southern section is

two beautiful lakes, Lake Nicaragua and Lake Managua (mä-nä'gwä). Lake Nicaragua, though less than twenty miles from the Pacific Ocean, has its outlet through the San Juan (sän hwän') River into the Caribbean, thus making a waterway nearly across the country. Some day, no doubt, an inter-ocean canal, like that of Panama, will be dug along this natural waterway.

Already the first steps have been taken. In 1940 we made a treaty with Nicaragua allowing us to open up a barge canal route through the San Juan River and a highway to join it to the Pacific coast. The year before we had agreed to lend Nicaragua money for highways and other improvements, and had sent experts to help her plan for the production of more goods to sell in the United States. In 1941 we took 96% of her products, and so kept her from suffering from the loss of other markets closed by the war.

South of Nicaragua, where the continent narrows swiftly toward the Isthmus of

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA

Panama, lies Costa Rica, the "Garden of Central America." Here are trim modern cities, where Spanish girls are not shut up at home as they are in more old-fashioned Spanish communities; here, on the high plateau, live Spanish peasants, who still own little farms or labor on the coffee plantations as they have done for a hundred years. For Costa Rica has more pure Spanish blood than any other Central American state. It is commercially the most developed, though next to the smallest in size. There are comparatively few Indians here, and the many Negroes live mostly, as in Honduras, on the plantations along the Caribbean coast.

The Flower That Is "Always Alive"

Flowers are everywhere in Costa Rica. Orchids flourish, and new varieties are hunted in the forests. One remarkable flower is "siempre alegre," or "always happy." From a leaf of this plant, pinned on a wall, little plants will start at every curve of the edge. And then there is "siempre viva," or "always alive," whose yellow flowers will revive and yield perfume in water after having been dried for years.

If we keep on south and east from Costa Rica we shall come to the tail of Central America, the slender bridge between the northern and southern continents which we call the Isthmus of Panama. Here lies the Republic of Panama, the newest of the Central American states and the only one left for us to visit. Panama came into being in 1903—because the United States wanted

to build a canal across the Isthmus there, and Colombia, who owned the territory, was making almost impossible conditions. Part of Colombia revolted, and the United States immediately recognized the new republic. Many Central Americans felt this to be only one of the many grievances they had against "El Tio (tē'ō) Sam"—Uncle Sam.

How Central America Is "Waking Up"

Yet the Canal Zone, which cuts across Panama from sea to sea, is a very much better place to live in since the building of "the Big Ditch." The Isthmus used to be very unhealthful, a place where tropical diseases wasted the natives and killed off white men like so many flies. Now it is healthful and pleasant. Education, too, has made great forward strides. And from Colon (kō-lōn'), at the Caribbean end of the Canal, to Panama City at the Pacific end pours yearly a tremendous stream of commerce, with much profitable tourist traffic besides.

To-day the countries of Central America are our friends, for our Good Neighbor policy has born good fruit there. Our government Export-Import Bank, established to give economic help to Latin America, has lent money to develop their resources and to tide them over hard times. We have made treaties removing old grievances and have convinced them that we have no evil intentions against them. In World War II nearly all the countries of the New World fought side by side. Afterward they united in a defense pact.

(History of World War II, 6—493)

Here is a whole load of Costa Rican bananas on its way to market. They will have a long journey in refrigerated ships before they reach our tables in North America.



Photo by United Fruit Lines

REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA

AREA

48,290 square miles - about the size of New York State.

LOCATION

Guatemala is the most northern state of Central America. It is bounded by Mexico on the north and west, and by British Honduras, the Caribbean Sea, Honduras, and Salvador on the east. South of it lies the Pacific Ocean.

CLIMATE

Malaria has been wiped out, and even the coasts are now healthful. The rainy season lasts from May until October, except along the coasts, where it often is not over until December. The coldest month is January. The warmest is May. The rainfall is heavy.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Guatemala is crossed by the high Sierra Madre Mountains, which run from northwest to southeast and contain many volcanoes. The coastal plain here is fertile and is the most thickly settled part of the

country. Other mountains on the Atlantic side cross the land from east to west. North of them is the wide and fertile plain of Peten. Guatemala has many lakes, and is well watered everywhere.

THE PEOPLE

The Indians, who are said to make up sixty percent of the population, are descended from the Mayas, and have not been greatly affected by the whites. Thirty percent of the population are of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, and less than five percent are pure white. There are a few Negroes who have intermarried with Indians.

GOVERNMENT

Legislative power is vested in a National Assembly consisting of a single chamber. Its members are elected for 4 years by universal suffrage. There is also a Council of State of 13 members, part of whom are elected by the Assembly and part appointed by the president. Nominally the president is elected for 6 years, but the term may be extended. In actual practice Guatemala is under a dictatorship.

EL SALVADOR

AREA

13,176 square miles, about the size of the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut together.

LOCATION

Salvador, also called El Salvador, is a Central American republic that lies wholly on the Pacific. It is bounded on the northwest by Guatemala and on the north and east by Honduras.

CLIMATE

There are two seasons - wet and dry, with the rainy months falling between May and October. The low coastal lands are hot and sultry. On the tablelands and along the mountain slopes the climate is temperate.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Salvador is traversed by two mountain ranges. One, the Sierra Madre, is on the northern frontier; the other is a range about 15 miles from the coast, and

running parallel to it. There are many volcanoes, and earthquakes are frequent. Between the mountains is a plateau, 2,000 feet high, the region in which the coffee of El Salvador is cultivated.

THE PEOPLE

The bulk of the population are of mixed race - Indian and white. There are a few people of Spanish descent, and a good many Indians. Only a handful are Negroes. The official language of the country is Spanish. Salvador is the most densely populated country in the Western Hemisphere.

GOVERNMENT

Legislative power is vested in a single chamber of 42 Deputies, elected for one year by universal suffrage. The president is elected for 4 years and has a cabinet to assist him.

REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS

AREA

46,250 square miles - slightly larger than the state of Pennsylvania.

LOCATION

Honduras occupies the central part of Central America. It is bounded on the north by the Caribbean Sea, on the south by Salvador, the Pacific Ocean, and Nicaragua, on the west by Salvador and Guatemala, and on the east by Nicaragua.

CLIMATE

There are two seasons - the wet from May to November, and the dry during the remaining months. The Caribbean lowlands are very hot and humid, but the highlands farther inland have a delightful climate.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Honduras has a coast line of 400 miles on the Caribbean, where several ports are located. The Pacific shore line is only 40 miles long, on the fine natural harbor of the Gulf of Fonseca, with the port of Amapala

on Tiger Island. The country is very mountainous. In the southern half is a range containing many volcanic peaks. This range is crossed by the plain of Comayagua, which is joined at either end to river valleys, so that a continuous lowland reaches from coast to coast.

THE PEOPLE

Indians form a large part of the population. The Spanish-speaking inhabitants are mostly Spanish with an admixture of Indian blood, but there is a ruling group of almost pure Spanish descent. There are a few Negroes who are descendants of slaves, and, on the north coast, numbers of them who have been brought in to work on the plantations.

GOVERNMENT

The president is elected by popular vote for a term of 4 years. The legislative body has only one house, the Chamber of Deputies, chosen for 6 years by popular vote. A Permanent Commission of 5 sits when the Chamber is not in session.

REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA

AREA

49,500 square miles, slightly larger than the State of New York.

LOCATION

Nicaragua lies between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, with Honduras on the north, and Costa Rica on the south.

CLIMATE

Nicaragua has the usual climate of tropical countries; it is hot along the coastal lowlands and relatively cool in the uplands. There are two seasons; it rains from May or June to November or December, and is dry in the remaining months. On the east coast the rainy season is often a good deal longer, with sometimes nearly 300 inches of rain in one year.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

The great mountain chain that runs the length of the Western Hemisphere crosses Central Nicaragua from northwest to southeast. On its eastern side is a plateau that slopes down to the swampy coastal plain,

which is known as the Mosquito Coast. Along the Pacific coast is a chain of volcanic peaks. Though the western shore line is bold and rocky, it is here that the country's best harbors are found. In the depression that lies between the two ranges of mountains are two great lakes—Lake Nicaragua, about 100 miles long, and north of it Lake Managua, 38 miles long. They are joined by the Tipitapa River. In 1916 the United States bought the right to build a ship canal running from coast to coast through Lake Nicaragua.

THE PEOPLE

Most of the people of Nicaragua are of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, though there are a considerable number of pure Spanish descent, and many pure-blooded Indians. In the east are a number of Negroes from Jamaica and other islands of the Caribbean.

GOVERNMENT

The president is elected for 6 years. The Congress consists of a Senate of 15 members elected for 6 years, and a House of Deputies of 45 members elected for 4 years. Suffrage is universal.

REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

AREA

28,575 square miles (including Canal Zone) slightly smaller than the state of South Carolina.

LOCATION

The Republic of Panama fills the entire Isthmus of Panama, which connects North and South America. On the north is the Caribbean Sea, and on the south the Pacific Ocean. Costa Rica bounds it on the west and Colombia on the east.

CLIMATE

Mean temperature at Panama: Jan., 80° F.; July, 80° F.; annual, 80° F. Mean precipitation at Panama: Jan., 1 in.; July, 7.6 in.; annual, 69.4 in. The climate is tropical. The days are very hot, though the nights are cooler. There are two seasons—the wet season, from April to December, and the dry season, which comes when the trade winds shift southward.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Panama is shaped much like an "S," with the larger curve lying around the Gulf of Panama, on the Pacific side. The shores are fringed with many islands—630 on the north coast, and in the Gulf of Panama 16 large and 100 smaller ones. Two mountain chains cross Panama; the one nearest the Atlantic is really a continuation of the Andes.

THE PEOPLE

The majority of the population are of mixed Spanish and Indian blood. The next largest number are those of pure white descent, most of them Spanish. There are many Indians and Negroes, and a number of Orientals.

GOVERNMENT

There is a national assembly of 32 members elected for 4 years, and a president elected by direct vote for 4 years. He is not eligible for the succeeding term.

REPUBLIC OF COSTA RICA

AREA

23,000 square miles—approximately the area of West Virginia.

LOCATION

Costa Rica is a republic of Central America, located between Panama on the southeast and Nicaragua on the north. To the northeast lies the Caribbean Sea, and to the west and southwest the Pacific Ocean.

CLIMATE

The coasts and foothills have a tropical climate. The San José Plateau is temperate. Above 7,500 feet frosts are frequent, though snow rarely falls. The rainy season lasts from April to December. Normal rainfall is 80 inches, but cloudbursts are frequent, bringing the total rainfall up to 150 inches.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Costa Rica is crossed from north to south by two high mountain ranges in which are a number of active volcanoes. Between the two mountain chains is the

Plateau of San José, a high tableland divided into a northern and southern part by a depression caused by the headwaters of two rivers. The San Juan, the most important river, is on the Caribbean side, and drains Lake Nicaragua.

THE PEOPLE

The great majority of the inhabitants are descendants of Spanish colonists, and the percentage of pure Spanish blood is higher than in any other Central American country. The intermarriage of Spanish with native Indians has resulted in a large population of mixed race. A good many Negroes have been brought in to work in the eastern lowlands. The people of Costa Rica are unusually peaceable, enlightened, and prosperous.

GOVERNMENT

Costa Rica is a republic. The legislative power is vested in a Chamber of Deputies, elected directly by manhood suffrage. The president, elected for four years, appoints a ministry of seven members.

The HISTORY of the WEST INDIES

Reading Unit No. 1

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

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Summary Statement

The Caribbean islands, former haunts of pirates, have become centers of commerce and agri-

culture, and are growing rich on the money spent there by thousands of tourists.

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR



Photo by The Autotype Fine Arts Co. Ltd.

The painter of the picture above has tried to show you how a pirate ship may have looked in the great

days of piracy when the islands of the West Indies swarmed with adventurers and buccaneers.

The ISLANDS at OUR SOUTHERN DOOR

The Ancient Homes of the Buccaneers Are Now Turned into Thriving Centers of Agriculture and Commerce, and Draw Thousands of Visitors Every Year

EVERYONE has heard about the pirates of old—those gayly-dressed, black-bearded ruffians who used to steal gold pieces-of-eight from Spanish treasure ships and sternly command their victims to walk the plank. But not so many people realize that the pirate countries, the islands where these adventurers lived and swaggered and hid their gold, are just off the coast of the United States. They are the West Indies, those colorful patches which dot the blue waters between the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Here, in the many bays and inlets of these thousands of green islands, the pirate ships used to lie, watching for the

chance to race forth and capture some clumsy Spanish galleon.

Nearly every pirate of note in the old days hovered around the West Indies, and it is whispered that much pirate gold lies buried there to this day. Sometimes, his hands full of doubloons, a pirate chief would sail north to New York, where good people welcomed his money if not his example. Then back to the West Indies he would go, once more to gather plunder and drink deep of adventure.

The story of the West Indies really begins, not with the pirates, but with the great admiral, Christopher Columbus, whose four voyages to the New World were concerned

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR



Photo by United Film Co

This pleasant scene with its native huts and roofs of thatch, in contrast with the "white man's house" in

the upper left-hand corner, is found on a river bank on the island of Jamaica.

almost entirely with these islands. It is because Columbus was so sure he had found the road to India that they bear their misplaced name, West Indies. To the West Indies, then, belongs the honor of being the first part of the New World to be discovered by the great explorer.

The Cruel Spanish Taskmasters

The early history of the West Indies has its darker side. Here perished thousands of peaceful, easy-going Indians, who were not equal to the fierce demands of their Spanish taskmasters. Whole islands were stripped of their natives to furnish workers for the mines and plantations of Spanish colonies. And when the Indians sank under their burden of labor, shiploads of black slaves came to fill their places. Now the Indians have almost disappeared, and the West Indies are full of the descendants of these Negro slaves.

After a time the weakening power of Spain was no longer strong enough to hold her island empire together. Other countries—England, France, Holland—began to covet these smiling islands and one by one to take them from the feeble grasp of Spain. To-day England, France, Holland, and the United

States own or control most of the West Indies.

Do you remember Ariel's invitation to the shipwrecked mariners in Shakespeare's "The Tempest"?

"Come unto these yellow sands!"

Shakespeare may well have been thinking of some of the New World islands, for he seems to have been reading of a shipwreck on one of them. However that may be, Ariel's invitation echoed three centuries ago in the hearts of adventurous colonists, and it echoes still in the hearts of those who visit these smiling summerlands, with their gleaming waters, their broad beaches, their waving palms, and their green fields of sugar cane. To-day the West Indies are a tourists' playground, and every winter great liners crowded with holiday makers seek Havana, Nassau, St. Thomas, and many other resorts offering a genial climate, beautiful scenery, varied sports, and other attractions.

Along the Pathway to the East

The West Indies occupy an important position on the map. They stand in the pathway to the East through the magic door of

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR



The people of the Bahamas do a thriving trade in sponges. Not very long ago practically everybody had the skeleton of one of these simple sea creatures in his bathroom, but nowadays a wash cloth that can be laundered easily and often is considered much more

sanitary. Some people still use bath sponges, but to-day, for the most part, a sponge serves to bathe automobiles instead of people. Above is a sponge market of the Bahamas. There you can buy for a trifling sum as many sponges as you could carry off.



Photos by Keystone View Co.

These young divers of Nassau in the Bahamas are gathering sponges. They do not have to dive very far, for sponges grow in comparatively shallow waters. Once taken from the water, the slimy soft parts of

the sponges soon decay and fall off. When this has happened, the natives wash the sponges and beat them until the skeletons are clean. Then they string them up to dry.

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR

the Panama Canal. It was for this reason that the United States not long ago paid \$25,000,000 to Denmark for certain of the Virgin Islands. Our statesmen thought these islands well worth having.

The West Indies stretch out a little like a series of stepping stones, reaching in a magnificent curve south and east and south again from North to South America, and shutting off the Caribbean Sea from the Atlantic. The Bahamas (bà-hā'-mà) in the north begin with Bimini (bê-mê'-nê), only fifty miles off the coast of Florida. Then south of the Bahamas lie the Greater Antilles (än-tîl'ēz)—Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, and Porto Rico. The third grand division of the West Indies is the Lesser Antilles, which are made up of smaller islands, divided into the Windward and Leeward groups. They are described elsewhere.

The Bahamas cover a distance of 800 miles from Bimini to Inagua (ê-nä'gwä), which is only about fifty miles from Cuba. These sunny islands include Watling Island, or San Salvador, to which tradition gives the honor of having received Columbus on that memorable day in October, 1492, when he first stepped ashore in the New World.

Columbus found the Bahamas inhabited by tribes of gentle, friendly Indians; but soon the Spaniards transported all these Bahaman

Indians to Cuba and other lands, to cruel labor in mines and on plantations. For many years after this the Bahamas were uninhabited except by pirates and other wanderers, until finally the English established a colony there in 1646.

Although the English appointed a governor for the Bahamas, it was more than a century before the government was able to keep order, and the buccancers, as the pirates of those days are called, continued to make the islands their headquarters from which to raid coast towns and attack treasure ships. Not until late in the 1700's were the last of the doughty pirates reformed or hanged.

The English and Spanish had many clashes over the ownership of these lovely islands, but in 1783 the Treaty of Paris—the same which granted independence to the United States—finally gave them to England.

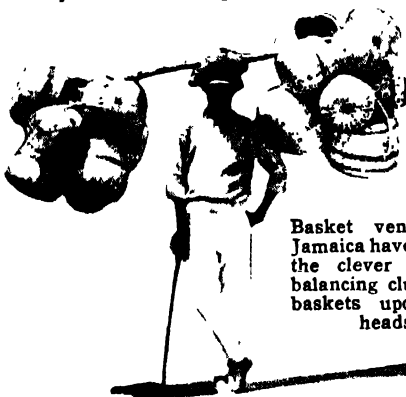
Nassau (näs'ô), on the island of New Providence, is the capital of the Bahamas, which are ruled by a governor and executive council appointed from England, and an elected legislative council and assembly. The islands hold about 65,000 people, white and colored. The chief products are sisal fiber for making rope, and sponges, tomatoes, tropical fruits, and some lumber.

If we stop for a few days at Nassau we



Photo by United Fruit Co

This interesting inhabitant of Jamaica is escorting a heavily laden donkey to market.



Basket venders of Jamaica have learned the clever trick of balancing clusters of baskets upon their heads.



Photo by United Fruit Co

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR



Photo by Munson S.S. Lines.

The scene above is taken in the harbor of Havana. This deep and protected bay, with its unobstructed

passage to the sea, is one of the main causes of the prosperity of the city of Havana.

shall be delighted with the climate and the scenery, and with the chance to amuse ourselves at all kinds of outdoor sports. Nassau, we notice, is very eager to attract tourists like us, and is making her docks larger, building new hotels, and doing everything possible to make us comfortable.

From Nassau to Jamaica

From Nassau let us steam over to Jamaica, another British colony. This is a fairly big island, a little smaller than the state of Connecticut; it lies south of the eastern end of Cuba. From Jamaica are governed several smaller islands—the Cayman (kī-mān'), Turks, and Caicos (kī'kōs) Islands, Pedro Cay (pā'drō kā), Morant (mō-rānt') Cays, all together 189 square miles in size.

Columbus himself discovered Jamaica, on May 3, 1494, and his son Diego founded the first Jamaican settlement at St. Ann's Bay in 1509. In 1655 the British captured the island, and they soon set up a civil government.

For the next century and a half Jamaica had a turbulent history. During the 1700's

it suffered from earthquakes and hurricanes. Port Royal was headquarters for the pirates, too; in fact these lawless men were often planters or merchants when off duty as buccaneers. Worst of all, Jamaica soon became the most important center of the slave trade in all the world. While this made the planters and slave merchants rich, it meant not only untold suffering among the slaves themselves, but frequent wars and terrors for the white people. When the Spaniards left, their slaves took to the mountains, and for years these "maroons," as they were called, fought stubbornly, though vainly, for their freedom. There were other slave insurrections, too, the most serious as late as 1831. This was after the slave trade had been forbidden; the rebels thought slavery itself had been officially abolished. It was abolished two years later.

The Tourists' Paradise

Modern life in Jamaica is peaceful and prosperous. The fifteen towns on the island have good schools, fine hotels, and many improvements. In the country smiling farms

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR



Photo by Munson S. S. Lane

Like most cities with a past, Havana has its older quarter. Notice the flat roofs and plastered walls,

the balcony and iron street lamp. These might almost be streets in Old Spain.

produce bananas, cocoa, coconuts, coffee, honey, sugar, fruits, and tobacco. There are many industries, producing among other things cigars, ginger, and the rum for which Jamaica is famous.

Much of the labor is still done by Negroes, for a large part of Jamaica's population of about a million is colored.

With its mountains and its magnificent beaches, Jamaica is a tourists' paradise the year round. It draws visitors from all nations. The island boasts two railroad lines, one 63 and one 112 miles long. The highest mountain is Western Peak, 7,588 feet high.

The little Cayman Islands, dependencies of Jamaica, are named from an Indian word meaning alligator; there used to be a great many alligators on the Cayman Islands, and if we are lucky we may catch a glimpse of

one even yet. Columbus discovered these islands too, on his fourth and last voyage (1503), but the Spaniards never settled them.

Columbus' name for the islands was Tortugas, or Turtle Islands; and when we come to Grand Cayman

we shall understand why he chose that name. For the chief industry of this island is turtle catching; many of the big turtles which are used in the United States to make turtle soup come from here.

Although Grand Cayman is the largest of this group, it certainly was not called "grand" either for its size or its height; for it is only about 17 miles long and from 4 to 7 wide, and its highest point is only about forty feet above the

sea! Such proportions hardly seem grand! North of Jamaica and the Caymans lies Cuba, "the pearl of the Antilles." It is the



Photo by Munson S. S. Lane

The rest of Cuba does not always resemble its glittering capital. Here is a view along a country road.

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR

largest of the West Indies and one of the Greater Antilles group. When Columbus came to this land on October 28, 1492, he found it inhabited by Carib and Nahac Indians, some of whom he took back to Spain. These natives called their island Cuba, but the Spanish named it successively Juana, Santiago, and Ave Maria, before adopting the native name.

For over four centuries Cuba remained a Spanish possession, except for a little while in 1762 when the British held it. But the Cubans grew more and more weary of Spanish rule; they did not like being managed as a mere source of ready cash for the Spanish government. There were frequent uprisings, until in the 1800's there began eighty years of desperate, almost ceaseless struggling on the part of the Cubans. Finally the United States took a hand and fought the Spanish-American War (1898), which ended in the defeat of Spain.

The United States supervised Cuban affairs until the island adopted a constitution in 1902. Several times since then, during revolutions, the United States has taken a hand, but has always given the control back. In 1940 the American republics, meeting at Havana, agreed by the Act of Havana to occupy and govern any European territory in America threatened with transfer to another non-American power.

Cuba has over four million inhabitants, of whom about two-thirds are white—a contrast with the other West Indian islands, where colored people are in the majority. Most of the citizens are of Spanish blood, and as we go about the streets of Havana it is the soft Spanish language we shall hear.

Of Cuba's four million people about one-tenth live here in Havana, the capital city. It is an enthralling place, with its wide streets, gleaming beaches, and splendid hotels and homes. And we note that we are by no means the only tourists who have been attracted by Havana's glittering amusement

centers, her race track, and her natural beauties. Unfortunately the rest of Cuba is more backward than Havana, and has none too many good schools, good roads, and similar advantages of civilization. Even Santiago (sān'tè-ā'gō), the second largest city, is primitive compared with the splendid capital.

If we venture beyond Havana in our explorations, we shall see that Cuba is a farming country. Most of all it is a land of great sugar plantations. When the price of sugar rises, Cuba is prosperous; when it falls, prosperity vanishes. Cuba produces, in fact, a quarter of all the cane sugar grown in the world, and more than half of the sugar of all kinds consumed in the United States. Second to sugar is tobacco, and "Havana cigars" are famous for their quality. Besides these crops the Cubans raise some cattle, and deal to some extent in sponges. In recent years mineral discoveries—iron, copper, manganese, gold, mercury, zinc—promise to bring wealth to Cuba. The Cuban government declared war on the Axis powers in 1941, and put all its resources at our disposal.

It is a pity that we have no time to visit the Isle of Pines, which lies just south of the western end of Cuba. We should be sure to find many Americans there, for it is a popular resort for tourists from Uncle Sam's country. This little island is a dependency of Cuba;



Photo by N. Y. Botanical Garden

The Haitians, the descendants of slaves that were brought over to the island, are for the most part poor and backward. Here is a group of them hoeing sugar cane.

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR



Photo by Keystone View Co

These dusky children live and go to school in Porto Rico. Luckily the climate of their island is a mild

one, for their schoolhouse does not seem to be a very substantial affair

its capital is the mountain city of Nueva Gerona (nwā'vā hā-rō'nā).

The Place Where Columbus Landed

But we are bound eastward to the large and fascinating island which contains the two Negro republics of the Caribbean—Haiti (hā'tī) and Santo Domingo (sān'tō dō-mīng'-gō). When Columbus visited this land in 1492 he called it Espagnola (ēs'pān-yō'lā), and it was here that he founded the first European colony in the New World. The native Indian name Haiti, a word meaning "mountainous," is now generally used for the whole island. Haiti has a curious shape, like a short fish with his mouth wide open.

The republic of Haiti, a country about the size of Vermont, occupies the western part of the island. The population of about 2,600,000 is mainly Negro, with some descendants of the French settlers. Haiti has had a turbulent and romantic history. At the time of the French Revolution (1789), war broke out between the French planters and the Negroes, both slave and free. The planters called in the aid of the English and

Spanish, and during the confusion of war and massacre which followed there arose one of the best-known men of the colored race—Toussaint L'Ouverture (tōō'sāN' lōō'vēr'tür'). When he had been captured by treachery and was languishing in a French prison, a fierce black tyrant named Dessalines (dēs'sā'lēn'), ruled as king till he was assassinated for his tyrannies. Then in the north a most picturesque black monarch, Henri Christophe (ōN'rē' krēs'tōf'), rose to power, building for himself the vast, frowning castle where he was finally trapped and died (1820). This palace-fortress still stands, just south of Cape Haitien.

Uncle Sam's Adopted Island

Long before this the French had tired of the struggle and let Haiti go free, but revolution followed revolution still. Finally in 1915 the United States stepped in and established a protectorate over the country. She finally withdrew in 1936, but still has close commercial relationship with Haiti, which is now under the rule of a dictator.

Even yet the Haitians are mostly ignorant

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR



Photo by N. Y. Botanical Garden

In Ciudad Trujillo, capital of Santo Domingo, is this cathedral and the statue of Columbus. In the circle

is the sarcophagus which is said to have held the body of the illustrious discoverer of the New World.

and very poor. But the country has great possibilities. The mountains and uplands are forested with valuable woods, and the fertile farms grow sugar cane and coffee. It is thought that there are rich supplies of minerals lying as yet untouched in the earth.

The Republic of Santo Domingo

The eastern part of the island called Haiti or Santo Domingo is occupied by the Dominican (dō-mīn'yī-kān) Republic, a country twice as large as its neighbor, but with less than half as many people. This country is usually spoken of as Santo Domingo, from the second of the island's names, just as the other is called Haiti from the first of them. There are more different races in Santo Domingo than in Haiti. There are some Europeans and Indians, but the greater number of the people are Negroes. In the capital city, Ciudad Trujillo (syoo-thāth'troo-hēl'yō), we are amazed to hear that Turks and Persians

have gained control of much of the trade. For a good part of its history Santo Domingo has been united with Haiti. The Spaniards held the whole island in the early days. Here, as in the other islands of the West Indies, they killed off most of the Indians by sword or by too heavy labor, or they carried them to other islands to meet a similar fate. The Negro citizens of both republics are of course the descendants of the African slaves brought in to take the places of the Indians. It was the whole island over which Toussaint L'Ouverture ruled. Not until 1844 were the two republics definitely separated. Here, too, the United States Marines once took control (1916-22), but they have been withdrawn, leaving only a customs official.

How Uncle Sam Acquired Porto Rico

To the east of Haiti lies the much smaller island of Porto Rico (pōr'tō rē'kō), only

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR



Photo by United Fruit Company

Moving belts are handling a cargo of bananas just landed in New Orleans from the Caribbean islands.

This great port, the country's second in size, is the gateway between the Gulf and the Mississippi Valley.

3,435 square miles in area. Its people, numbering over 2,000,000, are mostly white, and are citizens of the United States, to which the island has belonged since the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898. A commissioner represents them in the United States Congress. Porto Rico—or Puerto (pwër'tō) Rico, the official name—has an elected Senate and House of Representatives of its own, and in 1949 installed its first elected governor. Of course it elects its own legislature. San Juan is the capital city.

When Porto Rico became part of the United States, only about one person in seven could read or write. To-day there is a good school system, and a university besides. There are 1,100 miles of good motor roads and 350 miles of railroad. Porto Rican farms raise sugar, tobacco, coffee, cotton, and fruits. The women of the island are especially deft at embroidery, and send many beautiful hand-worked garments to be sold

in the United States. Men and women also make cigars and fine straw hats.

Because the Porto Ricans have been taught how to keep their cities clean and have been given medical advice, fewer of them die young and the island has come to be over-crowded. Its people are very poor. But money from the United States, attracted by a twelve-year exemption from taxation and the low cost of labor, is being invested in factories of many kinds. The new industries will give the people a better living. Already they have learned to control their own government, and are passing intelligent and enlightened legislation.

Thus as we complete our little tour of the Greater Antilles we may feel very much at home again, since in Porto Rico we are already on American soil. But there are many fascinating little islands in the Lesser Antilles, and soon we shall want to set out on another trip to see them too.

THE ISLANDS AT OUR SOUTHERN DOOR

CUBA—AREA

44,164 square miles—about equal to the area of Pennsylvania.

LOCATION

Cuba, the largest of the West Indies, extends from 19° 48' to 23° 13' N. Lat., and from 74° 7' to 84° 57' W. Long. It is about 100 miles from Key West, Florida, and about 130 miles from the Peninsula of Yucatan. It is situated squarely in the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico.

CLIMATE

Mean temperature at Havana: Jan., 70° F.; July, 79° F.; annual, 75° F. The climate of Cuba is hot and humid, with little variation of temperature. There are two distinct seasons, a dry season, from November to April, and a hotter, wet season, but droughts are fairly frequent. The heat is relieved by afternoon sea breezes, and in the dry season the western part of the island enjoys cool "northers." Hurricanes are common. They cause great damage and considerable loss of life. The comfortable trade winds blow throughout the year. The interior is cooler than the coasts, and frosts occur in the uplands.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Cuba is 730 miles long, and has an average width of 50 miles. Its greatest width is 160 miles. There are 2,500 miles of coast line. The shores, fringed by islets, reefs, and coral keys, are so indented as to form excellent natural harbors, of which Havana in the north and Santiago de Cuba and Cienfuegos in the south, are good examples. Guantanamo is rented by the United States for use as a naval base. In the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Oriente, Camagüey, and Santa Clara are mountains covered with forests which produce valuable woods, such as ebony and mahogany, dye-woods, and the cedar which is used in the manufacture of cigar boxes. The most characteristic tree is the royal palm, every part of which is useful to the native. It grows very straight, and sometimes is more than 100 feet tall. In the eastern mountains the scenery is wild and beautiful. Along the coast is a continuous belt of plantations, but the coastal plain is so narrow that, for the most part, Cuban rivers are not of great importance. The Cauto River is exceptional, for it is 250 miles long and may be navigated by small vessels for a considerable distance. Sugar is Cuba's chief crop, and tobacco is second in importance. Of the varied fruits, bananas and pineapples are the most important in the export trade. There is very little coal, the known oil deposits are small, and resources of water power are very slender.

THE PEOPLE

The natives whom Columbus found in the island have died out. The present inhabitants are for the most part descended from the Spanish settlers, and the introduction of Negro slaves has resulted in a large mixed population. No color line is drawn, however. The few Chinese are remnants of an imported coolie population. In the province of Oriente are a good many people of French descent, and many of the names there are of French origin.

PROVINCES

Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, Santa Clara, Camagüey, Oriente.

GOVERNMENT

Cuba is a republic. The president is elected for 4 years, the Senate for 8, and the House of Representatives for 4. Both men and women may vote. In 1936 Cuba and the United States agreed upon a treaty which makes it impossible for the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba.

PORTO RICO—AREA

3,435 square miles—about three times the size of Rhode Island.

LOCATION

Porto Rico—or Puerto Rico—is the fourth in size of the Greater Antilles, and is the most easterly of them. It lies about 1,000 miles from the mainland, between 17° 50' and 18° 30' N. Lat. and between 65° 30' and 67° 15' W. Long. Seventy miles to the west lies Haiti, and forty miles to the east is St. Thomas, of the Virgin Islands group. North of it is the Atlantic Ocean and south of it the Caribbean Sea. The islands of Culebra and Vieques are part of the territory.

CLIMATE

Porto Rico has a mild climate, with a very narrow range of temperature. Because it is in the tropics the winter is warm, and because the ocean lies all around it, the summer is cool. Moreover, the trade winds help to temper the heat. The mean January temperature for the whole island is 73° F., and the mean July temperature is 79° F. The highest afternoon temperature averages 86° F., and the lowest night temperature averages 68° F. The mean annual temperature is 76.5° F. In general the uplands are cooler than the lowlands along the coast. San Juan has recorded temperature as high as 94°, and as low as 62°. The island's average annual rainfall is 70 in., but on the mountains as much as 100 inches falls. In general the north coast has a higher rainfall than the south coast. Water is carried in tunnels through the mountains from the north to the south coast, to be used for irrigation. Not much rain falls in winter; most of it comes between September and November. The climate and fertile soil are well adapted to the raising of sugar cane, tobacco, oranges, grapefruit, and pineapples, as well as rice, cotton, corn, and beans. Occasionally the island is visited by a hurricane. Its excellent climate and fine scenery attract many tourists.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Like all the Antilles, Porto Rico is really the top of one of the mountains in a huge submerged range that curves around the Caribbean Sea. North of the island is Brownson's Deep, one of the deepest places in any ocean; it is more than 27,000 feet below the surface of the sea. The island itself has a range of mountains running east and west through the central part. At points they are nearly 4,000 feet high, and in many places they are broken by beautiful and fertile valleys. Plains reach from the foot of the mountains to the coast, though those along the south shore are fairly narrow. Porto Rican rivers are all short but afford fine water power. For some time after the coming of the Spaniards large quantities of gold were mined in Porto Rico, but the veins are no longer worked. Iron, manganese, and marble are now the principal mineral products.

THE PEOPLE

Some three-fourths of the people of Porto Rico are white, most of them of Spanish descent, though there are a good many Americans. The remainder of the population are Negroes. Spanish is the language of the great majority, but English is taught in the schools and is widely used in business.

GOVERNMENT

Porto Rico belongs to the United States, and is governed under the Organic Act of Porto Rico (1917). American citizenship was granted to Porto Ricans in 1917.

Since 1948 Porto Ricans have elected their own governor—and for many years their own legislature. It is made up of a Senate and a House of Representatives. An executive council consisting of the heads of various governmental departments carries on the work of administration, much as the president's cabinet does in the United States. Certain of its members are appointed by the president and the rest are appointed by the governor.

The ISLANDS of the CARIBBEAN

Reading Unit

No. 1

THE JEWELS OF THE CARIBBEAN

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

The Lesser Antilles are lazy tropical islands ranging in size from pin points to those large enough to hold a quarter of a

million people. They have healthful climates and are interesting to tourists. The majority of the inhabitants are Negroes.

ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN



This small inhabitant of the Virgin Islands has found a friend. Many years ago the ancestors of this wee pickaninny were brought over from Africa as slaves, but today their descendants are free and cheerful citizens of their bright isles.

Photo by American Museum

of Natural History

The JEWELS of the CARIBBEAN

Flung in a Great Curve across the Caribbean Sea Are the Gem-like Islands of the Lesser Antilles, Where the Luxuriance of the Tropics Is in Perpetual Display

ON THE map we can see four or five tiny spots of land making up the Virgin Islands, a group which begins the Lesser Antilles (än-tíl'ēz); but if we actually go to these warm, lazy regions, we shall find that there are really about a hundred instead of four or five. Some of them are so small as to be nothing much more than sandbanks; many of them are uninhabited; but every one has its owner—usually England or the United States; so every one is part of a great nation. Columbus, who discovered the group in 1493, called it the Virgin Islands after St. Ursula and the ten thousand virgin martyrs; and he gave most of the islands holy names, such as St. John, St. Thomas, or St. Croix.

To-day thirty-two of the Virgin Islands belong to Great Britain. They form part of the colony called the Leeward Islands, which includes all the British possessions in the northern half of the Lesser Antilles. These are such little islands that they have to be lumped together in order to get enough people to keep a respectable government busy! The British Virgin Islands are one of

five divisions, or "presidencies," in the Leewards. They are peopled by peasants who earn their living by making charcoal, catching fish, and raising cattle—very good cattle, too, for the climate is healthful and not too hot.

Besides the Virgin Islands owned by England, there are those which Uncle Sam bought from Denmark in 1917—St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. John, and a number of smaller ones. If we take an airplane view of these beautiful islands, we shall see a little town of shining white houses at St. Thomas, with a fine harbor where ships are taking on fuel. All around the town there are fields of sugar cane, and beyond are beautifully wooded hills or mountains. Scattered here and there are the tumble-down cabins of the easy-going Negroes.

But we have told more about the American Virgin Islands in the story of Uncle Sam's pigmy islands. So suppose that instead of landing, we head our airplane southward to follow the line of the charming Antilles. We shall have a marvelous view of these sunny isles from our plane, and we can see them in

ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN



Photo by Keystone View Co.

This pretty church with its twin towers is one of the buildings on St. Kitts—short for St. Christopher—

the fertile, healthful little island named for its discoverer, Christopher Columbus.

far less time than we could from the deck of one of the slow-going steamers which lounge around among them. First our plane will hover over Anguilla (äng-gwíl'ä), or "Snake" Island, where we shall get a glimpse of some of the 5,000 peasants growing their cotton, burning their charcoal, or tending their cattle. If we should land, the first words we should hear would probably be a plea for a penny or a shilling, for the begging of the darkies is a regular business all through the Antilles, and the tourist is constantly bothered by children as well as grown people who are trying to get gifts.

The Land of Paradise Peak

What island is next in sight? It is St. Martin. Ever since 1638 St. Martin has been owned half by France and half by Holland, but the 10,000 Negro inhabitants speak mostly English. Here we see plenty of round hills, with one higher peak, called Paradise, 1,920 feet high. If we could fly low enough, we should see in the fields and groves the yam, the papaya (pä-pä'yä), the alligator pear; even from aloft we may catch a glimpse of the salt works, from which salt is exported.

See! there is St. Kitts, short for St. Christopher; it is bigger than the other islands, for it contains all of 63 square miles. Its tallest mountain, 3,771 feet high, is called Mount Misery instead of Paradise. Once St. Kitts was wealthy, with great sugar plantations, and it still grows sugar as well as tobacco and coffee; but it has settled back into rather lazy contentment, a little sleepy, but smiling in its eternal summer.

We had better head southeast now for Antigua (än-tē'gwä), flying low. Off there to our left will be Barbuda (bär-bōō'dä), about the same size as St. Kitts; for two hundred years it was owned by a family named Codrington. To our right will be Montserrat (mönt'sē-rät'), only half as large; it has an active volcano named Soufrière (sōō'-frē-är'), 3,000 feet high.

The Capital of the Leewards

But here we are, hovering over Antigua. This is a fine island of 108 square miles, and on it lives the British governor of the Leeward Islands—that is to say, of nearly all the islands we have been flying over. The capital, in common with many other towns

ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN

the world over, is named St. John, and here the darky boys will dive for pennies as long as our supply holds out. From our airplane we can see a rocky coast and a hilly interior, with fertile fields where the sugar cane waves and where vegetables grow to feed the 30,000 people, mostly Negroes.

Now comes a hop of sixty miles, and then—

Vive la France!

We have come to Guadeloupe (gô'-dē-lōōp')! Oh, the exquisite tropic land! To the east lies Grande Terre (grôNd'tēr'), "big land"—though its bigness is only 255 square miles—with tiny Petite (pē-tēt') Terre, or "little land" near it. To the west, lying snugly almost against Grande Ter, is Basse (bäs) Terre, or "low land." But it is really Grande Terre that is low.

On Basse Terre

we shall see gloriously beautiful highlands, with mountains and another volcano; the volcano is quiet now, but less than a hundred years ago there was an eruption which killed hundreds of people. To Guadeloupe come hurricanes, also; one killed 660 people in 1928. Is it not strange how cruel these lovely tropic lands can sometimes be? And the history of Guadeloupe is cruel, with the massacre of the innocent Carib Indians, wars between the French and English, and risings of the slaves.

But we must go on. Dominica (döm'f-nē'kâ) comes next, a British island, but speaking a kind of French. Here are more splendid volcanic mountains surrounding Mont Diablotin (dyä'blô'tän'), 5,314 feet high. In these mountains is Boiling Lake, 2,300 feet above the sea; no one has ever

found its bottom, but gases boil and bubble up out of it from the volcanic tumult in the depth of earth. Dominica is fairly large, 291 square miles in area; and its 40,000 inhabitants grow oranges, bananas, and other tropical fruits. They also get honey from wild bees.

A hop across salt water once more brings

us to Martinique (mār'tī-nēk'). This is another land of earthquakes and hurricanes. Here we shall see the treacherous volcano Mont Pelé (mōN pē-lā'), which in 1902 destroyed the city of St. Pierre (sāN pyēr) and 40,000 people. Still the 250,000 inhabitants, nearly all Negroes, will not leave their beautiful land. See the gay bandannas the women wear, and the enormous earrings, like soap

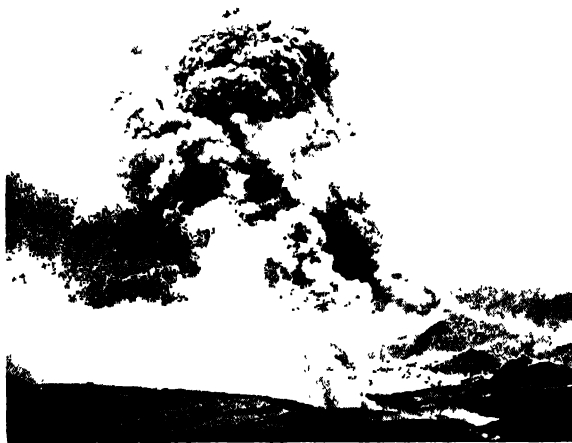


Photo by Keystone View Co

Mont Pelé in action is a dread sight indeed. Here is the monster as it looked in 1902, when a terrific eruption destroyed the city of St. Pierre and killed over 40,000 people. First there was a whirlwind of fire that swept over the town and destroyed the ships in the harbor; then there was a rain of molten lava and hot ashes, while poisonous gases issued from the volcano's mouth in a tremendous cloud.

dishes, in the ears of the women and even the children. Martinique is a French colony. It is the birthplace of the empress Josephine, wife of Napoleon. When France fell (1940) there was grave fear that the Germans might seize Martinique for its valuable strategic position and also because the French had sent a small fleet there together with \$250,000,000 in gold. Finally (1942) the governor separated himself from the German-dominated French government and agreed to keep the Germans out.

We have come to the end of the Leeward Islands, so named because they are somewhat less exposed than the Windward Islands to the heavy winds which sweep over the Caribbean Sea—the word "leeward" means "in a direction opposite to the one from which the wind blows." The Windward Islands,

ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN



PAA Photo

From Trinidad comes this picture of farm workers and their carts. Indian boys are leading the water buffaloes.



Courtesy Information Division, French Embassy

It is on Martinique that we find these boys at work in a trade school and, at the right, a "calypso singer," who sings of current events and makes up his own words and music as he goes along.



Courtesy Information Division, French Embassy and Pan American World Airways

Basse Terre, at the left, is on Martinique. But it is in Port of Spain, capital of Trinidad, that we may visit the street at the right. There a babel of tongues is spoken —by Hindus, Indians, and native Negroes.

ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN

which dot the sea southward toward South America, all belong to England.

St. Lucia (lū'shī-ā), our next stop, has 233 square miles. Like Dominica, this island belongs to England, but its people speak French. Here we shall find more mountains rising 2,700 feet sheer from the sea. Here too we shall find sugar, cocoa, logwood, nutmeg, mace, coconuts, limes, bananas. There are no snakes here now, but before the mongoose came over from India there were many. On St. Lucia live 67,000 people, almost all Negroes, and all lazy, easy-going, tattered, but good-natured.

Where the Carib Indians Live

Almost due south from St. Lucia lies St. Vincent, which has a port city named Kingstown, a large Negro population, and another volcano named Soufrière. Besides these things it has some remnants of the unfortunate but proud Carib (kār'ib) Indians, who did not surrender to the white men until 1796, when great numbers of them were forced to leave St. Vincent altogether. In most places the Caribs were exterminated, but here and in British Honduras a few remain.

St. Vincent is the second largest of the Windwards; the third largest—133 square miles in area—is Grenada (grē-nā'dā). Here, at the harbor town of St. George, in its beautiful circle of hills, is the seat of the government of all the Windwards. In Grenada the volcano craters have filled with water and become lakes. The principal crop is cocoa instead of sugar, and cocoa has made the island fairly prosperous. A queer French plan of rent called "métayage" (mā'tě'yázh') is used here; the farmer gets and sells half his crop, while the landlord, instead of money, gets and sells the other half. Grenada has fine sea bathing and a pleasant climate; it has become a great health resort.

That spattering of tiny islands over which we flew on our way between St. Vincent and Grenada was the Grenadines (grēn'ā-dēnz). There are about 600 of them, and on many no one lives at all. So let us leave the Windwards now and steer eastward toward

the Atlantic. We have just three more visits to make—to Barbados, Tobago, and Trinidad, all British islands—before we fly over to the coast of South America.

Here is Barbados (bär-bā'dōz)—another health-giving land of perpetual summer, with the glorious blue ocean forever surging white against smooth beaches. Here we see the usual island sights—gayly-dressed Negroes in their fields of sugar cane, cotton, and tobacco. How many people there are! A thousand to the square mile, the officials will tell us. They love their island passionately—and no wonder! People come here to be cured of consumption; yet about the only thing histories of the United States will tell us about Barbados is that George Washington almost died of smallpox here!

A hop of 150 miles brings us to Tobago (tō-bā'gō), just off the coast of Trinidad. Here we shall see the plant that gives us mace growing wild. The 30,000 people of Tobago raise horses and sheep, nutmeg, tobacco, and coffee.

Last of all, we shall pause at Trinidad (trīn'f-dād'), the last of the West Indies. This island, with 1,754 square miles, will seem enormous after the wee bits of land we have been visiting. Indeed, next to Jamaica it is the largest of the British West Indies. There are over 400,000 people, fewer of them are Negroes than on the other islands, but many are immigrants from British India on the other side of the globe.

The Strange Tar Lake of Trinidad

Here we find the strangest lake in the world, one of the sights of Trinidad. This is Pitch Lake, which is filled, not with water, but with asphalt or tar; the asphalt wells slowly up in swelling masses and flows gradually toward the sea, moving in a slow, clumsy stream almost like a glacier. This asphalt is sold commercially. Oil too has been discovered in Trinidad.

We must see the beautiful falls of Maracas (mā'rā-kās'), 312 feet high, and then we must explore Port of Spain, the principal city, with its many interesting buildings. When we have done these things, we shall fly over a few miles of ocean to Venezuela.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

AREA

19,332 square miles—about the area of Vermont and New Hampshire.

LOCATION

The Dominican Republic covers the eastern part of the island of Haiti or Hispaniola, also called Santo Domingo. Haiti covers the western third. To the west of this island is Cuba; to the east, Porto Rico.

CLIMATE

The climate is healthful, and trade winds blowing most of the year make the nights cool. Even in the warmest months, only a short part of the day is extremely hot. There is a rainy season, and a dry season from December to June, when no rain falls. The central plains are very dry. The eastern part of the island has the most moisture and is the most fertile.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Mountains cover four-fifths of the island, and form several roughly parallel ranges extending in general east and west. The highest peak is Loma Tina (10,300

ft.). Between the ranges lie fertile valleys, where coffee thrives. In the eastern, more fertile, section the forests yield *lignum vitae*, cedar, mahogany, and other valuable woods. Near the southern coast is the rich valley of Bani; and between the Jana and Nigua Rivers is a beautiful plain, once a source of great wealth. But the Santiago plain is a desert. In the Neyba Valley are two remarkable hills, made entirely of rock salt. The mineral deposits of the Dominican Republic have not been developed. Agriculture is the chief occupation, and sugar, cacao, tobacco, and coffee are grown.

THE PEOPLE

The people are of mixed European, African, and Indian blood. The most numerous group are mulattoes of Spanish descent, and Spanish is the language of this part of the island. The city of Santo Domingo is the oldest permanent white settlement in the New World.

GOVERNMENT

There is a president elected by direct vote for four years. He has a cabinet of 7 members. The legislative body, also elected by direct vote, is composed of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies, who meet twice a year for 90 days. The country is now under a dictatorship.

REPUBLIC OF HAITI

AREA

10,204 square miles—a little larger than the state of Vermont.

LOCATION

Haiti lies in the western part of the island of Haiti, formerly called Hispaniola, the second largest island of the Greater Antilles. To the west of it is Cuba, and to the east Porto Rico. The island is wholly in the Tropics, and lies between 17° 39' and 20° N. LAT. and 68° 20' and 74° 30' W. Long.

CLIMATE

There are a great many different climates in Haiti, a result of differences in elevation. The northeast trade winds bring the moisture. At Port-au-Prince the mean annual temperature is 81°, but nowhere, except on sheltered lowlands, is the heat uncomfortable. Rainy seasons come in fall and spring, but never bring much more than 100 inches. The western sides of mountains are usually dry, and large areas have to be irrigated. The mountains have a great deal of fog. Occasionally there are destructive hurricanes. Frost is never seen.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

The island of Haiti is covered with mountains, which extend east and west in three separate chains and in

most places crowd close to the sea. The northwest peninsula is mountainous, and mountains form the southwest peninsula, whose southernmost region is the fertile and well-watered plain Aux Cayes. On the Gulf of Gonaive is a great delta plain where Port-au-Prince is located, in a sugar-producing area. In the southeastern part of Haiti are well-watered river valleys which support dense populations. Haiti has virgin forests of mahogany and other valuable woods. There are also deposits of copper, as yet unworked.

THE PEOPLE

The majority of the inhabitants are Negroes, but there are also a fair number of mulatto Haitians, descendants of former French settlers. French is the official language, but the common speech is a dialect of French origin.

GOVERNMENT

The republic of Haiti has a president chosen for 7 years from 3 candidates submitted by the deputies and senators. The deputies are elected for 4 years. The senators, appointed partly by the president and partly by the deputies, have a 6-year term.

BRITISH WEST INDIES AND BERMUDA

AREA AND LOCATION

The Bahamas—area, 4,404 square miles—are a group of 20 inhabited and many uninhabited islands off the southeast coast of Florida. They extend over a distance of 630 miles, from 22° 25' to 26° 40' N. Lat. and from 72° 50' to 80° 50' W. Long. The principal islands are New Providence, Abaco, Harbor Island, Cat Island, Eleuthera, San Salvador or Watlings Island, and Andros Island.

Jamaica—area, 4,841 square miles, about the size of Connecticut—is 80 miles south of the eastern end of

Cuba. It lies between 17° 43' and 18° 32' N. Lat. and between 76° 10' and 78° 20' W. Long. Jamaica, Cuba, Haiti, and Porto Rico form the Greater Antilles.

The Leeward Islands—area, 708 square miles—are the most northerly of the Lesser Antilles. They lie southeast of Porto Rico, and include Martinique, which is owned by France. The chief British islands are Antigua, St. Christopher or St. Kitts, Dominica, Montserrat, and certain of the Virgin Islands. Of the Virgin Islands three—St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John—belong to the United States.

BRITISH WEST INDIES AND BERMUDA—Continued

The Windward Islands—area, 516 square miles—form the southern group of the Lesser Antilles. They lie between Martinique and Trinidad. Grenada is at about 12° N. Lat. and 62° W. Long. The islands are Grenada, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, and St. Lucia.

Trinidad and Tobago—area 1,976 square miles. Trinidad lies north of the mouth of the Orinoco, between 10° 3' and 10° 50' N. Lat. and 60° 39' and 62° W. Long. Tobago lies 21 miles northeast of Trinidad.

Barbadoes—area, 166 square miles—lies east of the Windward Islands, at 13° 4' N. Lat. and 59° 37' W. Long.

The Bermudas—area, 19 square miles—lie some 580 miles southeast of Cape Hatteras, centering at 32° 15' N. Lat. and 64° 50' W. Long. Great Bermuda, or the Main Island, is the largest.

CLIMATE

The climate in the West Indies is agreeable and healthful in the winter months. From January to June there are ideal conditions, for the heat is relieved by the trade winds and sea breezes, which bring cool, refreshing nights. There is a short wet season beginning in April, with a short dry season following. Heat begins in July, and in September or October come rains, sometimes accompanied by terrific hurricanes. The lowest temperatures are found in the higher parts of the islands. Snow never falls. The climate of the Bermudas is mild and healthful and has made the islands a favorite winter resort for English and Americans. The maximum temperature is about 87° F., the minimum 49° F., the mean annual temperature, 70° F.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

The Bahamas consist of 29 islands, over 2,000 rocks, and more than 650 cays, or reefs. The islands are of coral foundation and low-lying. Except in Andros, there are no streams, and the inhabitants rely on wells for their water supply. The rock is worn into many interesting formations, such as columns and arches. *Jamaica*, the largest of the British West Indian islands, is crossed from east to west by mountains which have been broken up into northwest-and-southeast ridges, all well forested. The highest are the Blue Mountains in the east. Much of the island is a plateau of white limestone, a beautiful region of varied scenery. Here are many interesting caves, with Indian relics. The coastal plains are widest on the south, where Kingston stands. The island is well watered by 100 rivers and has 16 harbors, among them Kingston, the most important.

Leeward Islands: *Dominica*, the largest—in 15° 30' N. Lat. and 61° 20' W. Long.—is 29 miles long. A high mountain range crosses it from north to south except where the valleys of two rivers cut through in the center. Hot springs and underground vapors give signs of volcanic activity. In the south Boiling Lake, with a depth unknown, lies 2,300 feet above the sea. The island is beautiful and well watered. *Antigua* has no central mountain range, though in the southeast are hills. There are no rivers and few springs, for the forests have been entirely cut away, but along the rugged coast are plenty of good harbors.

The Windward Islands are of volcanic origin, with mountains on the large islands. The fertile lower levels produce sugar, cocoa, and spices. The name was given to the group because these islands are more exposed to the northeast trade winds than are the rest of the Lesser Antilles.

Trinidad is almost square. Promontories projecting from the western part of the island inclose the Gulf of

Paria. In the north and the south east-and-west ranges of densely wooded hills are the only elevations in a surface that everywhere else is level or rolling. Trinidad is famous for its Pitch Lake, where 104 acres of liquid asphalt are constantly bubbling up. The soil around the lake is full of asphalt, but crops grow well in it. Petroleum, too, is found on the island. Tobago is little more than a volcanic mountain which has been reared up 1,800 feet out of the sea. Much of it is forested.

Barbados is 21 miles in length and averages 8 miles in width. From Mount Hillaby (1,100 ft.), near the center, the land slopes down to the sea on all sides; and the shore is fringed with coral reefs. There is no good natural harbor.

The Bermudas are a chain of islands encircled by coral reefs, though there are a few fairly wide, deep passages between the many islets. The surface of the land is irregular, but the reddish soil, though light and stony, is fertile. The islands are partly coral, partly limestone covered with coral deposits. There are no streams or wells, and the people are dependent upon the skies for their water supply.

THE PEOPLE

The Caribs, the native Indian inhabitants of the West Indies, have almost entirely disappeared. The great majority of the people are now Negroes imported from Africa, who have been better able to adapt themselves to the tropical conditions than the white settlers have been. They differ among themselves, according as they have been subjected by one or another of the national white groups. The white race is in control, and the language spoken in the British islands is English, though in Trinidad there is a strong French element. In Bermuda also the most numerous group are the Negroes.

GOVERNMENT

The British West Indies are mostly crown colonies, under the control of the British Colonial Office. Their laws are English, and the governors are appointed by the crown. In certain of the more important islands, however, there is a legislature elected by the people.

Bahamas: A governor, assisted by an executive council of 9, a legislative council of 9, and a representative assembly of 29.

Jamaica: A governor assisted by a privy council, and a legislative assembly half of whose members are elected. Women were enfranchised in 1919. The Cayman Islands, Turks, and Caicos Islands are dependents of Jamaica.

Leeward Islands: A governor and an executive council nominated by the crown, and a legislative council with 10 official and 10 unofficial members, the latter elected by the various islands.

Windward Islands: A governor, resident at St. George's, Grenada. There is no common legislature, though the islands unite for certain common purposes.

Trinidad and Tobago: An executive council consisting of a governor, as president, and other appointed members. There is a legislative council with the governor as president and 25 other members, 7 of whom are elected. Women over thirty may vote.

Barbados: A governor, with an executive council, executive committee, legislative council of 9 (appointed by the king), and a house of assembly elected annually by the people.

Bermuda: A governor, assisted by an executive council and a legislative council, both appointed by the king, and an elected house of assembly of 36 members.

The HISTORY of MEXICO

Reading Unit No. 1

THE SPLENDORS OF OLD MEXICO

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Leisure-time Activities

PROJECT NO. 1: Read Lew Wallace's romance of the con-

quest of Mexico, "The Fair God."

Summary Statement

The courage and cleverness of Fernando Cortes, together with

the native belief in an ancient legend, gave Mexico to Spain.

THE HISTORY OF MEXICO



Photo by Publishers Photo Service

Here and there in Mexico are the ruins of some of the strangest cities in the world. About twenty-five miles from Mexico City, at Teotihuacan, for instance, is a scattered group of enormous terraced pyramids of earth and stone. The greatest of these is shown in our picture; it is 217 feet high and 761 by 721 feet at the base—the largest artificial mound in America. It is called the Pyramid of the Sun, for on the topmost

platform was a temple dedicated to the sun. Not very far away is the smaller Pyramid of the Moon, and there are others near by, also. Once these temple-pyramids must have been the center of a busy population. Just who the people were or when they lived we are not very certain, but it is supposed that the pyramids were built by the Toltecs, who ruled in Mexico long before the coming of the Aztecs.

The SPLENDORS of OLD MEXICO

How and Why the Spaniards under Cortes Reached Out Their Ruthless Hands to Seize the Riches of the Country

HERE and there, as you travel through Mexico, you will come upon ruined walls, broken pillars, pyramids of earth and brick, and the altars of some old religion. Sometimes the walls and pillars are carved with strange figures and designs. All these curious fragments speak to us of some long-vanished past, of civilizations that rose and fell before the coming of the white men.

Who were these half-forgotten people who carved the stones and raised the pyramids? What is the history written in these ruins? From what the Spaniards found when they came, from native legend and picture writing, from the ruins themselves, scientists have pieced together and puzzled out a little of this history, though most of it still lies in the shadows.

It is clear at least that the oldest civilizations in North America were in what is now Mexico. As far back as we can go we find the Mayas (mä'yä), whose descendants still

live in Yucatan as well as in Central America, and are among the most intelligent of modern Indians. These were peaceful, clever people, great workers in stone; the finest of the stone carvings are theirs.

But the history of Mexico before the white men found it was lived out mostly by the Nahua (nä'wä) peoples, who wandered into the country, tribe after tribe, and whose language is still the mother tongue of half a million Mexicans. Who these Nahua Indians were or just where they came from we do not surely know. Their legends say they came down "from the north." But they are not of the same race as the North American Indians the English settlers knew. They have about them more of the look of Asia, and may be nearer relatives of those Mongolian people who, as we suppose, came to America from Asia by way of the Bering Sea.

The first of these tribes to conquer Mexico were the Toltecs (töl'tëk), whose power

THE HISTORY OF MEXICO

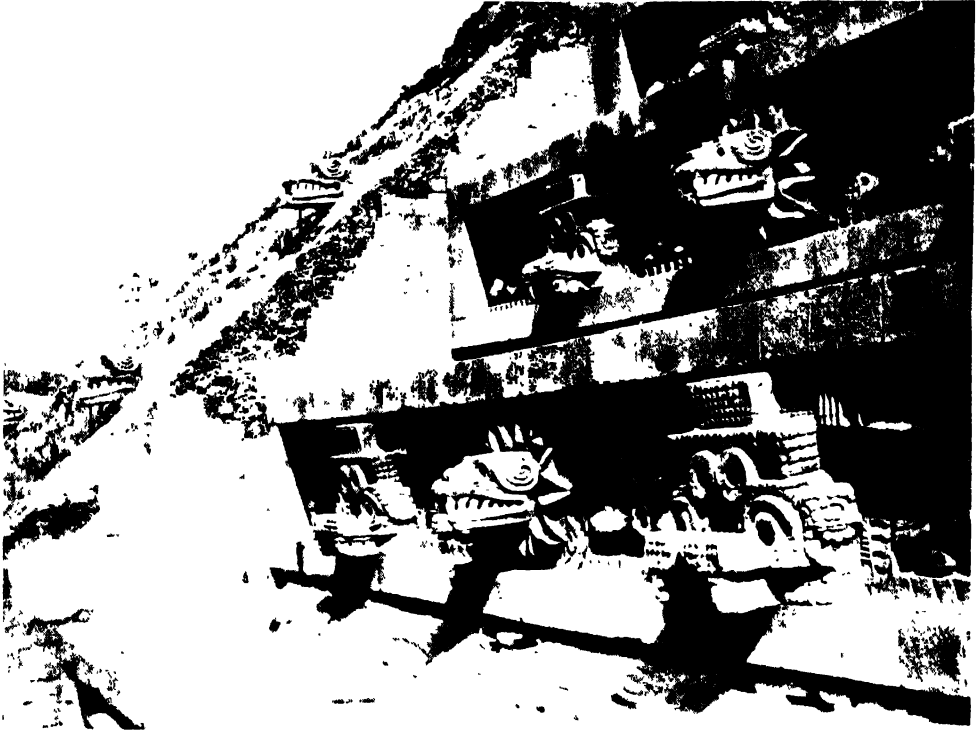


Photo by Publishers Photo Service

The word "Teotihuacan" means "House of the Gods," and each of the Mexican pyramids was built in honor of some god. None is more interesting than the temple of Quetzalcoatl, along the sloping side of which we are

looking in this picture. Quetzalcoatl's emblem was the plumed serpent, and the serpent heads and carven coils are meant to represent him. This temple is sometimes called "the Citadel."

lasted from about 752 to about 1070 A.D. Their rule came to an end, you will notice, just about the time William the Conqueror was conquering England and not long after Leif Ericsson had discovered Canada and New England for the Norsemen. How surprised either of these bold warriors would have been to know of that proud empire hidden in a rich and unsuspected land!

The Culture of the Toltecs

For the Toltecs were immensely more civilized than the stone-age natives whom the Norsemen and later the French and English settlers found. They had a calendar and a form of picture writing. They understood agriculture and the weaving of cloth from cotton. Though they did not know how to make glass, they had found a natural glass called obsidian (ɔb-sīd'ĭ-ăn), which is made by volcanoes. Though they had no

iron, they understood very well how to work in copper and silver and gold and to make beautiful jewelry of precious metals and precious stones. And they were excellent potters besides.

The Toltecs themselves explained how they came to understand these crafts by a legend which was one day going to change the whole history of Mexico, as we shall see. This was the legend of Quetzalcoatl (kēt-säl'kō-ä't'l), or the Fair God.

In olden times, so runs the tale, a god in the shape of a man with light skin and full beard had come to the home of the Toltecs and had stayed with them for twenty golden years. He had taught them how to plant and sow and weave and carve. During that happy time the air was magically perfumed and cotton turned lovely colors in the pod without having to be dyed. Plants and flowers grew and ripened of

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themselves without anyone's having to tend them. And all the Toltec nation lived at peace.

Then when twenty years were past, the Fair God sailed away to the east, to a mysterious land called Tlapallan (tlä'päl-yän'). But first he promised his mourning people that his descendants, like him full-bearded and fair, would some day come back to them.

So runs the story. Now whether it is just a story, or whether some wandering European or Asiatic actually visited Mexico and never returned to tell of his adventure—these things we do not know. But we do know that when the Spaniards appeared in Mexico centuries later, the Indians of that time, who had heard the tale from the Toltecs and now believed it too, took Cortes and his men for the promised gods. And we know too that the helmet of the Mexican war god was curiously like the helmets of the Spaniards. Cortes—who was much cleverer than he was truthful—solemnly told the Indians that he really *was* the ambassador of the Fair God!

But long before the Spaniards came, the Toltecs were gone—destroyed, driven away, or enslaved by another of the kindred tribes that came one after another from the north. These people were much less civilized than the tribe they had conquered, as indeed were the more famous Aztecs who came after them.

Yet beautiful cities

and rich empires were to rise once more in Mexico. Another of the Nahua tribes built a fine capital at Tezcuco (täs-kōō'kō), ruled over in the middle of the 1400's by a famous philosopher-king with the queer, long name of Nezahualcoyotl. This king not only kept a court as splendid as an oriental monarch's, but he encouraged poets and artists,

improved ways of farming, and himself secretly wrote beautiful prayers to an Unknown God more merciful than the hideous war god his people worshiped. His son, who had another tongue-twisting name—Txlilxochitl

—was almost as famous as an historian as his father was as a king and philosopher.

But of all the Nahua tribes the most famous is the tribe of the Aztecs (äz'tèk). Their other name,

Mexicans - from their fierce war god Mexitli —has given us the name of their city and country to this day.

The Aztecs have a pleasant legend of the way they came to found their capital city, now known as Mexico City. The tribesmen, they say, had for hundreds of years been wanderers. At last they wandered southward into Mexico, following as always the leader-priests who showed the way. They would

come, said the priests, to a place overgrown with cactus, and one of the cactus plants of the kind called "nopal" would be growing out of a rock, and on this nopal (nō'-pāl) they



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

As we might guess from this example, the Indians of Mexico have long been remarkably skillful potters.

Here is another group of interesting ruins near Mexico City.

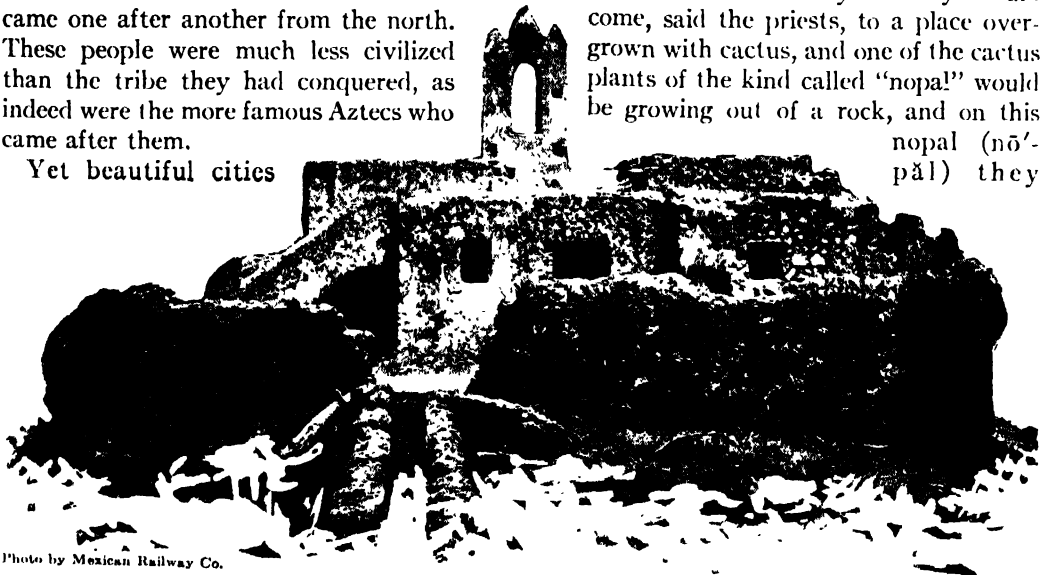


Photo by Mexican Railway Co.

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This model shows a Mexican temple built before the Spanish conquest. The temple itself is on the top platform of a terraced pyramid made of earth faced with stone. Up the long flight of steps go the priests, their bodies dyed black and their long black hair

filleted with many-colored papers. The chief priest wears a mask of two twisted serpents fastened on a skull. The sacrificial victim will die on the jasper stone in the temple, and his skull will be piled up with the others in the skull rack at the base of the pyramid.

would see an eagle with a serpent in his beak. There they should stop and build their city.

The Rise of the "Crane People"

And at last as they approached the shores of Lake Tezcuco, which lies in the midst of the high valley called Anahuac (ä-nä'wäk), they saw before them that very sight. The shores of the lake were rather marshy and it did not look like so very good a choice for the site of a city. But what was that to the command of the god? So there the Aztecs made an end of their wandering. And there they built their city, calling it Tenochtitlan, or the Place of the Stone and the Nopal.

Perhaps the Aztecs did not much mind the marshiness of the place; they were used to living in marshes. For at this time—about the year 1300 A.D.—they were not the proud conquerors of a later day, but a despised and barbarous race. They wore fantastic bits of gum and feathers stuck to their ears and noses, like the merest savages.

Their enemies hunted them into bogs, where they lived on fish and ants and other insects. Because they lived thus like marsh birds their enemies called them scornfully "Crane People."

But it turned out that the despised Crane People had in them the stuff that makes empires. As warriors they were both fierce and brave. And they had a wonderful ability to learn the ways of civilization from the people around them. So it happened that not so very long after the founding of Mexico City they overcame their neighbors the Tepanecs. And when they were once started on the road to empire there was no stopping them. In time they ruled all Mexico except for two or three little mountain districts which they could not conquer but raided now and then for slaves.

The Height of Aztec Splendor

The subject peoples of Mexico did not love their conquerors. And small wonder! What king likes to send tribute of gold and

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silver to an emperor? And what sort of ordinary people would they be who liked to send every year a given number of strong youths and beautiful girls to be sacrificed to the bloodthirsty Aztec gods? For this Mexitli whom the Aztecs worshiped, and the other gods both of the Aztecs and of the other peoples of Mexico, could live only on human blood. So it was the fate of nearly all prisoners of war and of many another captive or slave to die on the sacrificial stone. All these things helped in the end to bring about the fall of the Aztec empire, as we shall see.

Meanwhile, during the 1400's according to our calendar, the Aztec power and the Aztec civilization had reached their height. If we could stroll through Mexico City, how changed we should find it from the bare, sedgy shore where the eagle perched! The clever Aztec engineers have let the water run into canals, which the people of the city use as streets, traveling along them in canoes much as Venetians travel to this day in gondolas. Three wide, deep ditches surround the city outside the walls, and the bridges over them can be drawn up so that the ditches serve as protection from any enemy.

Within the walls the city teems with life and flashes with beauty. The mansions of hewn stone gleam in the sunshine like silver. Each house is built around an inner court, which is usually planted to a garden—for Mexicans have always kept their city bright with flowers. The rooms are decked with featherwork hangings and mats, and supplied with beds, stools, and pottery. The workers

are making gold and silver ornaments, copper and tin tools, feather mosaics, and cotton cloth. The canals are full of gay canoes and the dry streets with brightly-colored costumes trimmed with fur and feathers. There are fine bazaars, where one may buy anything from jewels to the queer insect food the people learned to like when they had nothing else to eat. If we stop to buy, we shall pay for our purchase with piles of cacao beans, or—should we spend extravagantly—with bits of tin that represent a certain large number of the beans.

Perhaps, if we are lucky, the litter of some great lord will come by, swaying on the shoulders of slaves. Perhaps—who knows?—the king himself may come. Even the courtiers who walk about his litter must keep their eyes cast down, but since we are invisible we shall dare to look at him boldly in all his splendor.

It may take more courage for us to look at the great temple which towers over the city. Yet it is the center of the city's life—the first thing built, the focus of the people's hopes and fears. From here we can see how it is constructed, in the shape of an immense blunted pyramid with several terraces one above another, mounted by stone steps—a hundred and fourteen in all; and on the top are two temples, each three stories high, one dedicated to the god of war and the other to the god of rain. Here also is the great drum made of serpent skin. When it beats to call the city to battle, its boom may be heard eight miles away—an ominous sound.

No, we shall not go to the temple. For on the top platform are the Aztecs' enormous,

The ancient Aztec built a "three-part house"—a kitchen, a house for the gods, and a granary. Many Mexican Indians still build clay granaries, which sometimes look vaguely like crude Chinese pagodas, as this one does. The grain is taken out near the top under the thatch, and is carried down a ladder.

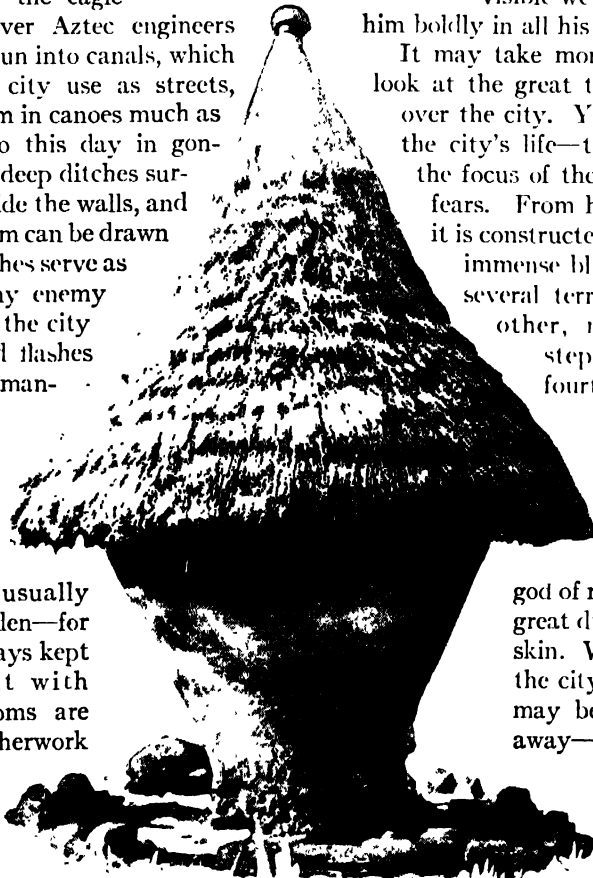


Photo by Mexican Railway Co.

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hideous idols, and before them is the jasper stone of sacrifice on which the human victims are bound while the priests tear out their hearts to fling on the altars of the gods. The Spaniards said later that in one town they found a pile containing over a hundred thousand skulls of these wretched victims. It is enough to make us shudder even now to think of all this beauty and pleasant life built around a temple like that one!

But though the surging crowds of the capital city do not know it, both this beauty and this particular kind of terror are doomed. For to the eastward in the Caribbean Sea an adventurous band under Admiral Columbus has landed on one of the islands of the West Indies. And soon the full-bearded, pale-skinned people who claim to come from the Fair God will be conquering Mexico.

In 1511 the Spaniards conquered Cuba and enslaved its inhabitants. But Cuba was a disappointment to them. They had heard tales of streets paved with gold and jewels, and they found only tangled jungle. So Diego Velasquez (dyā'-gō vā-lās'kāth), governor of Cuba, and the adventurers who gathered about him, began to seek their gold farther west. That meant—though of course they did not know it—that they were going to Mexico.

The first expedition to Mexico from Cuba (1517), under Cordoba (kōr'dō-vā), brought back a few gold ornaments and images from temples in Yucatan (yōō'kā-tān'); it brought back also reports of hostile Indians, fever,

and pestilent insects. Another expedition went out the next year, under Grijalva (grē-hāl'vā), and it too brought back both gold and tales of hardship and danger. Grijalva's adventurers had not gone far inland, but the tale of the fair-skinned strangers had traveled before them, and the

great Aztec emperor himself had sent them costly gifts.

In 1519 a third expedition went to Mexico, under one of the most amazing adventurers in all history—Hernando Cortes (kōr'-tēs). And the story of that third expedition, which we have now to tell, is so wildly fantastic that we feel we should stop here and now to assure you solemnly that it is every word of it true!

Cortes' adventures began before his ships had even touched the Mexican shore. For he had somehow offended the touchy governor, Velasquez, and had to slip away hastily before Velasquez had time to forbid him to go. Once on Mexican soil, he cleverly gave up his commission and had himself elected by his own men to lead them.

Then Cortes had two pieces of great good

luck. First he came upon a Spaniard who had been a prisoner among the Indians so long that he knew all their ways and could tell his countrymen much about the geography and the people of Mexico; he could tell in particular which tribes hated the Aztecs and might fight against them. This man had been tanned as dark as an Indian, and at first the Spaniards could hardly believe he was really white.



Photo by the Nati

Here are some present-day Aztecs, descendants of the proud race which fell from power when Cortes came. Nearly a million Mexicans still speak the Aztec tongue.

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Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Mexican Indians still make attractive pottery, and they still use largely the ancient simple methods they knew in Aztec times. Without any tool except a small

wooden paddle, they fashion bowls like these, or the huge "ollas" in which the peons carry water. Often they peddle these jars about.

Next, among the slaves given him by an Indian chief Cortes discovered a captive princess named Marina (mä-rē'nä)—a beautiful and spirited girl who promptly fell in love with him. Now Marina was both clever and brave, and since she knew more than one native language, she was a most valuable adviser and interpreter. She soon became a Christian. And no one could have been more faithfully devoted to Cortes and his cause than she.

The Coming of the Fair God

But the greatest stroke of luck of all was that old legend of the Fair God. The coast Indians were sure that the Spaniards were no mere men. Had not Quetzalcoatl promised that just such gods would come, fair-skinned, full-bearded, with just such helmets? And who but gods would have those terrible logs that roared to be heard for miles and spit forth death? And were not those strange, prancing beasts, on which some of the fair gods rode, gods also?

For the Indians knew nothing of cannon,

but fought still with arrows and swords. And they had never seen a horse. Some years later one of these godlike beasts was left among them, and they fed it with delicacies fit for the table of a king. When it died—perhaps for lack of good oats and hay!—they made an image of it to worship.

When tales of these goings-on were brought to Mexico City, the emperor Montezuma (mön'tê-zōō'má) did not know what to do. He was himself a priest, and he was not at all sure that the strangers were not gods indeed. Yet whoever they were, he had no mind to give them his kingdom. But yet again—one must not be impolite to gods! So like many a diplomat before and after him he tried giving with one hand and taking back with the other. But Cortes was as diplomatic as he—and much more determined. In the end Montezuma lost his kingdom because he could not make up his mind.

What he did now was to send rich gifts to the strangers, but to make excuses for not wanting them to visit his capital. The am-

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bassador noticed Cortes' helmet, so strangely like that of the god of war, and asked if he might have it to take back and show to the King. Cortes swept it off with a courtly gesture—but suggested blandly that they send it back to him full of gold dust!

Montezuma's Fatal Mistake

And that is where Montezuma made his fatal mistake. He did as Cortes had asked. And that princely gift of a helmet full of gold was to cost him his empire and his life. For when Cortes saw that treasure, nothing could stop him from trying to conquer so wealthy a king.

We cannot tell in detail the strange and bloody tale of the months that followed. When Cortes found his men dissatisfied and mutinous he burned his ships so that there should be no turning back—burned all of them but one, which he sent to Spain with treasure for the king. Then with his little force, never more than a few hundred men, sometimes not much more than a hundred, he set out to conquer an empire.

His method was this. Wherever he could, he stirred up the Indian tribes against the Aztecs and made them his allies. He was not above the basest trickery or the most horrible cruelty to do this, or to get himself and his men out of a tight place. Once when he suspected treachery he massacred in cold blood two or three thousand unarmed Indians to ward the treachery off. On the other hand, when they had to fight, the Spaniards fought like heroes, with a courage that time after time won against unbeliev-

able odds—odds sometimes of thousands to one. As for Montezuma, Cortes gave him guile for guile; always he pretended to be his dear friend, always he pressed for that invitation to visit the Emperor at his capital.

At last he got it. In November, 1519, nine months after he had left Cuba, Cortes and his weary followers stood before the three canals of Tenochtitlan. And the Aztecs opened their gates with a royal welcome. Across the drawbridge they marched into the city, and soon King Montezuma himself came to meet them, offering them welcome, and princely gifts.

So here are the Spaniards comfortably settled in a great stone palace in the heart of the rich city they have come to conquer, and treated as honored guests. As if that were not enough like a fairy tale, the story grows more and more fantastic. Listen now to the mad scheme Cortes is planning—and carrying through to success.

A King for Hostage

It was natural enough that the Spaniards should feel uneasy, not knowing when the Aztecs might turn against them. But surely no one but Cortes would have supposed that he could take the Emperor himself prisoner in his own palace and hold him as a hostage for the Spaniards' safety! Yet that is just what Cortes did. Some chiefs had rebelled against the Spaniards in the country through which they had come. Cortes accused Montezuma of having egged them on, and insisted that the King become his prisoner until he could prove his in-

One still sees many ox carts in Mexico, as one might have seen them in the days of New Spain.



Photo by Gramstorff Bros.

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nocence. Surely Montezuma must have been hypnotized by his imperious guest, for he meekly went home with the Spaniards to their palace.

But now Cortes had to take half his men and go to the coast to fight, not Indians, but other Spaniards. For Velasquez had never forgiven Cortes for setting out to Mexico against his orders, and had landed another expedition under Narvaez (när-vä'äth) to bring Cortes to terms. Cortes and his veterans overcame the newcomers in battle easily enough, and Cortes started back to Mexico with new forces—for he was always a popular leader and Narvaez' men followed him gladly.

How the Aztecs Were Revenged

He returned to the capital to find the whole Aztec nation in revolt. Alvarado (äl'-vä-rä'thō), the lieutenant he had left in charge, stupidly, and quite without excuse, murdered a group of Aztecs, including many nobles, and the people had risen as one man to avenge the mad deed. They let Cortes and his men enter the city and rejoin their comrades. Then they drew up the draw-bridge. The Spaniards were trapped.

There followed days of terrible struggle. Cortes persuaded Montezuma to show himself to his people and beg them to stop. But the people looked at their weak king in sorrow and anger. Some of them up-braided him, and then came a shower of stones. Before the Spaniards could protect him, one stone had struck him on the head and several others on the body. A few days later he died of a broken heart.

At last one black night the desperate Spaniards tried to cut their way out of the city and cross the moats with a portable bridge of their own making. But before they were across the first of the three moats the enemy fell upon them. In the morning a few spent survivors, who had crossed the other canals on heaps of broken cannon and corpses of the slain, gathered sadly in their refuge to mourn the "Noche Triste"—the Sad Night. Even the iron Cortes wept.

He wept, but he would not give up. Not even then! The next month he and his little

band of survivors had again to fight a vast Indian army at the Battle of Otumba (July 8, 1520), and they gained another of their incredible victories. Then, with hordes of new Indian allies, they turned back to besiege Mexico City.

The Aztecs were always brave warriors, and now they fought with the courage of despair. The siege lasted between two and three months. As Cortes' men won one part of the city after another, they laid all the fine buildings low and left nothing but smoking ruins. The people were starving. At last Guatemozin, the new emperor, a brave, ill-fated youth of scarcely twenty years, paddled out in a canoe in an attempt to escape through the Spanish lines. But he was captured and taken before Cortes, who treated him with all honor, as befitted a gallant enemy. Would that we did not have to add that later Cortes allowed this brave prince to be tortured that he might tell where he had hidden his gold, and that later still he let him be hanged like a common criminal because he was suspected of rebellion.

What Came of Spanish Conquest

And after all the blood and courage and cruelty, the Spaniards found almost no treasure in the Aztec city. It is possible that none was there. Or perhaps the people had hidden it too securely for the hated conquerers to find it. Guatemozin himself said it had been sunk in the lake, but when the Spaniards dragged the water, they did not find it. Many people believe to this day that the Aztec treasure lies at the bottom of Lake Tezcuco.

One good had come of the Conquest. The altars of the bloodthirsty gods were overthrown. For little as they sometimes seemed to understand the spirit of its Founder, these Spaniards were devoted believers in Christianity, and Cortes himself, with his reckless courage, had more than once risked his life to insult and overthrow these gods.

But, alas, other cruelties had come to take the place of the jasper stone, and Mexico's troubles were far from over.

The HISTORY of MEXICO

Reading Unit

No. 2

OUR NEAREST NEIGHBORS TO THE SOUTH

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

Three centuries of Spanish oppression in Mexico were followed by a century of revolution during

which Mexico was twice invaded. Gradually she has been putting power in the hands of the people.

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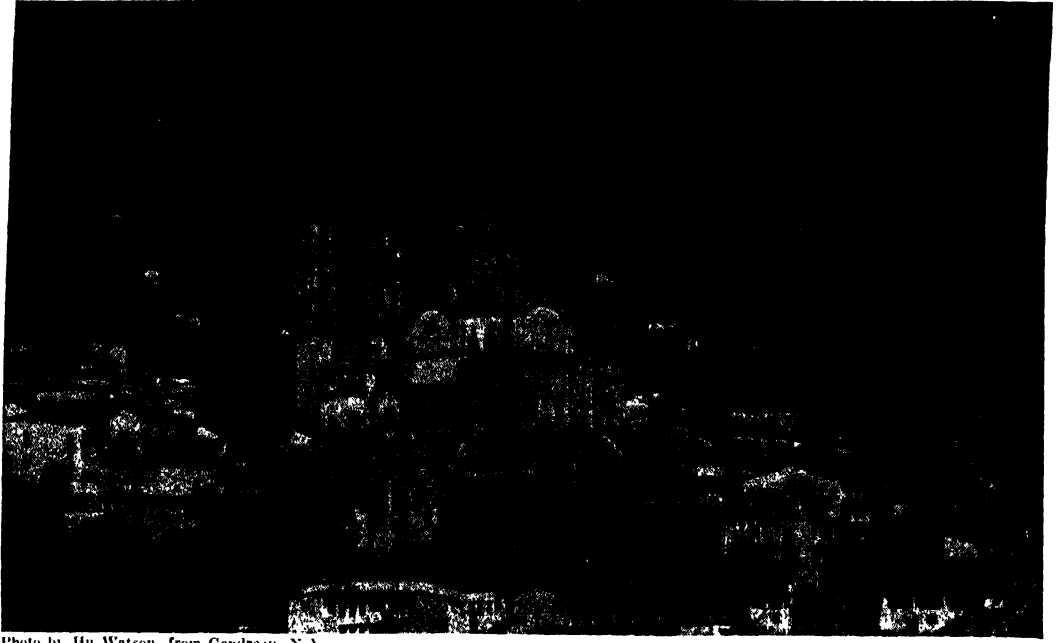


Photo by Hu Watson, from Gendreau N.Y.

Artists and tourists flock to Taxco, the beautiful old town in the mountains south of Mexico City. Indians were living here in 1445. Then the Aztecs came—and the Spaniards under Cortes. A Frenchman built the

church (1757) you see, in gratitude for the wealth he found when his mule stepped into a vein of rich silver. Today the people of Taxco make beautiful things out of silver and tin from their mines, and are fine weavers.

OUR NEAREST NEIGHBORS *to the* SOUTH

What the Mexicans Are Like, and How They Have Managed Their Rich but Troublous Country

THE Indians of Mexico never met the fate of those in what is now the United States—to be pushed together in little reservations and to see their name of Americans passed over to their white conquerors. One reason for this was that there were many more of the Mexican Indians per square mile, and, besides, they were much more civilized. On the other hand, the Spaniards who came to “New Spain” after the fall of the Aztec empire were much fewer in number than the English who peopled the more northern land, and they wanted rather to rule the land and let the natives work for them than to work it themselves, as the English settlers did.

So it comes about that most modern Mexicans are at least partly Indian in blood. The largest number of them are “mestizos” (mēs-tē’zō), part Indian and part Spanish;

and the numbers of the mestizos are increasing all the time. Next most numerous are the pure-blooded Indians; although there are fewer of them than there used to be, from their midst have come some of the greatest names in Mexican history. The smallest group, though a very powerful one, is made up of other races—Dutch, American, and of course above all, Spanish. People of Spanish or French parentage born in the New World have often been spoken of as Creoles (krē’ōl)—especially in the old days, when Mexico still belonged to Spain.

Those old days of Spanish rule lasted exactly three hundred years. In 1521 Cortes (kôr’tēz) overthrew the power of the Aztec emperor; in 1821 the Mexicans threw off the yoke of the Spanish king. How shall we see, after all these years, the color and romance and brave adventure—the violence

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and suffering and cruel oppression—of those three centuries of New Spain?

We must imagine, to begin with, a realm immensely larger than modern Mexico. It stretched in time far southward into Central America, and northward well into what is now the United States. It included the islands of the Gulf of Mexico, and at one time reached across the Pacific to take in the Philippines. A royal realm indeed, far larger than any Aztec emperor had ever dreamed of.

The Splendid Days of New Spain

Over this princely domain Spain set a viceroy, or governor, with an *audiencia* (ou-dyān'thē-ä), or council to advise with him. The old Aztec capital, destroyed in the Conquest, was splendidly rebuilt, and there the government officials, along with dashing adventurers, haughty grandees, and vivacious Spanish ladies, made for a century or two a brilliant spot of Europe in the New World. Other rich cities were founded, and many splendid estates. The first book ever printed in America appeared in Mexico in 1536—only fifteen years after the Conquest. In 1551 the first university in North America,

the Royal University, was founded in Mexico City. The capital thronged with artists and writers, who did not lack for those who could appreciate them.

Though the treasure of the Aztec capital still lay—if the tale be true—at the bottom of the lake, Spain had found untold wealth in the New World. The richest treasures came, to be sure, from the conquered Incas of Peru, but mines had been opened in Mexico too, and the land itself also yielded wealth. Every year tall galleons sailed to Spain laden with treasure, until at the time of the American Revolution the Spanish king was getting something like \$20,000,000 a year from New Spain. In Mexico itself the Spaniards, who had been given vast estates, could live like princes, and as for the church, by the time of the Mexican Revolution in 1821, she owned half the land in Mexico.

The Cruel Fate of the Mexican Natives

All this splendor is very well, you will say, but what of the Mexicans themselves meanwhile? Alas, that is a different story. The wealth and culture was not for them. The conquerors gave away most of the na-

One of the first things the Spaniards did when they landed at Vera Cruz was to found a church. This picturesque chapel, one of the oldest buildings in Vera Cruz, stands on the site of that first church.

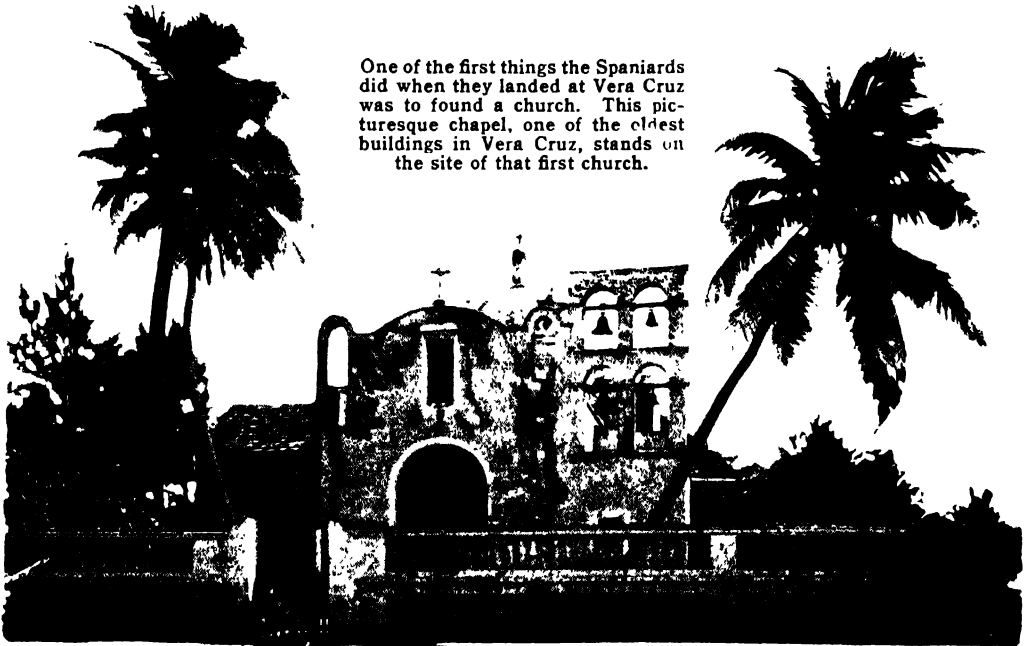


Photo by Publishers Photo Service

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Photo by American Museum of Natural History

There are many quiet villages in Mexico, as picturesque as this glimpse of one suggests, and as charming and peaceful as anyone could wish. There will be beautiful scenery of lake or mountains, and perhaps some

tives' land to lords and adventurers among the Spaniards, and parceled out the natives themselves to the new landlords like so many beasts of burden. The Mexicans were forced to till the land for others, or if a plot of land was still their own they soon found that they had fallen deep into debt to the nearest great house—and you may be sure they were never allowed to get out again. Great numbers of them were forced to wear out their lives at the terrible labor of the mines. So great was the cruelty of many masters that early in the Spanish rule a law had to be passed forbidding masters to brand their slaves as ranchers brand cattle.

Two Great Viceroys in New Spain

Sometimes these conditions were worse, and sometimes they were better. A good deal depended on the reigning viceroy. The two earliest viceroys were admirable men. The first, Mendoza (1535-50), encouraged exploration and farming, and did his best to see that the Indians were kindly treated. The next, Velasco (1550-64), was called the "Emancipator," for he set free more than 150,000 Indian slaves. "Of more importance

special attraction—a habit of dancing to the guitar of an evening, or some age-old festival originally honoring one of the Indian gods. Such places are a welcome relief from the hurry of modern life.

than all the mines in the world is the liberty of the Indians," he said. But unhappily later viceroys did not follow him in his good work, and soon the Indians were almost as much slaves as ever.

The Best Friend of the Indians

During the first century of Spanish rule the best friend the Indians had was the Catholic church. Many of the missionary priests who went among the people were humble and kindly men, and several of the bishops tried very hard to make the government and the Spanish masters less cruel. There was Bishop Las Casas (läs kä'säs), for instance, who labored during the time of the first viceroy; men called him "Protector General to the Indians." And all over Mexico and far into what is now the United States, from California to the Chesapeake Bay, went the patient priests, exploring the land, preaching to the Indians, building with the Indians' help beautiful mission houses which became the center of the Indians' lives. Many of these fine old missions, with their white walls and low arches and pealing bells, still stand to remind us of those vanished days.

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In those years when the Indians were turning to Christianity, the land was full of reports of miracles. Many of these legends are very beautiful, and are cherished by the Mexicans to this day. Most famous of all is the legend of Our Lady of Guadalupe (gô'dē-lōōp'). Once in the days of Father

Las Casas and the first viceroy, it is said, the Virgin Mary appeared



Mexican peons live largely on tortillas, and the women spend much of their time preparing them, as above. A tortilla is a flat cake made out of ground corn, or maize. The women grind the grain themselves, with mortar and pestle. They make it into a paste with water, pat it into cakes, and then bake it.

Photos by American Museum of Natural History

time after time to a poor Indian named Juan Diego (hwan dyā'gō), at Guadalupe; and when the bishop still would not believe Juan's report of this, she bade Juan pick roses on a desert hillside, and then miraculously turned the miraculous roses into a picture of herself for a sign. So they built a cathedral in her honor where these things had taken place. The Virgin of Guadalupe became the patron saint of the Indians, and to this day the cathedral is a place of pilgrimage for the devout.

In the Days of the Privateers

But the church grew richer and richer in Mexico, and certain of the officials ceased to care about the condition of the natives or to seek to win their love. Yet the people never ceased to reverence their patron saint, and the main body of the clergy always held the people's affection. The first hero of the Revolution was a priest.

But we must not come to the Revolution

until we have said something about the pirates—it would never do to leave *them* out! They were at the height of their dubious glory in the late 1500's and the 1600's. Some of them called themselves "privateers," and were comparatively respectable citizens. There was Sir Francis Drake, for instance, who took vast treasure from the ships of Spain—and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. For in those days the manners of English and Spanish sailors toward each other were more dashing than



"Does anybody want to buy this jack rabbit?" Our two little Mexicans at the left would be glad to make the sale. Below is a group of Tarahumare Indians, of the Sierra Madre region, famous for length of life and for marvelous strength and endurance in running.



polite. There were plenty of notable pirates in Mexico's story—Hawkins and Cav-

endish and Van Horn and Drake himself—and plenty of pirates' nests along the shores of Mexico and Texas and in the Caribbean islands. Sometimes the daring sea robbers were not content with waylaying a treasure ship, but must lay siege to a whole town. In 1683 a pirate band besieged Vera Cruz (vā'rā krōōs') and carried off money and goods worth \$7,000,000.

But whether the pirates got it, or whether it slipped through to Spain, or whether it stayed in Mexico, very little of the Mexicans' wealth ever came to them. It never bought them education or leisure or a chance to be free. To the grievances they had to suffer, along in the 1700's, the grievances which brought on the American Revolution were

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as nothing. And the people were kept too poor and ignorant to do much about seeking their freedom. But the poorest worm will turn at last!

By the early 1800's Mexico was all ready for revolution. Not only the lower classes, or peons (*pē'ōn*), but the upper-class natives and some of the ruling Spaniards themselves were muttering discontentedly. Spain was no longer the imperial power she had once been, and ideas of liberty had been in the air ever since the American and French revolutions. Not much longer would Mexico allow herself to be run in the interest of a land across the sea.

The first revolt broke out among the poorest people. It started with a half-armed mob of peons led by the heroic priest Miguel Hidalgo (*mê-gêl' ê-dâl'gō*), and it grew and grew until the rebels had even taken Guanajuato (*gwa'nâ-hwâ'tō*), a great mining center. But in a few months it was put down (1811), and Hidalgo was shot—the first great hero and martyr of the Revolution.

The work was carried on by Morelos (*mô-râ'lōs*), another hero-priest, who called the first Mexican Congress. But he too was defeated, captured, and put to death (1813).

Now all this time one of the most dreaded generals of the Royalists, who were putting down these rebellions, was a Creole named Augustin de Iturbide (*dâ ê'tōōr-bê'thâ*), called the Terrible. Just at this point he suddenly changed his mind—he and many other Royalists—and decided to help the rebels separate Mexico from

Spain. It is said that the reason for this astonishing change was that a Liberal government had taken charge in Spain, and that these men thought that if Mexico remained Spanish she would have to become more

democratic. We may be sure that if the revolutionists had supposed that Iturbide wanted independence to avoid just the thing they were fighting for

they would never have accepted his help.

However, they did not suspect it at all. And so Iturbide went over to the Revolution, and the remaining Royalists were defeated, and independence was won at last. This was in 1821; the war had been going on ten years.

The very next year Iturbide had himself crowned emperor. But by that time of course the democratic revolutionaries saw their mistake, and there were more revolts. In 1823 the new emperor had to abdicate, and the next year he was put to death. The victors proclaimed a republic, and Guadalupe Victoria became its first president.

Even so it was to be a long, long time before the Revolution was to bring so very much relief to the poor. Oddly enough, the principal gainer turned out to be the church, which was given the right to inherit property. It continued to grow richer and richer, until by 1850 it owned more than half the national wealth.

The democratic machinery of the republic never got a chance to work very well. The century fol-

This splendid monument to National Independence, the work of Antonio Rivas Mercado, was completed in 1910. It stands on the Paseo, or Boulevard, de la Reforma, in Mexico City.

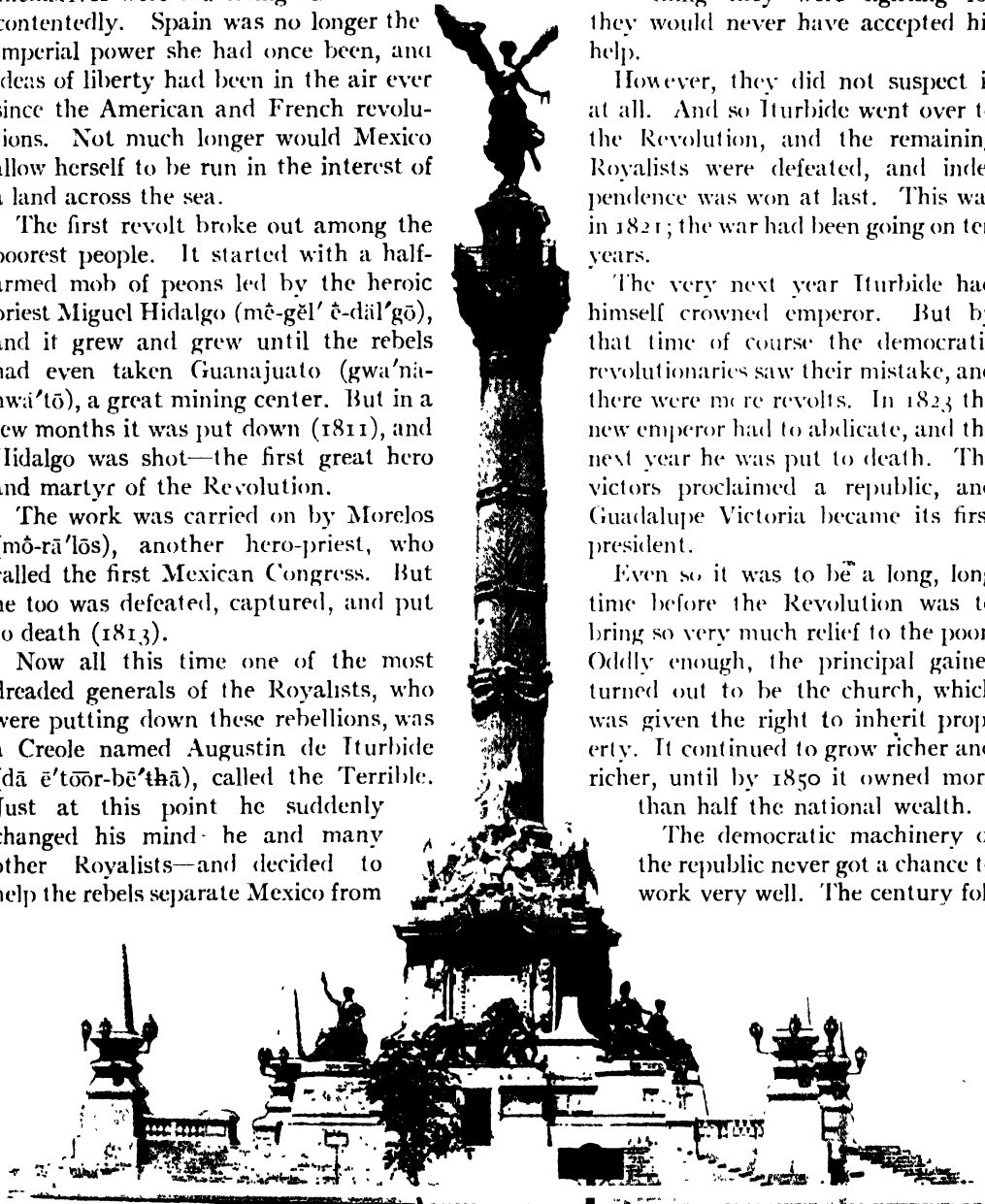


Photo by Mexican Railway Co

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lowing 1821 saw a hundred revolutions or attempted revolutions, an average of one a year! There were seventy-four different governments, including two emperors, two regencies, and seventy assorted presidents, provisional presidents, and acting presidents. Almost never was a defeated candidate willing to admit defeat without a fight—and he was usually right in thinking that the voting had not been free and that there was a fair chance that the people preferred him to his successful rival. Almost never was a president once in office able to finish out his term in peace. Even if he managed to finish it out at all—which rarely happened—he would have to put down two or three attempted revolutions to do so.

How Texas Became an American State

With things in such a state, it is no wonder that Mexico was not able to develop her resources or to settle the outlying parts of her country. The New Spain of which she had once been the center had already shrunk by loss of Central America, Florida, and Louisiana, even before the Revolution. And now along her northern border the new republic was unlucky enough to have a big, powerful neighbor whose people were full of restless energy and always eager for more land. So it came about that California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas would not wait for the Mexicans to stop fighting and settle them, but early slipped away and became part of the United States.

Neither Mexicans nor Americans have

much reason to be proud of the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848, though it had its heroes and its heroic deeds on both sides. We have told about it in the story of the United States, and are going to skip over it rather fast this time.

Mexico first encouraged American settlers in Texas, and then became alarmed at their numbers and tried to stop them—too late. When the government tried to disarm the Texans there was a rebellion, under the picturesque Sam Houston. President Santa Anna, leader of the Mexican forces, attacked (1836) and killed 183 Texans at the mission known as the Alamo (ä'lä-mō). The rebels dashed into battle at San Jacinto (sän jā-sin'tō) crying "Remember the Alamo!" They won the fight and captured the President himself. Texas was then declared independent.

After the lapse of ten years the United States admitted Texas to the Union (1845), in spite of the protests of the Mexican government. Both sides sent armies into the region, and in 1846 they clashed on the banks of the Rio Grande—and then the war was on.

The Mexican-American War

Mexico, of course, was in no condition to fight a large, well-organized country like the United States. Santa Anna, although his forces always outnumbered those of the Americans, was defeated again and again, and his country was swiftly overrun. Vera Cruz fell, and the invading army passed

Lake Patzcuaro, cradled in the mountains of Western Mexico, is one of the highest and most beautiful lakes in the world. Sixteenth century villages cling to its shores, and around it live the Tarascan Indians, a tribe that refused to bow to the Aztecs but kept its independence and a culture that was all its own. They fish in the dugout canoes they are using here, and when they are married the bride and groom will dance a bridal dance inside the fishnet.



Photo by Mexican Govt.
Ry System

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Photo by Museum at Versailles

On June 10, 1863, French troops under General Bazaine entered Mexico City in triumph, as pictured here. They had had to do a good deal of fighting to get this far. But now they strewed the capital with manifestoes, or

announcements, which began with extravagant promises and ended with violent threats. Besides, they passed plenty of pulque about, and for a time the people almost thought they were glad to see the invaders.

over Cortes' old route to attack the capital. On September 13, 1847, the Stars and Stripes were run up over Mexico City. Meanwhile other American armies had occupied California and the desert country—where the Mexicans could make little resistance.

How Mexico Lost a Princely Realm

By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) Mexico had to sign away a princely realm—all of Texas, what is now New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and California, and most of Arizona; a little strip at the south of Arizona was sold to the United States later. To be sure, Mexico was paid \$15,000,000 for what she lost and was relieved of an indemnity. And of course things might have been much worse—she might have been gobbled up by her big neighbor altogether.

Mexico did not find herself united by the war. Santa Anna, who had proved treacherous and extravagant, fell. There was another revolution, called the Revolution of Ayotla, which gave power to the Liberals, who were working to break the power of the church and to help the middle classes. Juan Alvarez (hwän älvä-rës), a mestizo, be-

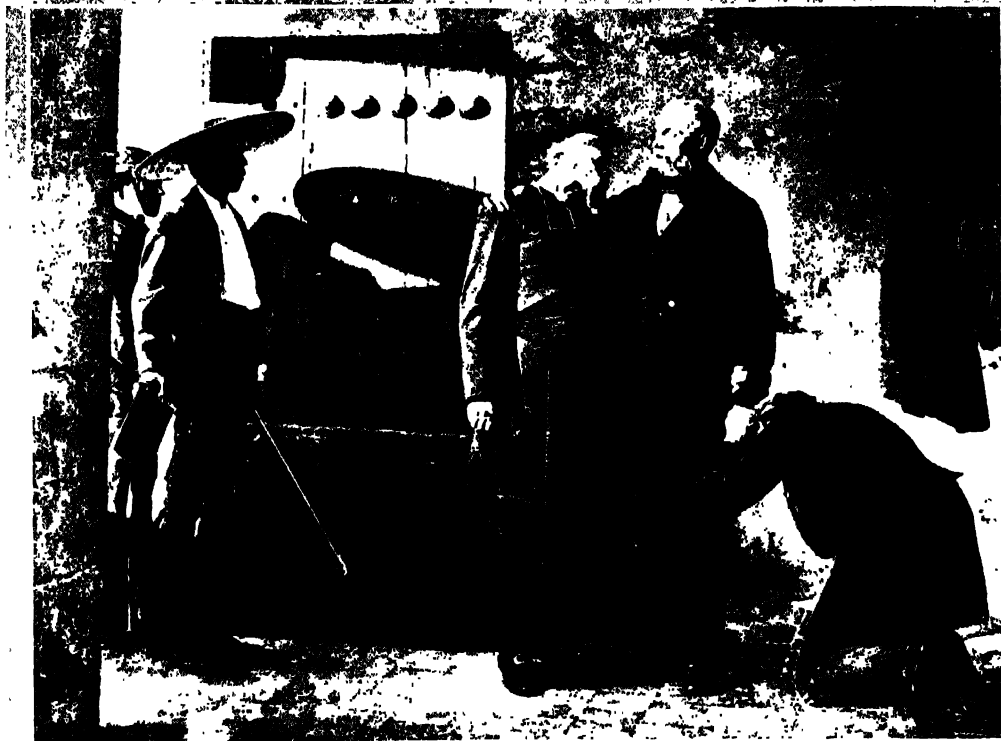
came president, and as chief justice under him he had one of the greatest of Mexico's heroes—Benito Juarez (bä-né'tō hwä'räs), "the Little Indian."

Alvarez's government adopted the famous Constitution of 1857, which should have brought freedom and democracy to Mexico if only it could have been put into effect. It abolished slavery—six years before President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation. It granted free speech and freedom of religion, and gave every citizen the vote. The church was forbidden to own any property except what it actually used for religious purposes.

The War of the Reform

It was largely this attack on the church which caused the "holy war," or War of the Reform (1858-61), which at once followed the adoption of this constitution. While the war still raged, Juarez became president. He abolished the religious orders of monks and nuns and took their property for the state. The poor people liked this measure, and in 1861 Juarez' government was victorious.

Some of the defeated Conservatives took



At eleven o'clock in the morning of July 16, 1867, a detachment of soldiers came to the emperor Maximilian in his prison cell, and their general read out to him the sentence of death. As we can see from this picture, he took it with proud courage, and even tried to comfort his friends. The execution was set for that

afternoon, but when the hour was already passed, it was postponed for three days, while Maximilian's friends made one last desperate effort to save him. Even under this terrible ordeal of suspense the Emperor's courage did not falter. And when he faced the firing squad at last, he died nobly.

their troubles to the royal court of France, hoping to get help from that strong Catholic power. And sure enough, Napoleon III listened to them gladly, for he had dreams of imitating his famous uncle, and was scheming for a vast empire in America.

How Maximilian Became Emperor

The excuse—as of many a conquest or “intervention” before and since—was that Mexico had been too poor and distracted to pay her debts. England and Spain sent soldiers too at first, but soon withdrew them. The French soldiers stayed. Then Napoleon held an “election”—as carefully guarded and edited as any native election, you may be sure—and announced that the Mexicans had urgently invited young Maximilian (măk'si-mī'yăn), brother to the emperor of Austria, to become their emperor. Maxi-

milian was a quiet and studious youth, but who could refuse an invitation like that?

So June 12, 1864, is a gala day at the City of Mexico. The people are happy enough, for they have been given plenty of pulque (pōōl'kâ), the national intoxicating liquor. And here in a shower of roses comes the handsome, golden-haired young emperor, looking for all the world like the Fair God come at last; with him is his beautiful young empress, Carlotta. Now there is to begin at the ancient capital a brief glory of royal pomp.

The End of the Foreign Emperor

But an emperor must rule as well as spend. And Maximilian was short-sighted, weak, and as unable to make up his mind as Montezuma of old. He tried to make friends of the Liberals—many of whom

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were, as usual, in arms—and then turned on them with a terrible “Black Decree” permitting them to be executed wherever found. He was always asking Napoleon for more money—when Napoleon had hoped to get some of the fabled wealth of Mexico! The people turned against their foreign emperor; and as for Napoleon, he decided that he had had enough. Incidentally Uncle Sam, whose hands had been tied all this time by our Civil War, now warned France that what she was doing in Mexico was against the Monroe Doctrine, and American troops started toward the border to back up the warning.

In the end one of Maximilian’s most trusted lieutenants turned traitor, and handed the Emperor over to Juarez and the Liberal army. Juarez, remembering the Black Decree, could not see his way to be merciful, and doomed Maximilian to die before a firing squad. All the Emperor’s weakness fell from him at the last, and he died like a hero.

Juarez was now again in power, and he managed to stay in power till his death in 1872. But he did not bring order to distracted Mexico.

Perhaps only a lawless strong man, a dictator, could bring Mexico order just then. At least a dictator is what Mexico was now

to have. His name was Porfirio Diaz (pôr-fē-rē-ō-dē’ās), and he had been a professor at the Institute of Law at Oaxaca (wä-hä’kä) and then

an officer in the Liberal army. In 1877, after the usual fighting, he got himself elected president. And president he stayed—except for one term which he

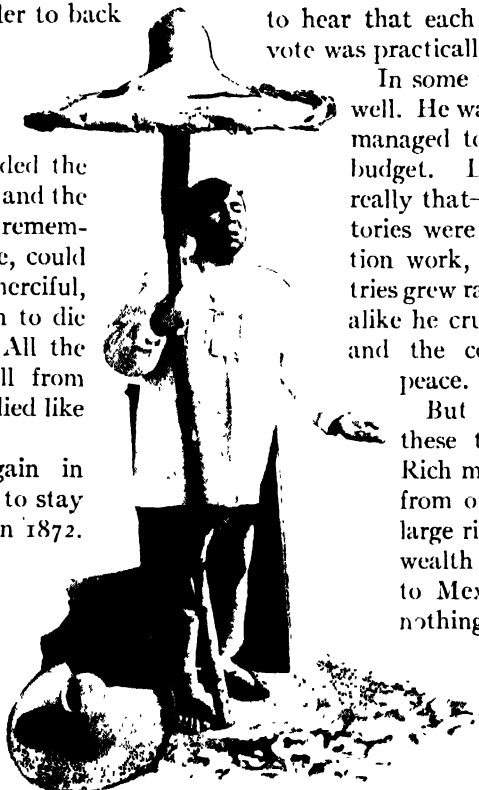
graciously handed to his friend Gonzalez (gôn-thā’lāth)—until 1911, no less than thirty-four years. It is the longest term of power ever held by any president in the world. As Diaz took care to see that his representatives controlled the ballot boxes, it is not particularly surprising to hear that each time he was elected the vote was practically unanimous.

In some ways Diaz used his power well. He was economical and actually managed to balance the government budget. During his reign—it was really that—railroads were built, factories were opened, mines, construction work, and other modern industries grew rapidly. Rebels and bandits alike he crushed with a heavy hand, and the country had comparative peace.

But the price Mexico paid for these things was a heavy one. Rich men and great corporations from other countries were given large rights and came to own the wealth that might have belonged to Mexicans. The dictator did nothing to educate the peons, and worst of all, in 1894 he took away from the Indians the lands they had used in common from time immemorial, and opened them to



One of the things modern Mexico has inherited from Spain is the terrible sport of the bull ring. The picture above shows a fight in a village ring. At Mexico City there is bullfighting every Sunday. The best Spanish to-readers come to try their skill there, and the best Mexicans try theirs in Spain. Below is a blind beggar such as one may see along a Mexican road.



Photos by Rock Island Ry., and Publishers Photo Service

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sale and settlement—often to foreigners. The masses were no better off in 1910 than a hundred or two hundred years before. Probably they were worse off. It is recorded that on one occasion Diaz ordered three hundred starving and discontented laborers shot down in cold blood.

When Diaz Was Overthrown

Then at last, in 1911, Francisco Madero (mä-thä'rō), the idealistic son of a wealthy landowner, managed to overthrow the strong old man's power. But, alas, Madero could not control the country himself, and it fell back into its old confusion and continual revolution. In 1913 one of Madero's own leaders, Victoriano Huerta (wër'tü), treacherously turned against him and overthrew him. Madero was murdered, probably at Huerta's order. Huerta's own power did not last long; he was never legally elected, and the United States resolutely refused to recognize him at all. In 1914 he was forced to resign.

The new leader was Carranza (kär-ran'sa), who held power from 1915 to 1920. He was a reformer, and hoped particularly to improve the land laws—which certainly needed improvement. A new constitution in 1917 had very advanced provisions about land and labor, and some progress was made, though not so much as Carranza had hoped. The greatest of many difficulties came from the fact that Diaz had tied the country up with all sorts of concessions to rich and powerful foreigners. It was largely over Carranza's attempts to get rid of these concessions that strained relations arose with the United States. Relations were not made any better by the picturesque but murderous exploits of the bandit Villa (vël'yä), who made several raids across the border into the United States, and was once chased back far into Mexican territory by an expedition of American soldiers.

Things were not much better under Obregon (ōb'rā-gōn'), president from 1920 to 1924, though he too was working for the new reforms. Results began to show, however, under Plutarco Calles (käl'yäs), president from 1924 to 1928, who did much for education. Calles vigorously enforced the

laws restricting the church, in spite of protest from the pope and from other Catholics who thought he went too far. He even managed to enforce at least some of the new laws meant to restrict foreign capitalists from exploiting the wealth of Mexico.

Cardenas Elected President

Other dictators followed until in 1934 General Lazaro Cardenas (kär'dā-näs) was elected president, and unlike his predecessors was able to throw off the secret domination of Calles. He was a vigorous administrator and an ardent socialist, and let nothing swerve him from his determination to set up socialism in Mexico as rapidly as possible. He seized large agricultural holdings and turned them over to landless farm workers to farm on a communal basis, he took over the railroads and turned them over to the railway workers' union to operate, he widened government control in business and finance, and also encouraged workers to demand higher wages, partly with an eye to driving out foreign owners. He was somewhat friendlier toward the church, and even had some help from it. On the other hand, he gave shelter to Trotsky, wanted in Russia for treason—and finally assassinated.

Economic Depression

Cardenas met difficulties, not the least of them being the resistance of foreigners who owned property in Mexico. Trouble finally came to a head when he seized Mexican oil properties (1938) because the foreign owners refused to pay the workers the wages allowed by the Mexican government. He promised to pay for the properties, but payments were too slow to suit the companies—owned mostly by British, Dutch, and United States citizens—and they refused to buy the oil. A grave economic depression followed. In 1940 Camacho (kā-mä'chō), a less radical supporter of Cardenas, became president, and the oil disputes were gradually adjusted. Mexico entered the war on the Allied side, and with the exchange of visits between President Truman and President Alemán (ä-lä-män'), elected in 1946, a feeling of warm friendship suddenly sprang up between the two countries.

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In the gay trappings of an older day these Mexicans ride in the Sunday parade along the Reforma in Mexico City. This is one of the finest streets in the world.



The stark beauty of Mexico's industrial present, shown in this oil refinery, stands in strong contrast to the color and warmth that belong to Mexico's past.



Photos courtesy Mexican Govt. Ry. System

The man who carved these fine arches in the Federal Palace at Queretaro knew that the Mexican sun would throw his work into sharp relief.



The Mexican national costume, now worn on Sundays and holidays, has come down from the days of the great cattle ranches, and recalls the country's lusty past.

REPUBLIC OF MEXICO

AREA

760,290 square miles—as large as the combined areas of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, and Oklahoma.

LOCATION

The Republic of Mexico lies between the United States on the north and Central America on the south. It extends from 14°33' to 32°43' N. Lat., and from 86°48' to 117°8' W. Long. On the west is the Pacific Ocean, and on the east the Caribbean Sea.

CLIMATE

Mexico has a highly varied climate. The lowlands along the coasts are very hot, and on the Gulf side are unhealthful, with a heavy rainfall. On the Pacific side, where the mean annual temperature reaches as high as 105° or 110° F. and even 119° F. at Guaymas — irrigation is necessary, as it is in the interior, for the trade winds lose their moisture in climbing the eastern mountains. In the foothills is a subtropical zone, with a mean annual temperature of 75° F. On the vast high plateau of Mexico the average temperature is 63° F., and there is never extreme heat or cold. South of 28° N. Lat. there are only a wet and a dry season. In Mexico City the coldest months are December and January, the warmest April and May. Eternal snows lie on the country's highest mountains.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Mexico is mostly made up of a high plateau, with a general elevation of about 8,000 feet. Lowlands lie along the coasts and cover the Peninsula of Yucatan, in the Gulf of Mexico. The long, narrow, mountainous peninsula of Lower California, on the Pacific side, is really a continuation of our own Coast Range. The Western Sierra Madre range of mountains runs north and south near the Pacific coast, and the Eastern

Sierra Madres, a continuation of the Rocky mountain system, runs down on the eastern side nearly to Vera Cruz. The highest of the volcanic peaks is Orizaba (18,564 ft.). Both it and Popocatepetl (17,543 ft.), another huge snow-covered cone, stand in a range that crosses the highest part of the plateau. Orizaba is often said to be the most beautiful volcano in the world. On the Gulf side the mouths of the rivers are closed by sand bars, and the good harbors are artificial. The Panuco River has been improved by means of jetties to aid the commerce of Tampico, and the Coatzacoalcos has been improved to help the commerce of Puerto Mexico. The forests produce spruce, pine, mahogany, logwood, and rosewood. From the guayule bush, which flourishes in arid regions, rubber is being made. In mineral resources Mexico is one of the richest countries in the world, with stores of gold, silver, lead, zinc, tin, tungsten, mercury, iron, coal, and petroleum.

THE PEOPLE

The largest group is made up of people of mixed blood — mostly Spanish and Indian. The next largest group is the Indians. There are more than 2,000,000 persons of pure white blood, most of them of Spanish descent. The language is Spanish.

PROVINCES

Mexico is a federation of 28 states, 2 territories, and one federal district, consisting of Mexico City and 11 surrounding villages.

GOVERNMENT

The Federal Republic of Mexico has a president elected by direct popular vote for 6 years, a congress consisting of a chamber of deputies elected for 3 years and a senate consisting of members elected for a 6-year term. Neither the deputies, the senators, nor the president may be re-elected for the term immediately following. The chamber of deputies is chosen on a population basis. The states have a large measure of home rule.

The HISTORY of the **AMERICAN INDIANS**

Reading Unit **No. 1**

THE CRAFTY WILES OF THE RED MAN

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Plains Indians such as these of Canada, in their gorgeous full dress, are no uncommon sight even now in the West.



Photo by Canadian Pacific Ry.

The CRAFTY WILES of the RED MAN

In Many Ways the Savages Who Used to Roam Our Woods Were the Cleverest, the Bravest, and Sometimes the Most Fearsome Men the World Has Ever Seen

WHEN Columbus stepped off his little boat to plant the Spanish flag in the New World, curious natives peered from the forests, wondering at the queer doings of these pale-faced strangers. Because the natives had dark and ruddy skins, the white men called them "red," and because the white men supposed that they had landed in or near India, they called the red men Indians. To this very day we talk about "red Indians," and all the world knows what we mean.

Yet it would be hard to think of a less logical name. In the first place, Indians are not really red, but a deep, slightly-reddish brown. In the second place, they are a very different people from the true Indians, who live in India; and it is sometimes a great nuisance that we have to use the same word for them both. But the old name sticks,

and we usually just make ourselves clear by saying *American* Indians—though of late some clever people have begun to shorten it to "Amerinds."

Nobody knows for certain where these people came from, or how long ago they came, or even whether they are all one people. It looks as if they had originally come from Asia, trickling slowly in from Northeast Siberia. If so, they may be of Mongoloid (mǒng'gōl-oid) stock, akin to the Mongolian (mǒng-gō'lī-ān), or yellow, race of China and Japan. But some wise men have thought that other blood—Malay perhaps, or Negro, or even white—may have somehow got mixed with some of them from across the Pacific. All that we know is that they became a group apart, and that they spread out all over both the Americas many thousands of years before the rest of the world discovered them.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

The Indians whom the English settlers and their pioneer children knew were still a savage people, slipping almost naked through the primeval forests, as soundless as panthers, or letting fly their arrows as they swept on swift ponies across the open plains. But we must not suppose that before the white man came there had been no civilization in the Western continents. It is true that no Indian people had discovered how to use iron, or how to make a true arch or a plow or even a wheel. But nevertheless long before the coming of the white man, great civilizations had risen and fallen and re-arisen in the lands all through Middle America—Mexico and the countries of the Isthmus and Northwestern South America, especially Peru. It is in such warm semi-tropical lands that the earliest cultures always seem to arise.

So long ago that we must dig up traces of them from under lava flows and beds of canic ash—how long ago we do not know, possibly three thousand years—there lived a people in Central America who wove cloth and made pottery. But the oldest American civilization of which we know even enough to give it a name is that of the people called Mayas (mä'yä), who built up an empire in Southern Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras not long after the time of Christ. After perhaps four hundred years, the whole people seems to have deserted its ancient

place and migrated northward to Yucatan, where it began again to build and rule.

The early Mayas were a peaceful people, master masons, skilled carvers in wood and in stone. Though they did not know the potter's wheel, they made pottery, painted and engraved and moulded into beautiful shapes. Though they knew only the crudest sort of loom, they wove cloth with intricate patterns and fringes and tassels, as we can see by the figures on their monuments. But above all, they were workers in stone. It is hard to see how they managed to quarry their huge blocks of stone and lift them into place, or carve them in such skillful and spirited relief, all without any but

stone implements to work with. But there are the great stone monuments, covered over with faces and figures and strange, symbolical designs; and there are the stone buildings, sometimes with the whole front covered with carving.

The carvers and stone masons lavished their art on the immense stone pyramids of Maya "cities."

These pyramids do not rise smoothly like those of Egypt, but

have great steps or setbacks like terraces; and they are not tombs, but places of worship. There is usually a temple at the top, and a group of pyramids often surrounds a court with a mammoth altar. Probably the priests and chiefs lived in these "cities," and the people came there to worship. The greatest of their gods was Ku-



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Pottery such as this shows that the Mayas were no mean artists.

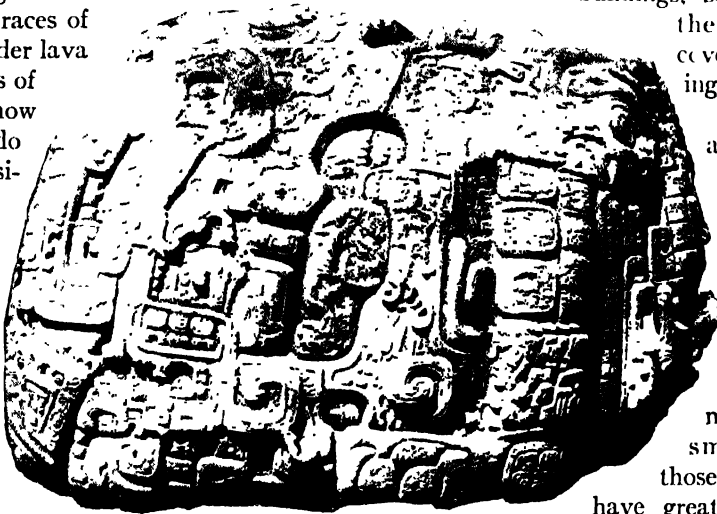


Photo by American Museum of Natural History

This is one of the many Maya monuments in Guatemala. It records a date, the end of the five-year period ending in 267 A.D. On it is a representation of the mythological Earth-Monster.

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kulcan, the bird-snake, whose sign was a feathered serpent.

We know a good deal about the history of the Mayas, because they had worked out a very elaborate way of reckoning time, and dated everything they did or built very carefully. We have not quite figured out as yet just how their system of dates should be fitted into ours, but it can be done within two or three hundred years.

As time went on, the Mayas learned to use the bow and arrow and became more quarrelsome and warlike; they even learned from the Mexican Indians to sacrifice human beings to their gods. But it was these latter peoples, coming down one after another from the north to overrun Mexico, who were the warlike conquerors.

The last and most famous of the Mexican conquerors were the Aztecs (ăz'tĕk), the proud and wealthy people who were finally conquered by Cortes (kôr'tĕz) and his Spaniards. As we may see from the picture writing they have left us, they strode down out of the north clad in skins and armed with the unknown and terrible bow, and in time they settled their capital in Mexico City and were drawing tribute from far and wide. To these people every war was a crusade, or holy war, and the main purpose of it was not to kill or conquer the enemy but to take prisoners who might be sacrificed to the gods,

especially the god of the sun. For the Aztecs believed that the sun could not live unless it was fed with the blood of human hearts, and so there arose cruel and bloody rites in which many Indian warriors died on the sacrificial stone. If we may believe the old records, at the dedication of one great pyramid-temple no less than twenty thousand victims were slain. Each god had his own ceremonies of sacrifice. For instance, when a chosen youth was to die for the glory of Tezcatlipoca, creator of all things, he lived for a whole year in godlike state before his death, that he might be a fit temple for the god to dwell in.

One of the strangest tales in history is the story of how the Aztecs fell because they believed too truly in one of the old traditions of their faith. There was a legend that Quetzalcoatl (kĕt-săl'kô-ă't'l), god of arts and crafts, had gone away across the eastern sea and would one day return. Now Quetzalcoatl, according to the legend, had white skin and a flowing beard. What more natural than that Montezuma (môn'tĕ-zōō'mă), priest and last emperor of the nation, should hesitate to strike hard at the invading Spaniards, thinking they might be the followers of the "fair god"?

Not long after this the Spaniards found and conquered another rich American empire in Peru. Just as the Aztecs had fallen heir to much of the antique culture built up by the Mayas, so the Incas of Peru had been the heirs of a very old civilization which had flourished in Peru and southward in Bolivia as long ago as early

These are modern Inca Indians, descendants of the empire builders conquered by Pizarro.

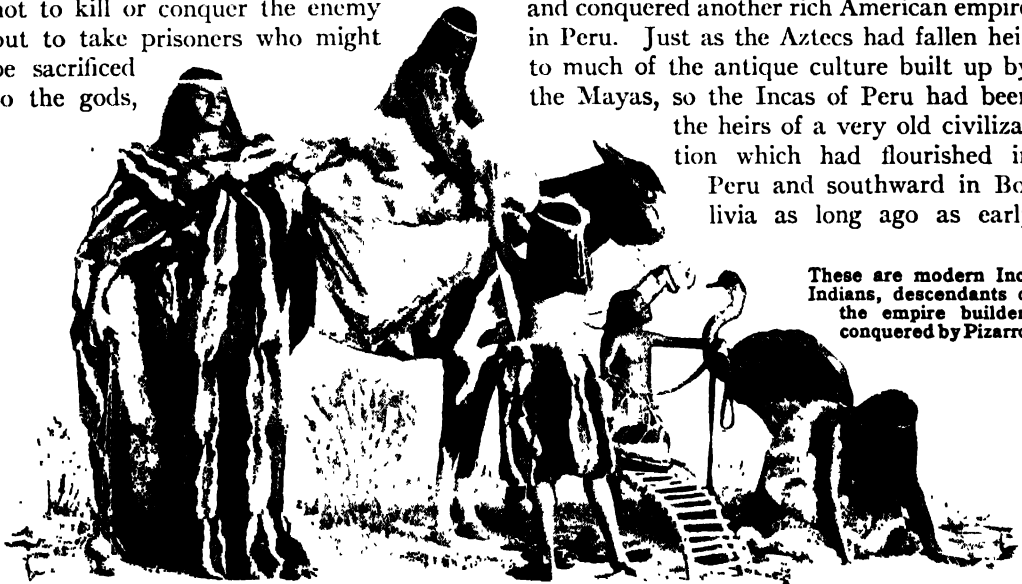


Photo by the National Museum

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Maya times. These people were great builders, in stone or in sun-baked clay, sometimes making pyramid-temples and carved shrines just as the Mayas did, sometimes terracing whole mountain sides so they could cultivate their corn. They, too, made brilliant, beautiful pottery and cloth, and they knew how to work in silver and gold.

The Incas came into power in Peru somewhere around 1100 A.D. Like the Aztecs, they were sun worshipers, and their wars of conquest were partly crusades to plant temples to the Sun throughout the land; but they did not worship the sun with human blood. They had many other gods and sacred things, or "huaca," among which were their own ancestors. Living in a hot, dry land like Egypt, they learned to make their dead into mummies, although not such perfect ones as the Egyptians made. In the great sun temple at Cuzco (kōōs'kō) were preserved the mummies of the Inca rulers; the Spaniards saw them when they came.

The Incas were great rulers and organizers. Swift runners were always taking messages from one part of the land to another, speeding along roads we can still trace as far south as Northern Argentina, clambering up and down stone stairways cut in the steep cliffs of the Andes. The ruling race managed their

big empire so painstakingly that they knew exactly what every single person was supposed to be doing and where he was supposed to live, so that a man could not even move to the next village unless the state said he might! All his labor and everything he produced belonged to the state, and the state would see that it went just where it was needed. So there was no starvation in Peru, and no freedom either!

It is said that when Pizarro (pī-zä'rō), the Spanish conqueror, had possessed himself, by luck and bold double-dealing, of this mighty empire, the system was so smooth-running and complete that he could take it over quite simply. At least it was an easy matter to take for himself and for Spain the treasure of silver and gold

amassed by the Inca rulers or still awaiting miners in the Andes.

The Spaniards did not have such good luck when they went treasure hunting north of Mexico. The seven fabled cities for which Coronado (kō'rō-nä'thō) sought so long were only pueblos (pwēb'lō), or cities on the rocks, and had no store of gold. Yet these Pueblo Indians, who lived and still live in the dry regions of the southwestern part of the United States, have as ancient and in some ways as fascinating a history as that of the Cen-

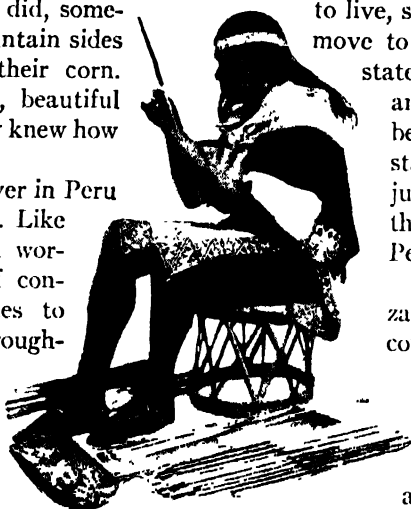
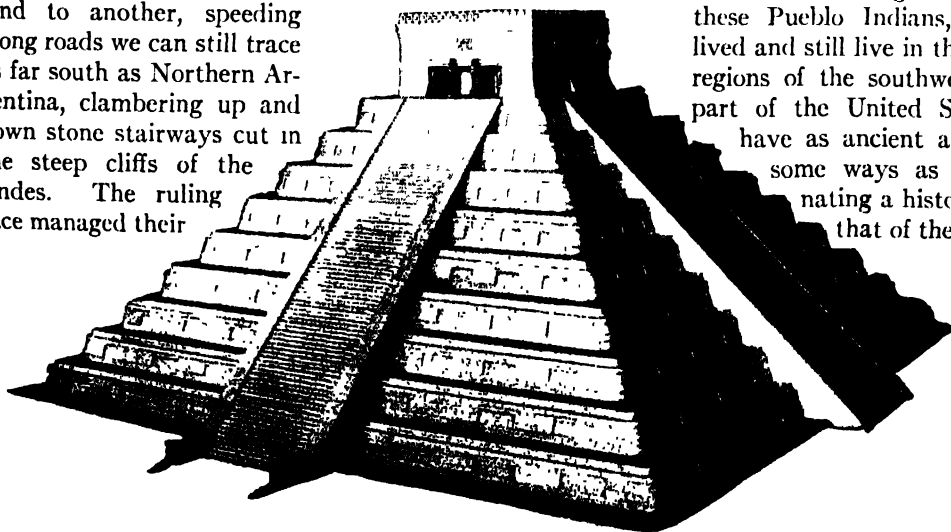


Photo by A. J. H. Museum of Natural Hist.

This Indian warrior is taking great pains with the arrows he is making. It will not be his fault if any of them miss the mark.

Below is a model of the great Maya temple-pyramid called the "Castle," which is part of the ruined city of Chichen-Itza in Yucatan. It is about 190 feet square at the base, 60 feet square at the summit, and 80 feet high, not counting the temple on top.

Photo by the



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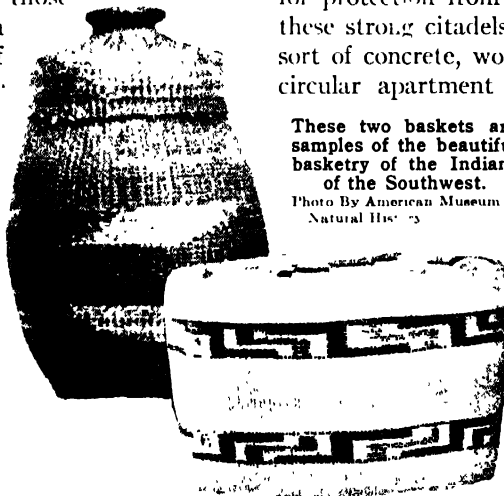


Photo by Southwest Museum

This is Zuni, the largest of modern pueblos, where about 2,000 Zuni Indians live. This pueblo is not built, as so many are, with the first story blank of windows or doors, but nevertheless the people have

to use ladders to get to the upper stories. The Zunis have lived in their dry, fertile valleys for a thousand years, farming them by irrigation. They built and still own their own irrigation canals.

tral and South American peoples. Archaeologists (är'kê-öl'ô-jist), those diggers into the dim past, tell us vaguely of a basket-making people who lived in this region as long ago as 1500 or 2000 B.C., in the days of ancient Babylon. But the Indians who live in Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, and the neighboring parts of Texas, Colorado, and Utah to-day are descended from a later group, who wove baskets and made fine pottery, irrigated the arid soil, and built themselves amazing stone cities among the clouds



These two baskets are samples of the beautiful basketry of the Indians of the Southwest.

Photo By American Museum of Natural History

The Pueblo Indians built their sky cities for protection from their enemies. One of these strong citadels, made of stone or of a sort of concrete, would be like a mammoth circular apartment house built around an inner court. The outer wall would be high and blank, with only one door, perhaps, by which to enter. Within, each floor would be stepped back from the one below, so that the circle of houses was like a giants' amphitheater. Even on the court side the cautious people made no windows or doors below the second story; you had to climb up to the roof of the first story by a

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ladder which you drew up after you, and if you wanted to go down again on the inside, you did it by another ladder let down through a trapdoor! No pueblo was complete without its "kiva" (kē'-vā), or underground chamber for the religious ceremonies of the men of the village.

Whenever they could, the Pueblo Indians built their cities high up on some frowning cliff. Sometimes they would find a huge natural cave or recess in the rock, in which they could build the circular citadel. Sometimes they would find a narrow canyon, whose rocky sides had worn into ledges and hollows. In these hollows, far up the precipice, they would make their homes, and the little brown babies would soon be playing perilously along the ledge over the abyss. Sometimes white men have discovered abandoned cliff cities with pottery and scraps of ancient basket-work buried in the hot, dry dust, and even the mummified bodies of the cliff dwellers themselves among their possessions.

Best of all, perhaps, was to build on the summit of some mesa (mā'sä), one of the

enormous flat-topped pillars of rock that dot the plains in some parts of Arizona and New Mexico. The Hopi (hō'pè) Indians and the people of Acoma (ä'kō-mā) still build their stone houses on the bare rock thus thrust upward toward the burning southern sun. At Acoma there is a horse trail now, but it did not use to be so. In the old days every slab of stone or beam for building, every drop of drinking water, had to be carried up the sheer sides of the precipice by hand, over trails so difficult that one gasps to think of them—whole stretches having merely finger holds and toe holds cut in the face of the rock.

Not far from Acoma is the Enchanted Mesa, on the top of which have been found traces of an ancient abandoned village. The Indian legend tells of how one harvest time all the people came down from the village to gather their corn in the valley—all but three women, who could not go, since one of them was ill. That day there arose a terrible storm, and when the harvesters returned to the foot of the trail, behold! the rock had been split and had



Photo by the National Museum

This Indian from the Lake Superior region is pounding pure copper into weapons and ornaments.

All these things were found in the grave of an Indian at Arica, Chile. There are baskets and utensils and other things the departed might need in the life beyond the grave, and even the mummified body of the person buried there.



Photo by Museum of the American Indian, New York

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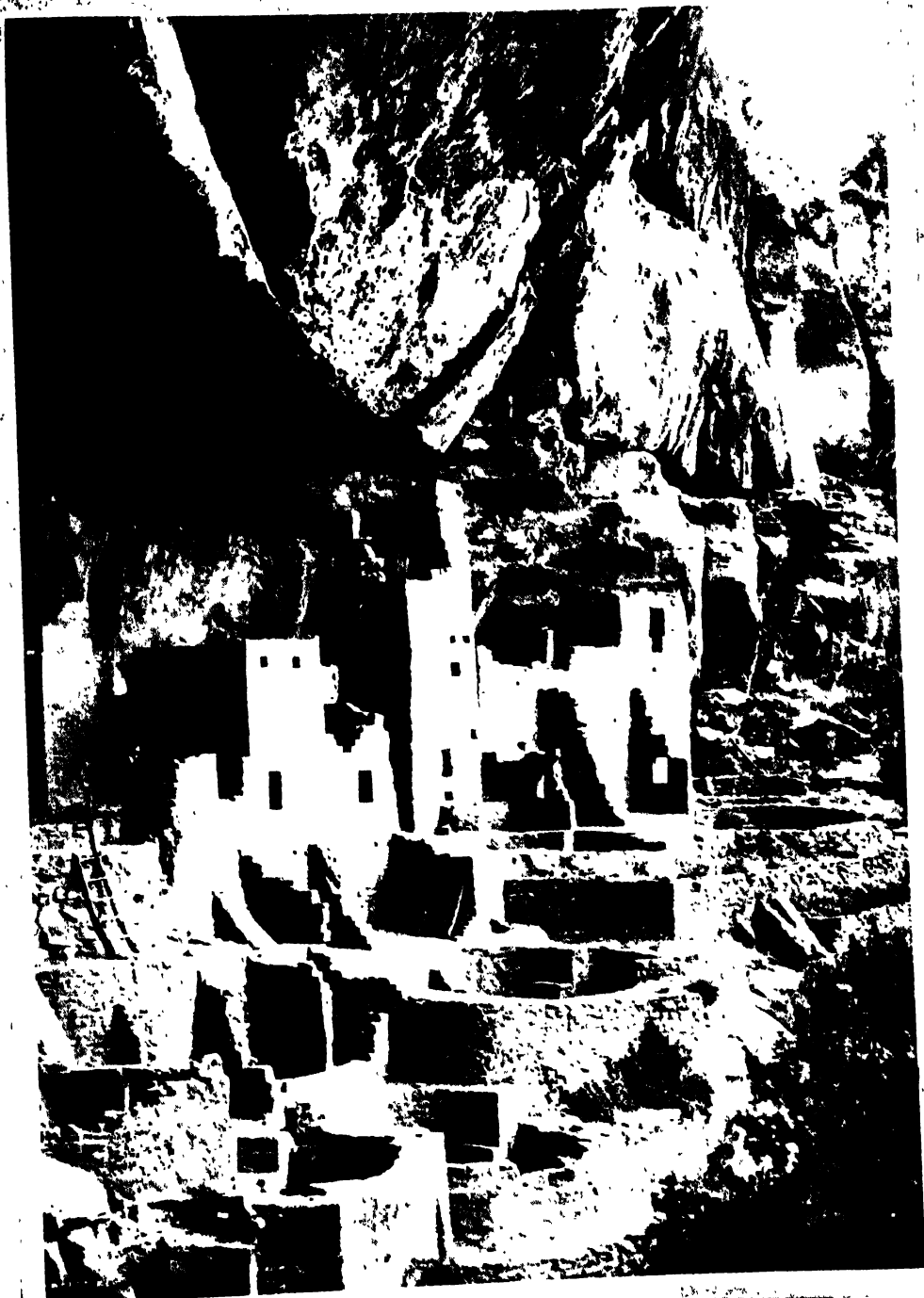


Photo by Colorado Association

It would be hard to think of anything more romantic and impressive than to come upon the ruins of an ancient cliff city, sleeping white and silent in the desert sunlight. The largest of these ruins of the cliff dwellers is Cliff Palace, in the Mesa Verde Na-

tional Park, Colorado; it is pictured here. It nestles in a hollow of the stupendous rocks. In those ruined rooms were found ancient pottery and weapons, and sometimes the dried-up body of one of the inhabitants who lived so long ago.

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Photo by Marietta C. of C.

Many of the Indians in the Mississippi Valley built huge mounds of earth as monuments to their dead. In each mound a warrior was buried with his weapons

and household goods about him, exactly as were the warriors of olden times in Northern Europe. The mound in this picture is at Marietta, Ohio.

fallen away, and there was no possible way to get back to their homes. So the three women died there, and the rest of the people went to live in Acoma.

In these regions, though not in the pueblos, live also the Navajos (nä'vâ-hō), makers of fine baskets and of the beautiful blankets famed all over the world. The Hopis and Zuñis (zōō'nyë) and other Pueblo Indians are great makers of beautiful baskets and pottery. But one of the most weirdly fascinating things about these people is the strange and colorful ceremonies of their religion, particularly their wild and sometimes fearsome ceremonial dances. The Hopis, for instance, hold the deadly rattle-

move in the sacred dance. Among the medicine men, or magicians, of the Pueblos, too, are many who have tricks as strange as those of the famous Houdini or of the Hindu fakirs (fâ-kër'). Visiting white people of our own time have seen the yucca plant grow and blossom before their eyes though when they try to take pictures of it, it is not there!

Eastward in the valley of the lower Mississippi, at the time of the coming of the white men, lived the tribes of Indians who are called the mound builders. They built great mounds of earth for the burial of their dead, and with their dead they buried all sorts of weapons and dishes and other things that the departed brave might need in the Happy Hunting Ground beyond the grave. These mounds were sometimes made by other Indians also. Perhaps the most famous of them all is the Serpent Mound, made in the form of a huge snake, which has been found in Ohio. The



Photo by American Museum of Natural History
These are Navajo Indians, in the midst of one of their nine-day ceremonies of dancing and song. After the harvest is in, these light-hearted, singing people begin a round of religious festivals which keep them busy for about four months.

snake sacred, and have snake priests who seem to have some way of making themselves safe from the poison of its bite. At the time of the festival of the snake, these priests seize huge rattlers in their hands and carry them dangling from their mouths as they

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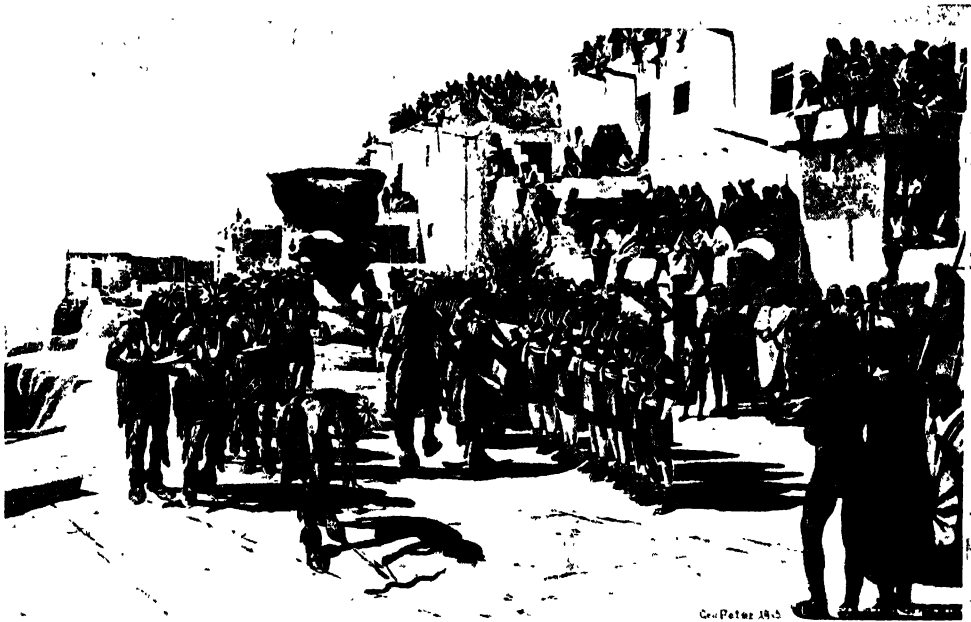


Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

Once it was hard for a white man to get permission to attend the sacred ceremonies of the snake dance among the Hopi Indians. But to-day many people

have seen this weird and gruesome dance. In our picture one of the dancers, with live rattlers writhing in his left hand, is picking up another with his right.



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

No Indian tribe has more elaborate and fascinating ceremonies and chants than the Navajos, who live in the Southwest. There are twenty-seven major chants, many of which last for nine days. They are all a part

of "good medicine," and are sung to heal the sick. With several of these ceremonies goes the making of sand paintings such as that being made in the medicine lodge here. Each color and image has its meaning.



Photo by the National Museum

This is a model of the lodges built by the Haida Indians, who live on the Queen Charlotte Islands, in British Columbia. They were the most civilized of all the Indians of the North Pacific coast. The tall pole in front of each lodge is a totem pole, and each of the

weird carvings has some secret and sacred meaning. The "totem," which was usually an animal or plant, was thought to be closely connected with the life of the tribe, of which it was a kind of emblem; and no one was allowed to marry a person of his own totem.

mound builders made earthworks, too, which must have been used for houses or temples or fortifications. Some scholars think these were the most civilized Indians north of Mexico.

That is, the most civilized unless we put on our seven league boots and stride far away to the regions of the Arctic! In those lands of cold and snow, of reindeer and polar bear and seal, lived and still live the Eskimos, a hardy and artistic people closely allied to the Indians, if

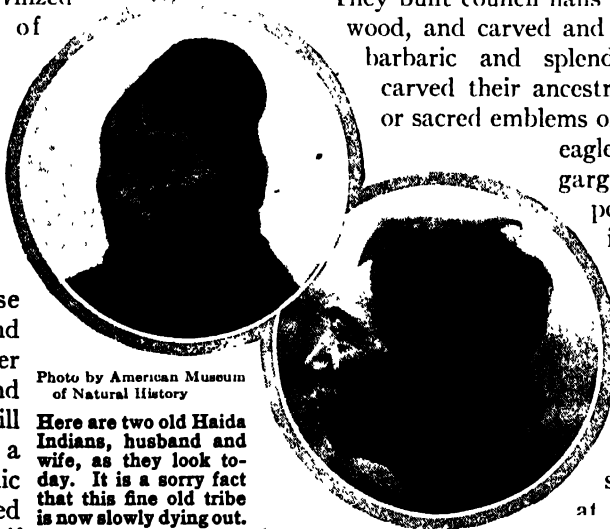


Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Here are two old Haida Indians, husband and wife, as they look today. It is a sorry fact that this fine old tribe is now slowly dying out.

not actually Indian. Their story is told elsewhere in these books. All through Alaska and the Yukon and British Columbia the Indian tribes long ago developed arts and crafts above their neighbors. They felled the giant cedars and dug out the hearts to make canoes: marvelous dugouts, sometimes

a hundred feet long, which, graceful and beautiful as sailing ships, slipped through the cold waters paddled by many warriors. They built council halls of mighty beams of wood, and carved and painted them with barbaric and splendid figures. They carved their ancestral totems (tō'tēm), or sacred emblems of family and tribe—eagle or bear or grinning gargoyle—on immense poles that they set up in the midst of their villages: Some of these totem poles have been brought to the cities or museums of the United States—one stands, for instance, at a busy corner in Seattle. The Indian

rooms of museums are full of the work of these Alaskan artists—lodge beams and vast images of the gods, canoes and grinning masks to be worn in the religious ceremonies.

But it was some time before the white Americans had much to do with these tribes of the far northwest. The Indian whom the

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Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Along the North Pacific coast there used to glide many such Indian canoes as this. It is no light birch-bark affair to be paddled by a single brave, but a long,

English settlers knew was a savage, and at least half a nomad (nöm'äd), or wanderer. Some tribes, like the Iroquois (Ir'ô-kwoi'), built huge wooden lodges or "long houses," for community living or for council. But for the most part these Indians were dwellers in wigwam or tepee. Birch poles fixed in the ground and bent together at the top, then covered with birch bark or deerskin, with perhaps a bearskin for a door—such a house could be put up by the squaws, or women of the tribe, at the end of a day's journey through forest or across prairie, and could be as easily taken down when the village presently moved on to better hunting grounds.

The Craftiest Woodmen in the World

For the Indian lived mostly by his hunting. That is why it has been said that he needed a thousand acres of land to give him the

strong craft, dug out of solid oak and manned by many paddlers. It is a proud ship, too, with its graceful lines, carved prow, and great carved eagle emblem.

comfort and support which a white worker of the soil could get from one acre. The Indian hunter's keen eye saw and knew every footprint, noticed and interpreted every forest sign; his keen ear strained at every rustle in the brush, every bird note or beast cry of the forest. His dark, naked body slipped swiftly through the trees, his moccasined feet somehow avoided every twig that might snap, every dead leaf that might crackle. Thus he would creep up on the wary deer and send an arrow to its heart. On the plains, where there was no forest to hide him, he sometimes wrapped himself in a buffalo skin, and creeping among the shaggy herd, drew his spear before his man-scent betrayed him.

At home the squaws moved about the village camp, tending the fires and the wigwams and the children, bringing water from the spring, cooking the venison and bear

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meat, pounding meal from wild nuts or corn. It was the women, too, who planted and harvested the corn; it was they who pitched and struck camp and bore the burdens on a journey. Many of the crafts were theirs, too, such as the making of baskets and pottery, and the weaving of blankets in the more advanced tribes.

Even among the more savage tribes the brave and his squaw fashioned many things. They made bows with strings of sinew, arrowheads of bone or flint, utensils of stone or wood or bone, clothing and moccasins from skins they had tanned. They wove bark fiber into straps, sashes, and nets, made implements for their games, fashioned crude flutes and drums and other musical instruments.

For many centuries the Indians of the North Pacific coast have been fashioning terrifying masks, such as this, to use in the sacred dances and other ceremonies of their religion.

talked together as men do. They wondered, as people are always wondering, how it all began, and wondrous are the tales they told about the beginning of things. Said the Algonquins (ăl-gŏng'kĭn): Michabo (mĭch'ă-bô), the Great Spirit, "from a grain of sand brought



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

They invented the snowshoe, on which they could glide at the rate of forty miles a day through the frozen forests. They invented the light and graceful birch-bark canoe, which could slip through the waters of the tangled inland waterways as silently as the Indian hunter through the forest, and many times as swiftly.

Looking about them on forest or prairie or mountain, the tribes imagined gods in the elements, and spoke of the Cloud People or the Corn Maidens; or they told fables of the time when Coyote and Rabbit and Eagle



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

This is a typical Indian tepee, made of crossed poles and skins. Through the opening we may catch a glimpse of the brave and his squaw.

from the bottom of the primeval ocean fashioned the habitable land and sea, and set it floating on the water, till it grew to such size that a strong young wolf, running constantly, died of old age ere he reached its

limits." Said the Shastika: "Long, long ago, before there was any earth, Old Mole burrowed

underneath Somewhere, and threw up the earth which forms the world. Then Great Man created the people." Others said that it was Old Man Above, or Coyote, or Earth Doctor. When the whites came, those that were friendly told the Indians that the Great Spirit of the Indians was another name for the Christian God.

The medicine men had, as they believed, the gift of healing from the Great Spirit. But like the African witch doctors these priests

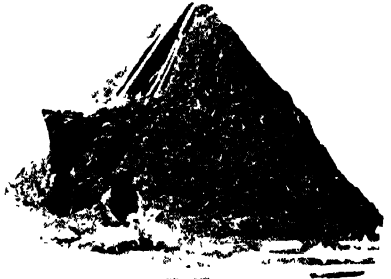
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The picture above shows the way certain Venezuela Indians build their houses out over the water. It was such villages with streets of water that suggested the name "Venezuela," after Venice. At the left is a picture of the sort of rock shelter where many of the inhabitants of Manhattan Island lived before there was any New York City. Below is a Navajo house, made of poles set upright and covered with clay.



To the right is a Creek Indian house, which looks much like the log cabins of the white pioneers. The Creeks used to live in Alabama and Georgia, but were forced westward and are now in Oklahoma. The Digger Indians, who live in Nevada and California, build round houses like those below. From looking at the pictures on this page we can get some idea of how many different sorts of dwelling places Indians live in. If we ever had a notion that they all live in skin tepees, we shall have it no longer!



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Photo by the National Museum

We usually think of cannibals as savages who used to live in "darkest Africa" or somewhere in the South Seas. But wise men tell us that most primitive tribes have probably been cannibals at one time or another; and the American Indians were no exception. Usually when a savage eats human flesh he does it as a re-

ligious ceremony, often with the notion that if he eats the body of a brave man he himself will be the braver for it. So strange ceremonies grow up in connection with the horrid banquet. One such ceremony among some Indians of Alaska is shown here. But all this was in the past; no Indians are cannibals to-day.

worked with strange charms and incantations and with fantastic dances and the din of drums. As with all savage and half-savage people, many of the weird dance festivals were really religious rites. One of the most important of the religious ceremonies, which often involved fasting or

warriors, and took their place in the tribe.

All their training was bent toward the making of brave hunters and fighters. The little papoose was strapped uncomfortably on a stiff board and hung to the back of mother or older sister, its cries unheeded.

As the lads grew up, they played games of

strength and skill—foot races and wrestling and games of ball, especially la crosse, which the Indians invented. As soon

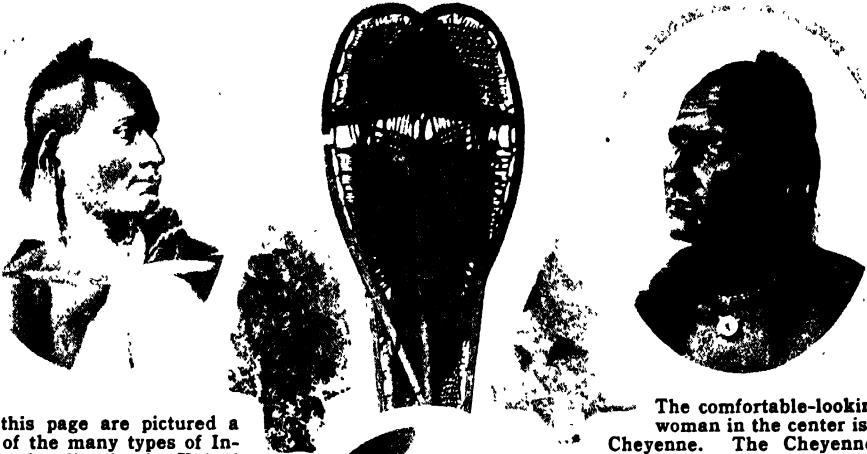


Photos by American Museum of Natural History

This old man and woman are Chippewa Indians of to-day. The Chippewas live in the region of Lake Huron and Lake Superior.

physical torment, was the rite by which young boys were admitted to the privileges and duties of full-grown braves or

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On this page are pictured a few of the many types of Indians that live in the United States, along with some of the things they made and used before the white man came. In the upper left-hand corner is the head of a Missouri Indian, and in the upper right-hand corner an Oto. These two go naturally together, for they are very closely related; the Missouris, in fact, have been absorbed by the Otos. They are Indians of the central plains, allied to the great Sioux family. Between these two Sioux tribesmen are flint arrowheads such as all the Indians used, and snowshoes such as the northern tribes invented.

The comfortable-looking woman in the center is a Cheyenne. The Cheyennes are an Algonquin tribe, who were once a powerful, fighting people of the plains. Some of them now live on a reservation in Montana; others live in Oklahoma and have become American citizens. The large group below shows the costumes and occupations of the Cocopas, who are a tribe of the great Apache family of Texas and New Mexico. This particular tribe used to live along the Colorado River. If you look hard at this picture you will see that it shows many interesting things about their life.



Photos by American Museum of Natural History and the National Museum

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as a lad could hold a bow he learned to shoot arrows at a target, and was presently hunting game in the forest. He learned to be so breathlessly silent that, lying beside a stream, he could catch trout in his fingers. He learned to scorn fatigue as a weakness, to hold his tongue and let fly his arrow, to bear pain like an ancient Spartan, without the quiver of a muscle.

Then, soon enough, would come the day for which the young brave was panting. The chief and the wise men had gathered in grim council, and the word had gone forth that the tribe was on the warpath. Perhaps the chief, his body painted black all over, had fasted and prayed in the forest until he had dreamed of war. Now all the warriors smeared bright paints on their shining bodies and gathered to feast before the battle. All night they

would dance about the camp fire, in rhythmic leaps and capers, casting their tomahawks at a wooden post, stabbing at the air, uttering wild yells and war whoops.

Then as morning dawned they would all take the trail, still tense with the thrill of the war dance, but in utter silence now, stealthy and cunning as a fox, wary as a deer.

Before the white men came, the Indians fought with bow and arrow, spear, and tomahawk, or war hatchet; but it did not take them long to learn to use the magic fire-spitting sticks of the "palefaces," and their practice with bow and arrow made them deadly shots. Sometimes the arrows or spearheads were poisoned. The warriors would creep up on the foe, slipping darkly from tree to tree and then letting fly a fatal

Photo by Canadian Pacific Ry.
The Indian method of carrying a papoose has an advantage over the baby carriage. It leaves both hands free.

shot or arrow; or coming to a clearing, perhaps about the stockade of some white settlement, they would burst suddenly in numbers from the woods with a blood-curdling war whoop. On the prairies, they became amazingly expert horsemen, and could hang to the sides of their galloping ponies, using them as shields, as they fired gun or arrow at the foe. As everyone who has seen a "Wild West" moving picture knows, their usual way of attacking a wagon train on the plains was



This is a Sioux family starting off bag and baggage for a new camp. The little makeshift sledge is a travois (trá-voi'); it is usually made by a clever arrangement of the poles and covering of the tepee. Then on top perch the old grandmother or perhaps, as here, one of the children, and off they go. The tough little plains pony can carry a good deal in that way.



Photo by the National Museum

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Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

These Indians belong to the Piutes, an industrious and thriving tribe who live in Utah, Nevada, and Arizona.



Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

These are Pomo Indians, fishing on the California coast. The Pomos are especially famous for their basketry.



Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

You will notice the totem poles in this seaside village of Kwakiutl Indians, who live in British Columbia.

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Photo by the National Museum

This busy group of Chilkat Indians is at work on the beautiful baskets and blankets which have made the name of the tribe famous. The Chilkats live in Alaska, and are part of the great group called Tlingits (tling'git),

who were the first Alaska Indians to come in contact with the white men. Their home is near the cold waters of the North Pacific, and they live largely on shellfish, seal, and other food from the sea.

to circle around the ring of wagons on swift-running horses, and to shoot as they rode.

When a brave had killed an enemy, he seized the hair and cut away the scalp on the top of the head with his tomahawk. These grim trophies—which the white men soon learned to gather too—were his count of enemies slain. He believed, also, that the strength of the slain enemy would somehow pass into him by means of the scalp.

The Fate of a Captive

If his enemy was not slain but captured alive, the warrior brought him back to the tribal camp, and there his fate was decided. Sometimes he would be kept a prisoner, and even treated well. Sometimes he would be condemned to death, it may be with hideous torture. A favorite ordeal was "running the gauntlet"; the unfortunate prisoner had to pass between a double row of braves, all armed with clubs with which they struck at him as he ran. For those reserved to an even more certain death, a not unusual fate was burning at the stake. The Indian warrior knew very well that he might easily come

to such an end at the hands of his enemies, and it was his pride to bear the most terrible torture without flinching, even egging on his tormentors by scornful taunts.

Smoking the Pipe of Peace

Then when the war was over, the chiefs and the braves might meet together to smoke a solemn pipe of peace. With the Indians there was something ceremonial in the smoking of tobacco—an herb which was unknown, by the way, to white men until Indians told them about it.

The white men learned other things, too, from the Indians. They learned of tomatoes and maple sugar and potatoes, and best of all, of the golden ears of Indian corn. Rubber, too, came first from the Indians. English-speaking people have adopted phrases like "Indian file," from the Indians' habit of walking along a narrow trail one behind another, and "Indian gift" from their habit of expecting a thing given to be returned to the giver. The most melodious of the state names from east to west of the United States and Canada are Indian—Massachusetts,

THE AMERICAN INDIAN



Photo by the Artist, David C. Lithgow

These Indians belong to the warlike Mohawk tribe, one of the five Indian nations of the Iroquois League.

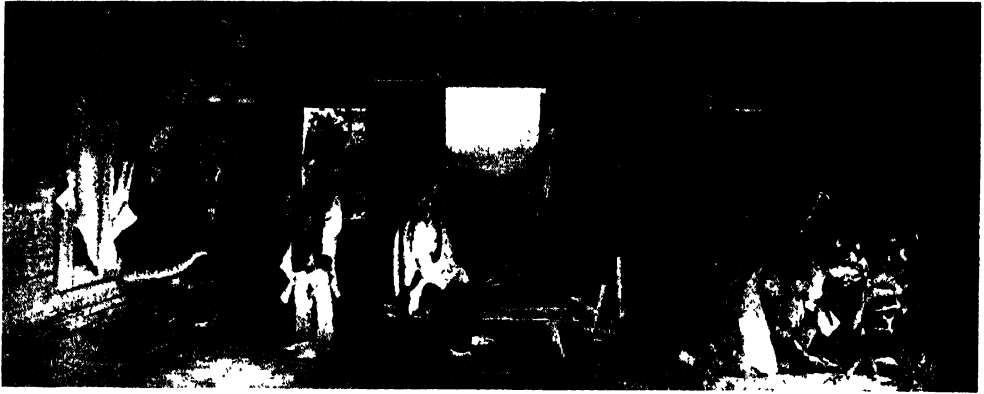


Photo by the Artist, David C. Lithgow

Here is part of a false-face ceremony of certain New York Indians. Masks are used in many Indian rites.



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

About the fiercest of Indian wars were with the Apaches; but these modern Apaches look peaceful enough.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Connecticut, Mississippi, Dakota, Wyoming, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Oklahoma, Oregon—to mention no others. As for the towns and counties, the mountains and rivers, from Lake Ontario to Tacoma, which bear Indian names—their name is legion.

Yet the Indians did not, and do not, all speak the same language. Some tribes speak related dialects, but the number of different languages on the two American continents is one of the wonders of those who study and try to explain such things. So when Indians met for trade or parley, they often had to speak by a sign language, just as they did later with the white men. In the Northwest they developed, as time went on, a queer mixed dialect called Chinook (*chī-nōōk'*), which all the tribes over a large territory understood.

No Indians developed a written language of any very satisfactory fullness—not even the civilized peoples of Middle America. But still on rocks in out-of-the-way passes of the mountains, or on carefully preserved tombs, or among the living Indians on the reservations, we may find their picture writing. For instance, Wabojeg, a Chippewa

chief, is described on his gravestone. There is a reindeer upside down—the chief was of the family whose sign or totem was a reindeer, and he is dead. Below are seven cross marks—he led seven war parties. There is a moosehead—in one war he had a desperate fight. There are three lines—three wounds received in battle. Lastly there are an arrow and a pipe—our chief, we are to know, was powerful in war and in peace. He was great enough to deserve his monument.

In the stories about American history you may read a little of the long and rather shameful struggle in which the white man overcame the Indian, pushing him back and back across his continent and finally crowding him into reservations, scanty enough after his old pride. Some of the tribes have nearly perished, some have grown in numbers. Some Indians have clung as much as they could to the old ways, some have mingled with the conquerors and taken their part as citizens. A good many of our people have a drop or two of Indian blood in them, and they are often very proud of it. They term themselves descendants of "original Americans."



The HISTORY of the UNITED STATES

Reading Unit

No. 1

THE FIRST WHITE MEN IN AMERICA

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Photo by Historisk Museum, Oslo, Norway

Land ahead! Could this be that mysterious country which Bjarni Herjulfson had sighted not long before, when blown off his course by a storm? If so, Leif Ericsson, who stands pointing to it now, has succeeded in his adventure—for that is the country he has come

to find. He intends to land there, as Bjarni did not do. He will never know that what he has just seen is a vast new continent. We think it was this viking expedition which first set foot on American soil, about 1000 A.D., five centuries before Columbus.

The FIRST WHITE MEN in AMERICA

The Romantic Story of How the Two Halves of the World Finally Came to Know Each Other

ERIC the Red, who would rather fight than eat, had fled from Norway to Iceland, and now he was in trouble again in his new home. But they told him that when he went away he might go in a brave ship fitted out for wind and weather, and that there was a great island to the west where perhaps he could find a pleasant place to stay. Now Eric was a viking, which means a "son of the fiord"—a fiord is one of the deep rocky inlets along the coast of Norway and other northern lands from which sea rovers used to set out in their sturdy sailing vessels—and he knew very well how to get to the great island and how to explore its coasts. So he found the greenest spot there

was to find in a rather chilly and barren country, and when he came back to get more people to live with him there, he told them that the land was called Greenland. If you travel to Greenland to-day, you may still see the ruins of the houses these people built, although all this happened in 986, almost a thousand years ago.

Eric had several sons, who were vikings too; and one of them, called Leif (Lēf) the Lucky, was fascinated by stories he had heard of unknown lands still farther to the west, which had been seen from a ship blown off its course by winter winds—for in those days the hugest vessel was not much bigger than a modern ferryboat, and there was no

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steam engine to keep it going in the proper direction when the wind wanted it to go in an improper one. Now Leif was not afraid of wind or storm or fog or of being lost in strange waters; so somewhere around the year 1000 he started off with thirty-five other

Spain, white men had been in what is now the United States of America.

But they did not stay. Leif's brothers visited Vinland after him, and in 1007 a little colony settled there for a while; and there was born a boy baby named Snorri, who



Photo by Curtis and Cameron

After sailing his dragon ship many miles along the coast, Leif and his men landed—the first white men to set foot on the mainland of the New World. After

a few months they sailed away again to icebound Greenland, and astonished the colony there with tales of adventure and with their cargo of timber and grapes.

men in one of these little boats to find the unknown country. They came first to a land covered with flat stones, and they called it Helluland, or "slate land." Then they sailed south and came to a land covered with trees, and this they called Markland, or "wood land." Then they sailed farther south and came to a land where a pleasant river flowed into the ocean and the fields were covered with delicious wild grapes. In this land they passed the winter, and they called it Vinland, or the "land of vines." We do not know exactly where Vinland was, but it was somewhere on the northeast coast of North America, most probably in what is now Massachusetts. So you see that nearly five hundred years before Columbus sailed from

was probably the first white baby to see light in America. Many people for that reason liked to claim him as an ancestor. The settlers in Vinland built little huts in the forest, and frightened the Indians—whom they airily called Skrellings, or "inferior people"—by setting that unknown and terrible animal, a bull, to bellow at them. But the Indians would not stay frightened, and nobody from Europe would in this early time have had guns to fight them with; so finally the colonists went back home. Later attempts to settle in Vinland failed too, because the settlers began foolishly to quarrel among themselves. And finally the people in Greenland almost forgot about the lands to the west across the foggy sea, and the

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Photo by the Artist, Griffith Daily Conle

The Norsemen left many traces of their colony in Greenland, but none of which we can be very sure on the mainland of America. There is, however, an old stone tower at Newport, Rhode Island, which some have thought to be their work. Once someone dug up a skeleton not far away, in Fall River; it was completely clothed in antique armor. What more pleasant and romantic than to imagine a tale of those old vikings which should account for both tower and

Indians had their forests and streams and wigwams to themselves for a few more centuries.

The Forgotten Continent

But through all those many years, while in the deep forests and on the grassy plains of America the Indians kept on hunting the deer or the buffalo and dancing their weird war dances around blazing camp fires, the people across the ocean in Europe were getting richer and more civilized, and wanting to know more and more about the world they lived in. Even late in the 1400's, nearly five centuries after the adventure of Leif the Lucky, they still did not know very much about the world beyond the borders of Europe itself. They had forgotten all about Vinland, and Greenland too, for that matter. They knew the northern part of Africa, and

armored skeleton? That is just what Longfellow did in his spirited ballad of "The Skeleton in Armor," illustrated here.

"There for my lady's bower
Built I the lofty tower,
Which, to this very hour,
Stands, looking seaward."

Thus the poet makes his viking ghost tell the tale.

they had made several trips to India and China. These were rich countries far to the East, from which they had got into the habit of expecting their merchants to bring them spices and gorgeous silks and precious stones and gold. But now the people called Turks, who were not Christians like the Europeans, had gained possession of the countries across which they had to go overland to India, and the Turks did not like to let the Christians pass. So the people of Europe were looking for another route to India and to the whole East, which they sometimes called Cathay (kā-thā').

The New Way to India

First they sent their ships down the west coast of Africa, hoping to find a way around to the Indian Ocean; for they had no idea how many miles Africa stretches away to

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the south. Since the days of the vikings, men had learned to use the magnetic compass, whose slender needle still swings around to tell us which is the way to the North Pole; and other improvements had been made in the art of navigation. Now Prince Henry of Portugal (1394-1460), whom men called

"the Navigator," set up a sort of maritime college—that is to say, a place where learned men worked out maps and charts and studied all sorts of things having to do with sailing the sea. Then Portuguese sailors began to venture farther and farther down the African coast. In 1488 Bartholomew Diaz (dē'-āsh) took his ship clear around the southern tip,

which King John later named the Cape of Good Hope. Finally, in 1498, another Portuguese, Vasco da Gama (dā gā'mä), went past this point and sailed triumphantly across the Indian Ocean to the rich port of Calicut in India. But before this long and dangerous sea way to India had at last been found, ships had struck out westward across the Atlantic in hope of finding a better route.

The Age of New Ideas

Now the people of the fifteenth century in Southern Europe were very bold in thought as well as in deed. It was the time of the great Renaissance (rēn'ě-sōNs'), or "re-awakening," and men's ideas of the world were being turned topsy-turvy with new ways of thinking. One of the ideas that were abroad was the notion that the earth

was round. All through the Middle Ages the plain people had supposed that it was flat. You would think so yourself, if no one had ever told you the truth, and you would expect to fall off if you walked far enough in any one direction. Of course you know you really would not fall off, and that people

have often gone in one direction — by rail, by ship, and maybe by airplane—so long and so far that they came back to the place they started from. In the fifteenth century no one had ever done that. Yet the scientific men, and even the adventurous sailors, were beginning to be pretty sure that if you sailed far enough out over the "sea of darkness" you would at last come, not to the edge of nothing, but to Cathay.

We cannot be quite sure how

far daring merchants had ventured westward in their search for Cathay before Columbus sailed. For they were very secret about it, not wanting other men to find their far islands and take away their trade. It is even said that one early map has on it the island of Cuba! But no one knew much about these things; and no one dreamed that between Europe and Cathay, to the westward, lay two vast continents waiting to be discovered.

Then suddenly there appeared at the court of Portugal a young Italian adventurer named Christopher Columbus, clamoring for men and money and ships to seek lands to the west. Columbus really knew a good deal less about sailing ships than some of the



Photo by Gramstorff Bros

Columbus spent eight long years in Spain before he could persuade Ferdinand and Isabella to back his scheme for sailing *westward* to find the Eastern lands. He followed the court from place to place and argued with everybody who might have some influence with the King and Queen. Here he is pictured during one of the long-drawn-out discussions which took place at Salamanca (1486-87). During these conferences—which like so many others ended in nothing—he was entertained by the Dominican monks of San Esteban monastery.

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Photo by Field Museum

On October 12, 1492, the good ships "Santa Maria," "Pinta," and "Niña" anchored off the strange coast they had come so far to find. Then Columbus put on his richest clothes, and with the brothers Pinzon, entered the boat to be rowed ashore. What must have

been his thoughts as he stepped on land—after all those years of waiting and weeks of danger? What would he have said if he could have known that centuries after his death a great nation in this New World would be celebrating October 12 as Columbus Day?

other seamen before him. But he had vast daring and a splendid imagination. And he was such a good talker and so sure of himself that everybody listened to him with respect. The only trouble was that he wanted too much. He was to be made Grand Admiral of the Oceanic Sea—that is, of the Atlantic—he and his children were to be governors for life of all lands he might discover, and to receive ten per cent of the money from all commerce with these lands forever afterward. This seemed absurd to the King of Portugal, and Columbus took his rash proposal on to Spain.

Columbus at the Court of Spain

King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain thought his ideas absurd, too. But, luckily for them, they changed their minds and called him back just as he was leaving for France. If they had not done so, the King of France or some other ruler might have sent him out instead—and how different history might have been! As it was, the lawyers slipped into the contract a clause

which cleverly got around the part of Columbus' demand concerning the governorship and the ten per cent of all commerce. And that was certainly lucky for the King and Queen, as things turned out! They made him admiral, though, and gave him three good ships and money to sail them.

The Most Famous Voyage in History

The adventurous Admiral had a good deal of trouble getting sailors for his ships. Was it because they were still in terror of the edge of the world, and the sea griffins and dragon worms that were fabled to live out in the Sea of Darkness? Or was it because they thought Columbus did not know any too much about ships' logs and compasses? We do not surely know about that. But we do know that three seamen named Pinzón (pēn-thōn'), brothers, rounded up the crew for Columbus, and should have had much more glory for that very famous voyage than they ever got.

At last all was ready, and on September 6, 1492, the three brave little vessels, manned

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Photo Copyright by the Milwaukee Public Museum

It might be hard to say which of the two races brought into contact by Columbus' discovery, seemed more curious to the other. But for a long time only a few white men and a few Indians saw each other at all.

by about a hundred men, set sail from the Canary islands. They headed due west into the uncharted sea.

Columbus has himself written down the story of that voyage, and although he could make up stories with the same gorgeous imagination which had suggested his whole mad adventure, his telling of it is probably not very far from the truth. For a whole month, he says, they sailed westward. They should have been among the East Indies then, according to their plan. But there was no land, only the gray wastes of water. The sailors did not like it. They gathered together in little knots on the deck and whispered. Was the Admiral mad that he still sailed west though no land was there? Were they to perish miserably in these strange seas, far from their homes and unknown to all who loved them? Would it not be better to seize the Admiral and throw him

Far away in the wildernesses of North America life went on for the Indians just as it always had; and the weird ceremonies these Algonquin Indians performed were all unknown to the white men.

into the ocean, then sail safely home again?

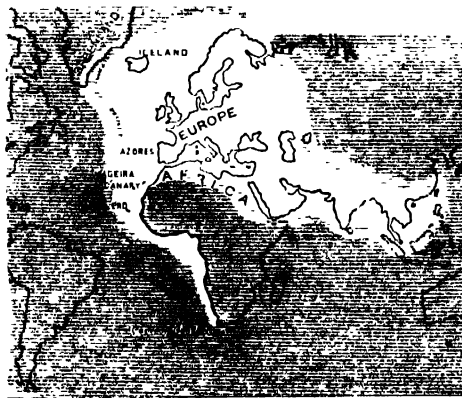
One of the men saw a gray line on the horizon, and cried, "Land! Land!" But it was only a gray cloud, and the sea seemed even lonelier than before. What would have

happened to Columbus then is hard to say and perhaps better not thought of—but the next day a green fish such as haunts the shallow waters swam by, and the men saw on the sea a branch of thorn with berries on it. Land was not far off, after all. That night the Admiral himself saw a light burning on the horizon.

And at dawn the voyagers stepped ashore in the New

World. The weeks of doubt were over.

Of course they did not know that it was a New World. They still thought it was one of the islands of the East Indies, and Columbus, in spite of all his later voyages and explorations, continued to think so till he died. But they really were on one of the



So far as the people of Europe were concerned, the world was made up entirely of what is here shown in white—until the great voyage of Columbus.

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Photo by the National Museum

Magellan and his men were the first white men to find the Philippines, which were to play an important

West Indies, probably the island Watling in the Bahamas at the mouth of the Caribbean Sea. The naked copper-colored natives came down to the shore to see these strange human creatures with their superfluous clothing and their pale faces. Perhaps, like their Mexican brethren later, they thought the intruders were "men from heaven," followers of that Fair God, who, as tradition whispered, would some day return to them. Naturally they could not understand what it was all about when the white Admiral, dressed in a gorgeous scarlet robe and carrying a brilliant standard, knelt down on the shore and kissed the ground—which he had almost despaired of ever touching again!—and wept for very joy. What would they have thought if they had known that the strange sounds he then made meant that he was taking possession of their land in the name of the far-away King and Queen of Spain?

In this way the two halves of the world

part in American history. They saw huts much like this one, with brown-skinned natives busy about them.

were at last discovered to each other. It is strange to think how long they had gone on as if they were on different planets. It is even stranger to imagine what a difference it would have made in the lives of all of us if they had continued to go on in that way

The Sad End of Christopher Columbus

Columbus went home again, and told his story. Later he returned to explore the islands and portions of the coasts of South and Central America, still hoping to find a way through and sail on to India. But he did not succeed, and people were disappointed. Then Columbus fell into misfortune, was once even sent home in chains, and finally died in poverty and almost in obscurity. Nobody, least of all himself, realized the importance of what he had done. He had not found the western passage to India, and while he was wasting his time trying to find it, Vasco da Gama, as we have said, did

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Photo by Laurent, Madrid

Francisco Pizarro went more than once on desperate adventures in South America. On the first expedition he had been left for months with only a few companions on an inhospitable island--and had lived to tell the tale. Along with the story of adventure, he brought back reports of vast wealth owned by the

Inca Indians of Peru. When no one in Panama was interested in fitting up an expedition to conquer this rich land, Pizarro took his plans to Spain and went in person with them to Charles V, the emperor, as is pictured here. Charles was convinced. He heaped honors on Pizarro, and gave him authority for his venture.

find a sea route to India, by way of Africa. Columbus did not even have the satisfaction of giving his name to the new land he had discovered. Instead, a man named Amerigo Vespucci (ä-mä'rê-gō vës-pōōt'chē), who had made several voyages along the coast of South America, lent his name to the New World. So it came to be called, not Columbia, but America.

The Discovery of the Pacific Ocean

The Spaniards kept on trying to find a way through or around to the East. One bold adventurer named Balboa (bäl-bō'ä), following a clue given him by the Indians, climbed (1513) a high peak in Darien (dä'rî-ën'), one of the narrowest parts of Central America. And there, spread out below him, was the vast expanse of the Pacific. Later he and his men fought their way to the shore, and Balboa waded out into the water and grandly took possession of the whole ocean in the

name of the Virgin Mary and the King of Spain. But India still lay several thousand miles away.

A few years later (1519), Ferdinand Magellan (mä-jël'än) started down the western coast of South America, hoping to find the way around the new continent as Vasco da Gama had found the way around Africa nineteen years before. This proved to be a voyage in comparison with which that of Columbus was short, easy, and pleasant. Even before they came to the straits now named after Magellan and knew that they had found the way through at last, the adventurers had been hungry and storm-beaten and pierced with the antarctic cold. While they were in the straits, one ship slipped away and went back to Spain. The others kept on till they came out into the western ocean, which Magellan called the Pacific because its waters were so peaceful and calm.

The men all wanted to go home, now that

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they had found the end of the continent, for they were tired and the food was again getting low. But Magellan said he would not go back now "if he had to eat the leather off the ship's yards." And as they sailed and sailed westward month after month across the widest ocean in the world, the sailors actually did have to eat the leather off the ship's yards. They varied the diet with crumbs from worm-eaten biscuit, with rats, and with sawdust. But when they had sailed ten thousand miles and had crossed the ocean which no white man had ever even tried to cross before, they came at last to the Philippine Islands—to land, and to food. Here Magellan himself was killed in a fight with the natives—which seems a great pity after all his brave leadership. But some of his followers escaped and made their way home through the Indian Ocean (1522). They had been gone more than three years.

Cathay had at last been reached by way of the west. And for the first time in history men had sailed all the way around the world. There would no longer be any excuse for thinking that the earth was flat and that an unlucky adventurer might fall off the edge. It was clear, too, that the world was much bigger than anyone had supposed, and that the lands Columbus had found were a long way from India.

The Coming of the Spaniards

But the Spaniards no longer cared so much about India. They had discovered that not all the natives of the New World were so wild and simple as those Columbus had seen, but that some of them were at least partly civilized and were very rich indeed. So instead of going to the Orient to buy gold and jewels, as they had originally planned, they

decided to go to the New World and help themselves to the gold gathered by the Indians. The Spaniards had no very strict notions about killing or stealing from such

queer, outlandish people as these American natives. Besides, the Indians were heathen, and would it not be a real kindness to conquer them and baptize them in the true faith?

Columbus had argued that. So the warriors and the priests set out together to found New Spain in the lands across the sea.

A people called the Aztecs lived in what is now Mexico. They had reached the highest point of civilization of any of the Indians. They had rich cities and a powerful king and a highly organized though cruel and bloody religion. Hernando Cortes (kôr'těz) led a Spanish expedition (1519-1521) against this nation. He and his men fought bravely and brilliantly and without the slightest mercy. They deceived and betrayed the

Aztec king, Montezuma (môn'tê-zōō'mâ). This was the easier because of his notion that they were gods, in accordance with that legend of the Fair God of which we spoke a while ago. In the end Cortes conquered the whole country. Huge treasures of gold were sent back to Spain, the priests set about converting the Indians who had escaped being killed, and the Spaniards made Mexico a part of their empire.

Another rich people, called the Incas, lived in Peru, in South America. A brave and cruel Spaniard named Pizarro (pī-zār'rō) conquered them in 1531, and more gold was sent back to Spain, more converts made, and more square miles added to New Spain.

The Spanish gentlemen-adventurers were



Photo by the National Museum

Here are two Inca Indians from Peru. These people had reached the highest point of culture of any American natives except the Aztecs in Mexico. They were the ruling class in a widespread empire. Pizarro conquered them by treachery, cleverness, and sheer daring, rather than by an open war.

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a bold and picturesque lot, whatever one may think of their methods of getting what they wanted. But in the southern part of what is now the United States they did not have the good luck they had in Central and South America. They went on all sorts of romantic quests. Ponce de León (pōn'thā dā lā-ōn'), for instance, had heard that somewhere in Florida was to be found the Fountain of Youth, which would make you young again no matter how white your hair might be. He went to find this fountain!

The Search for the Fabled Treasure

But mostly the explorers were either still looking for the passage through to the Pacific or seeking fabled golden treasure. A party under Pánfilo de Narváez (pān'fē-lō dā nār-vā'āth) started off gaily three hundred strong, and lost itself in the forest fastnesses north of the Gulf of Mexico; and eight whole years later (1536) there struggled back to civilization—four ragged survivors! They had roamed wearily through tangled forests, over streams and swamps, among wild beasts and hostile Indians, across what is now Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona.

Hernando de Soto (dā sō'tō) set out with another party of six hundred knights "in doublets and cassocks of silk," in search of gold and Christian converts; but he died (1542) on the shores of the Mississippi, which he had discovered in his wanderings, and his followers had to sink his body under the muddy waters for fear of the Indians. About the same time Coronado (kōr'ō-nā'dō) actually found the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola (sē'bō-lä), for which these men had all been seeking. But they turned out to be no fairy palaces of jewels and gold, but just mud pueblos, scarcely worth the trouble of conquering.

It was all very romantic to read about, but discouraging for the men who had to bear the hunger and danger and disappointment. One Spanish colony, at St. Augustine, was finally founded in Florida (1565). But north of this the Spaniards just wrote on their maps "Tierras de Ningun Provecho," which means "the land that is of no use to anybody."

They need not have been so much disturbed about not finding any gold in North America. For they were building up an immense and fabulously wealthy empire in Central and South America. The priests converted the Indians, and the conquerors and explorers settled down to rule them. Stately galleons carried untold treasures to the home country, and brought back things the exiles needed or desired. Spanish manners, music, art, and literature were being transplanted across the sea. A new civilization arose in the New World. Even to-day most countries of Central and South America speak Spanish and are more like Spain than like any other part of the Old World. That is why we speak of "Spanish America," although all these nations won their independence long ago.

The Pope Divides America

Until about 1600—because King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella had decided to listen to Columbus after all—most of the glory and the spoil from his discovery had gone to Spain. The Portuguese, to be sure, had settled Brazil. But they had to keep out of the lands to the west of that, because of a proclamation made by Pope Alexander VI away back in 1493, the year after Columbus' first voyage. The Portuguese, you remember, had explored the coasts of Africa. So the Pope thought it only fair that the Spaniards should explore and settle these lands to the west. He therefore drew a line on the map from north to south and said that the Portuguese should keep to the east of it, and the Spaniards to the west. And since both Spain and Portugal were Catholic countries and bound to obey the Holy Father, the plan worked very well so far as they were concerned. The "nose" of Brazil was east of the Pope's line, and the Portuguese settled there.

The people of Europe knew at last that a vast continent lay between them and Asia to the west, and this continent they had determined to make their own.

Whether the American Indians were as glad as the Europeans about it all, there was no one to say.

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Reading Unit No. 2

HOW THE THIRTEEN COLONIES WERE BORN

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Things to Think About

Suppose the Dutch still owned New Amsterdam.

Why did Penn's colony succeed?

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Summary Statement

For religious, economic, and social reasons people came to the New World. Along the Atlantic

coast the English colonists began to build what was to become a great nation.

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The most important man in the first English colony was Captain John Smith, who is here trading with the Indians.

Photo by the National Museum

HOW *the* THIRTEEN COLONIES WERE BORN

The First Men and Women from England Set Up Homes along the Eastern Shore of What Is Now the United States

DURING the time when New Spain was growing up in the southern regions of America, the English had done very little about planting colonies. John and Sebastian Cabot, to be sure, had discovered the North American mainland and claimed it for England (1497) only five years after Columbus' first voyage. The bold English "sea dogs" of Queen Elizabeth's day had thought there was no merrier deed than to waylay a Spanish treasure ship and take the gold home in honest Protestant pockets—for they looked on all Catholics, especially Spaniards, as their national enemies. Sir Francis Drake, one of the most dashing of these sea robbers, had discovered California in the course of making the second voyage (1577–1580) around the globe. But when, a few years later, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the gallant Sir Walter Raleigh tried to found settlements on islands off the coast of what is now North Carolina, nothing came of it. Up to 1607, barring a few treasure ships they lost, the Spaniards had things in the New World pretty much their own way.

Then, on an April day in 1607, the good ships "Sarah Constant," "Discovery," and "Goodspeed" sailed into Chesapeake Bay, in Virginia. The first of the Englishmen had come to stay.

Even now they might not have been able to gain a foothold if it had not been for two powerful aids: Captain John Smith—and tobacco.

Captain John Smith was not yet thirty when he went to Virginia, but he had already, according to his own story, been thrown overboard and rescued by pirates, fought Turkish champions single-handed in the sight of watching armies, and escaped from slavery by killing his cruel Turkish master. Not only was he used to danger, but he did not mind work, and he knew how to make other people work, too. And in the little colony set down in the midst of the wilderness, where there were no cleared fields, nor houses, nor forts to keep off the Indians, there was a great deal of work to be done. The settlers were a rather thriftless lot. Thirty-eight out of the 120 men—there were

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Photo by Gramstorff Bros.

Pocahontas not only helped John Smith and the other Jamestown settlers, but finally went to live among them. At first she was a sort of prisoner, held as a hostage for her father's good behavior. But she soon adopted the ways of the whites, accepted their religion,

and married one of the English officers. Her baptism at Jamestown in 1613 is shown in our picture. Later, when she went to England with her husband, people sometimes called her "the Lady Rebecca," from the new name she had taken when she was baptized.

no women—called themselves "gentlemen" and thought work beneath them. There were only six carpenters and one mason to build the new town. Besides, the man who was chosen president stole all the best food and left only bad grain for the others. John Smith was the only one who knew how to get the fine gentlemen and the idle servants to clear the forest and build houses and plant crops.

The Legend of Pocahontas

He was also the only one who knew how to get along with the Indians. Mostly he managed to make them his friends, and they even brought the starving settlers food. But sometimes he got into fights with them. There is a charming legend that once he was a prisoner in the camp of Chief Powhatan (pou'hă-tăn'), and that when he was condemned to have his brains dashed out, Powhatan's pretty daughter, since "no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save him from death." This pretty Pocahontas later came to Jamestown, as the English

settlement had been named, became a Christian, and married John Rolfe, who carried her off with him to England. Her father Powhatan remained all his life a friend of the white men. It was not until he had been dead several years (1622) that the Indians tried in one terrible massacre to kill all the white people who had taken their land. They killed a great many, more than three hundred; but many were not killed. The white men kept on taking the Indians' land, and they did it even less peaceably than before.

The Famine of 1609

But long before this happened, John Smith, badly hurt in an accident with gunpowder, had had to go back to England (1609). That winter there was a terrible "starving time." Although more settlers had come, even a few women, till there were about five hundred in all, only sixty were alive in the spring. These sixty, gaunt and wild-eyed as ghosts, started down the river with the idea of taking ship and escaping. But they were met by Lord De la Warr, with a fresh batch of

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settlers and supplies. They turned back.

Within the next few years, the great Virginia Company in London, which had sent the colonists out in the first place, let some of them cultivate their own land instead of only land belonging to the Company. This encouraged the people to work harder. More men and women came from England, and other towns sprang up. There were no more "starving times."

Plants the Indians Knew

It is just here that our second reason for the success of the Jamestown colony comes in. The Indians were very clever at finding what plants were good for food or other uses, and in growing these plants, or, as we say, "domesticating" them. In this way they had domesticated corn, potatoes, the American variety of cotton, quinine, and tobacco, all of which were new to the Europeans. By this time, the smoking of tobacco had become quite a fad in Europe. So the Virginia colonists had tried growing tobacco to sell at home in England. There was something wrong with it, however; it would not sell. Then John Rolfe—he who married Pocahontas, you remember—thought of a different way to cure it for the market. In a twinkling, Virginia tobacco became so fashionable in Europe that the Virginians were even planting the highways with it in order to keep up with the demand. This of course meant money for the Company who had founded the colony, and for the settlers too.

Unfortunately, somebody had the idea of importing Negroes to do the hard

work necessary to the growing of tobacco. The first of these poor people came in 1619, and were sold to the planters like so many cattle. There had been black slaves in the West Indies for some years—they were brought in because the white men did not like to do the hardest labor themselves, and when they tried to make the Indians do it, the Indians died. Now the same thing was being done in the English colonies. It led to all sorts of trouble, both for the Negroes and for their white masters.

In the same year which saw this unhappy beginning, there began in Virginia another institution—and this, as it seems now, a much better one. A new charter—a charter is a sort of written constitution—had been granted the colony, and it set up the first representative assembly in America. Certain citizens, or "burgesses" as they were called, were to come together and talk over the laws and regulations of the colony, subject of course to the Company in London. When, in 1624, the Company had to give up the government of the colony to the king of England, the king allowed the House of Burgesses to go on, and the change really

made very little difference to the people of Virginia. The colony prospered, and was very loyal to the king. In return, in 1660, Charles II called the Virginians "the best of my distant children," and said that Virginia should be a "dominion," or one of the main divisions of the British empire, just as England, Scotland, and Ireland were. To this day the state is proud to call herself the "Old Dominion."

The kings who ruled England at this time did not have nearly so high an opinion of the colonies

At Jamestown was built the first Protestant Episcopal church in America, but the town knew so much bad luck from fire and flood that by 1647 the fourth building was standing on the site. The tower of the present building, shown here, belonged to that old church of 1647.

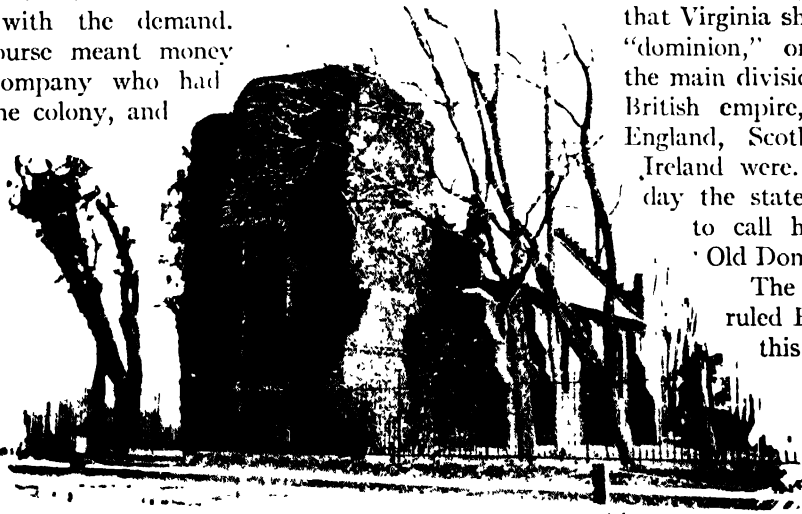


Photo by Virginia State C. of C.

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Photo by Rischgitz

No, all the members of that exiled Separatist congregation in Holland could have sailed to the New World, even if they would. For it had been hard enough for these humble folk to raise money for the one ship

which was now waiting in the harbor. So there must have been difficult partings on that day in 1620, and sad hearts both in the "Mayflower's" boats and on the shore. It was a time for stout courage and prayer.

which were growing up in New England. For these people were not Englishmen from all classes, like the Virginians, but mostly came from those who had left England because they did not like the way the king was acting. England, as perhaps you know, still has an Established Church; that is, a church which is more or less a part of the government. In the seventeenth century, when the English were settling in America, it was against the law to belong to any other church than this Church of England; and within the Church itself it was very hard to get the king to consent to any changes in church government or in the services.

The Quarrel That Sent Settlers to America

But there were a great many people who insisted on belonging to other churches than the official one, and a great many more people who wanted in one way or another to

reform the official church itself. The first sort of people, when they were not Roman Catholics, were called Separatists, because they wanted to separate from the rest. The second sort were called Puritans because, as they said, they wanted to "purify" the Church of England. There was a long quarrel in England about these things, and because the king was the official head of both the Church and the civil government, the quarrel came to involve the rights of parliament and the whole question as to who should really rule England. In the course of this long quarrel, which was so bitter that it ended in civil war, many thousands of the Separatists and the Puritans came to America, where they could try their own ideas of how to run a church and a country in peace.

The first to come were the "Pilgrim Fathers." They were Separatists, humble folk who had been living for a while in Holland because the Hollanders were will-

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ing to let them go to any church they pleased. They had got along there very well, but they were tired of hearing a strange language, and of seeing their children get more and more like little Dutchmen and less like themselves. Besides, war seemed about to break out again between Holland and Spain. So with infinite trouble they managed to borrow enough money to take a shipload of them to America.

They meant to go to Virginia. But in those days it was always a question when a boat started out whether it would not lose its way and land many miles from the place it was headed for. So, after an long seasick weeks on the lonely ocean, the passengers on the little "Mayflower" found themselves anchored off Cape Cod, in Massachusetts. It was already winter (1620), and there seemed nothing to do but change their plans. So they got together in the cabin and signed a Compact that they would all stay together and work together under such rules as they should later make. Then scouting parties went out to find a place to stay. They hit on Plymouth. On December 21, the little party of men and women stepped ashore. The story goes that

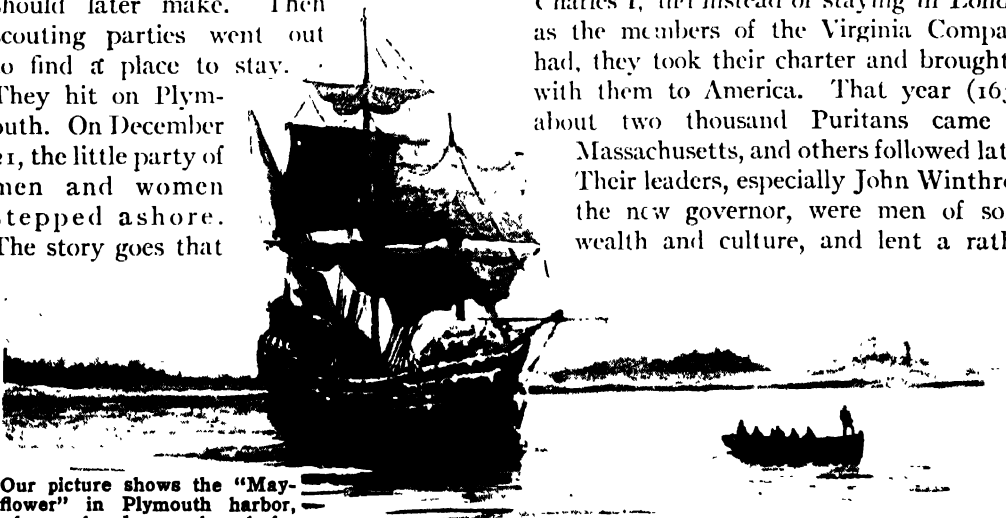
they landed on the famous Plymouth Rock.

Like the Jamestown colonists, they had to go through a terrible time that first winter. New England winters are cold, and there was little time to build houses in the wilderness. It was hard to get food at that season of the year, too. Sickness set in, and sometimes there were only half a dozen well people to take care of all those who were sick. By spring half the colonists, including the leader, were dead. But they elected another leader, William Bradford, and stayed on. When the "Mayflower" sailed back to England, no one went with her except her crew.

Ten years later, when the colony at Plymouth was securely established and another group of settlers had already been living at the neighboring town of Salem for two years, there was a great migration of Puritans from England to the country around Massachusetts Bay. The Massachusetts Bay Company, which managed it, had secured a liberal charter from King Charles I, and instead of staying in London as the members of the Virginia Company had, they took their charter and brought it with them to America. That year (1630) about two thousand Puritans came to Massachusetts, and others followed later. Their leaders, especially John Winthrop, the new governor, were men of some wealth and culture, and lent a rather



This aged Puritan, with his inspired and dauntless face, well represents the type of leader who guided the destinies of early New England.



Our picture shows the "Mayflower" in Plymouth harbor, where she lay anchored for some weeks while the colonists looked for a good place to land.

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aristocratic air to the new community.

These leaders were all strict Puritans, and the first thing they did was to set up in America the kind of church and government they had wanted to see in the old country. No one could vote who was not a member of the Puritan church, and everyone had to contribute taxes to support this church. They did not believe, any more than did most other people in their time, in the rule

of all the people. "The best part is always the least," said John Winthrop, "and of that part the wiser part is always the lesser."

It was partly because he thought that men should be allowed to worship as they chose and that "for any man to be punished for any matters of his Conscience was persecution" that Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts (1636). He went to the region which later became Rhode Island, and founded a new town, which he called Providence because he believed God had guided him to that place. There he set up a

community which really did believe in having all the people take part in the government, and also in letting a man belong to any church he pleased.

Another group of people left Massachusetts in this year of 1636 and founded settlements along the Connecticut River, which were

later (1662) made into a separate colony with a

charter of its own. It too was much more liberal and

less strictly Puritan than the mother colony. New Hampshire was made into a separate colony in 1639. Maine and Vermont were not among the "thirteen original colonies" in 1776.

Late in this century (1686) King James II tried to take away the charters of all the New England colonies and make all New England into one huge province, which he intended to rule as he chose. This was the time when the people of Connecticut hid away their charter in a hollow oak. After

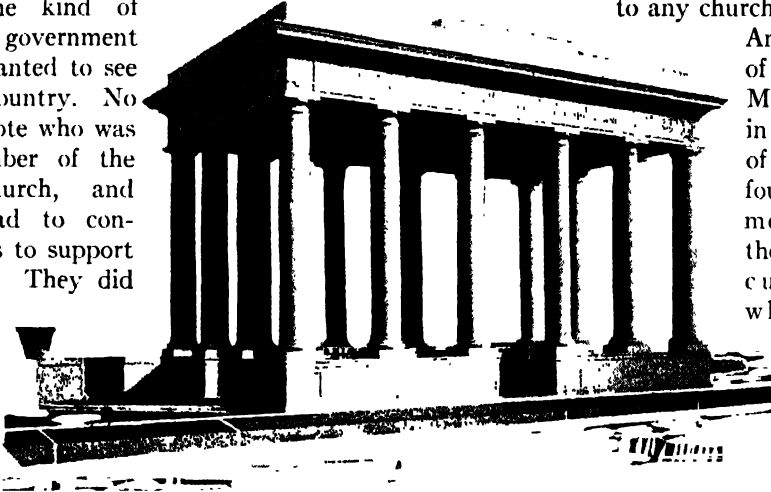


Photo by A. S. Burbank

Under this classic portico lies historic Plymouth Rock, on which the Pilgrims landed in 1620.



Photo by A. S. Burbank

No busy porters received the Pilgrims when they landed from the "Mayflower" in this little boat. And no roomy tender, with puffing engines, carried their baggage ashore.

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Photo by A. S. Burbank

Often on board the "Mayflower," Elder William Brewster and his companions must have knelt thus in prayer.



Photo by A. S. Burbank

Before quitting the "Mayflower," the Pilgrims signed a voluntary agreement, their Compact.

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King James lost his throne (1688) Massachusetts was given a new charter much like the old one, though not so strictly Puritan, and the other colonies quietly brought theirs out from hiding and lived under them as they had before. The New Englanders were always the most sturdily independent as well as the most sternly religious of the colonists.

While all these things were going on in Virginia and New England, people who were not Englishmen at all had been settling in the middle country which is now New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. The Swedish settlements along the Delaware never grew very strong. But for many a long year the silent Dutchmen smoked their interminable pipes and drove shrewd bargains with the Indians along the shores of the Hudson as far north as Albany and in the little towns on Manhattan and Long Island.

What with carrying grain for other nations who were too busy fighting to do it for themselves, and what with fighting the Spaniards on the high seas during their own long war for independence, the Dutch had become great sailors. So, like everyone else, they wanted to find a passage by sea through the New World to the East. When the little

Dutch boat the "Half Moon" sailed up the Hudson River in 1609, just two years after the English colonists had landed at James-

town, her commander was hoping that the beautiful river to which he gave his name would turn out to be the longed-for "north-west passage." But the little "Half Moon" ran aground in the shallows, still several thousand miles this side of Cathay, and Dutch fur trad-

ers soon came to the country Hudson had discovered; and in 1623 the great West India Company organized a regular colony there, which they called New Netherland. They built the fort of New Amsterdam on the southern tip of Manhattan, and in 1626 bought the whole island from the Indians for sixty Dutch guilders. What should you think now if you could buy even a square yard on Wall Street for those sixty guilders, or about twenty-four dollars?

This is the monument raised at Hartford, Connecticut, on the site of the famous Charter Oak. In 1687 the colonial governor came to take away the Connecticut charter. But as it lay on the table before him and the colonial officials with whom he was conferring, someone suddenly blew

out the candles—and when they were relighted the charter was gone. It had been hidden away in the hollow of that old oak.



Photo by Visual Education Service

In 1637 a small colony of Swedes settled in the Delaware country, but in 1655 Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Netherland, sailed down and captured the whole colony for Holland.

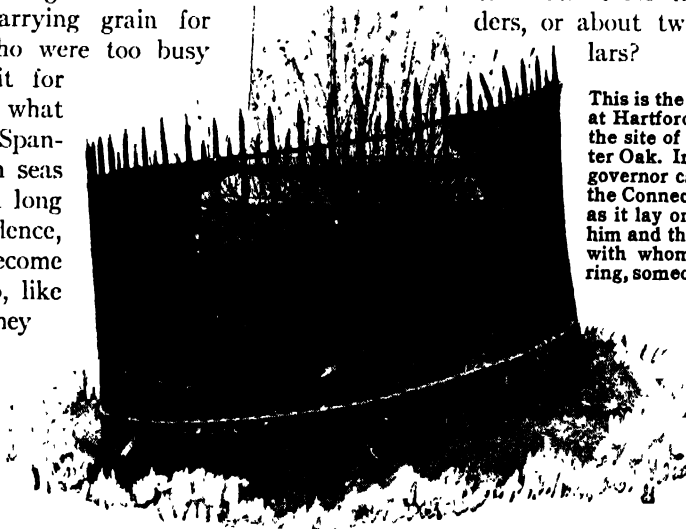
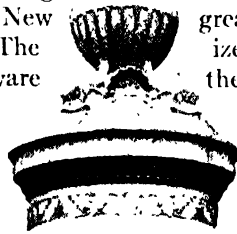


Photo by Hartford C. of C.

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Photo by A. S. Gurney

This famous painting is called "Pilgrim Exiles." All through that first terrible winter the "Mayflower" has lain at anchor off the shore, like a last link with England. Now it has sailed, and the link is broken.

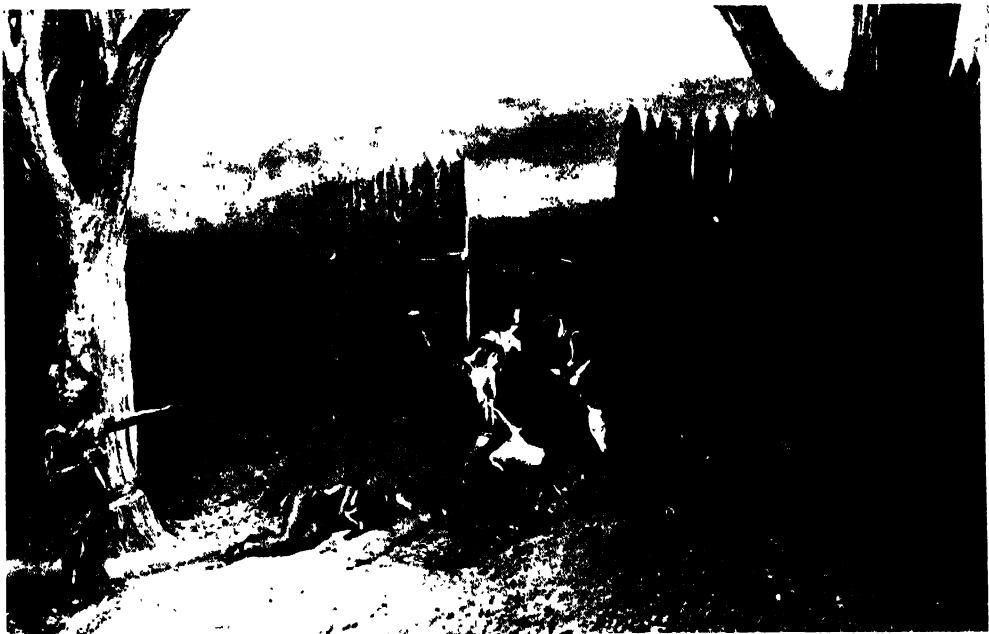


Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Like the other colonists, the Puritans in New England had to build stockades as protection from the Indians. Then some night there would come the dreaded war whoop—and the fierce attack was on.

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The colony did not grow very fast. So immense tracts of land were granted to any rich Dutchmen who would bring over fifty colonists apiece at their own expense. But it was hard to get people to come in that way, because the rich landlord, or "patroon," had too much power over his tenants when he had brought them over. The colony was more than anything else a picturesque trading station, and not strong enough to withstand any very determined attack.

Now the English had always claimed all this land, more or less on general principles. They did not like having another nation between their colonies to the north and to the south. Also, Dutch traders frequently came more or less into conflict with New England traders and settlers.

So, in 1664, just as a commercial war was about to break out between England and Holland, some English ships casually sailed into the harbor and demanded the surrender of New Amsterdam. The crusty old governor, Peter Stuyvesant (stī'vĕ-sănt), fumed and fretted and stamped his wooden leg. But what could he do? It was almost impossible to defend the place, and the people, who did not much like Stuyvesant's ideas of government anyway, had no mind to get killed in a useless battle. So the British flag was run up over the little fort, and New Amsterdam became New York. When the treaty was signed between England and Hol-

land a few years later, so little did the Dutch imagine they had lost the greatest harbor in North America that they cheerfully traded the whole colony of New Netherland for a sugar swamp in Guiana, down in South America.

The whole of New York had been granted

by the king to his brother, the Duke of York, for whom the colony was now named. In the same grand manner English kings gave away to favorites and friends all the rest of the Indian lands which made our thirteen colonies. Maryland was the first of these "proprietary" (prō-prī'ĕ-tā-ri) colonies. It was given (1632) to a great and wise Catholic lord, after whom the city of Baltimore is named. He scandalized the neighboring Virginians by allowing Catholics to live in his domains on the same terms as other people. North and South Carolina together were granted to a group of eight



Photo by the Artist, David C. Lithgow

The most famous of the Dutch "patroons" was Kiliaen van Rensselaer, who had suggested the patroon system in the first place. He never came to America himself, but sent his agents to take up land. Here they are buying from the Indians the country around what is now Albany, the capital of the state of New York.

courtiers (1663). These men could not manage the quarreling people and governors, and finally (1719) they sold their rights back to the king. Long after all the events of which we have been speaking (1732), the last of the thirteen colonies, Georgia, was granted to James Oglethorpe. His main desire was to make the land into a refuge for the poor and oppressed, especially for debtors.

Much the greatest of these proprietors was William Penn. To him, in payment of a debt, King Charles II granted (1681) the

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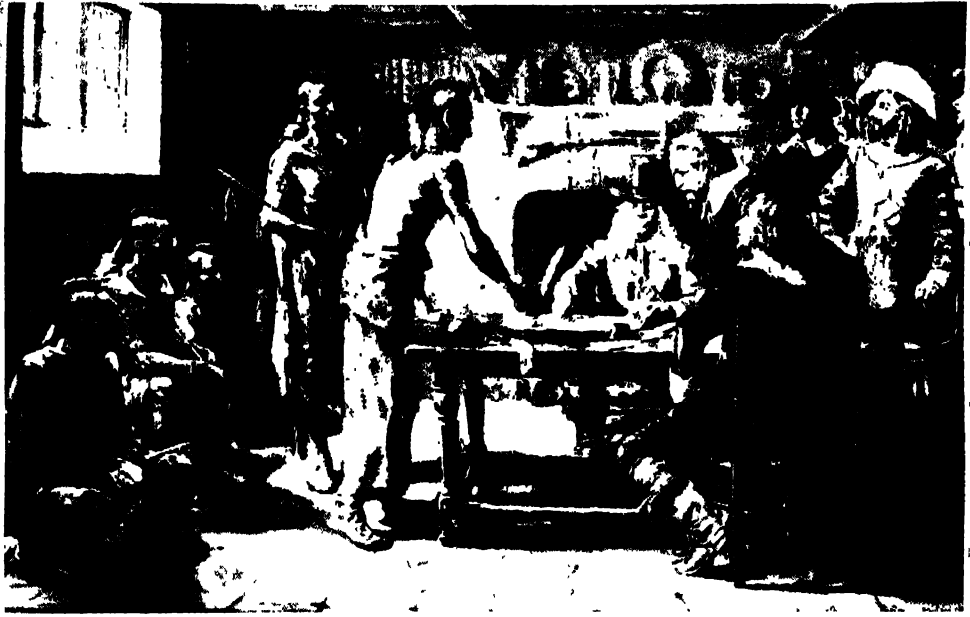


Photo by Title Guarantee & Trust Co. of N. Y.

Our picture shows an important event in the history of what is now Greater New York—the signing (1642) of a treaty with an Indian tribe at the house of Jonas Bronck, who gave his name to the Bronx River and

the district known as the Bronx. Bronck was a Dane, and a man of wealth and culture; he had quite a library—a rare thing in those days. He is shown above leaning over the table as the Indian chief signs.



Photo by Title Guarantee & Trust Co. of N. Y.

The scene of the purchase of Manhattan Island from the Indians in 1626 must have been somewhat like this. The Dutch brought goods to the value of \$24.00

in our money, and struck a bargain with the “wild men.” At this time there were perhaps thirty scattered white families on the whole of Manhattan Island.

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Photo by Maryland Historical Society

The colony of Maryland was founded chiefly as a refuge for persecuted English Catholics, who, as is shown in

our picture of "The Settlement of Maryland," soon became fast friends with the Indians.



Photo by Museum of the City of New York

Peter Stuyvesant, last governor of New Netherland, was famous for his imperious pride and his mighty bursts of wrath. So it was to be expected that he would fly into a rage when British commissioners appeared and coolly demanded the surrender of his whole colony. In this picture the testy old soldier is pointing

his staff at the Englishmen and thundering out his "No!" It was no use, however. He had to give in. After a trip to Holland to explain matters, he returned to New York and lived quietly in his country home, called "The Bouwerie"; from it the street still called the Bowery takes its very inappropriate name.

immense tract of land called Pennsylvania, or "Penn's Forest." Penn was a Quaker, and believed that all men should live in brotherly kindness one with another, without war or quarreling, and that everyone should be allowed to have whatever ideas about religion seemed right to him. So he determined

to make his colony a "holy experiment," and to show that these ideas would work in practice. He advertised his scheme so cleverly that he soon had enough colonists to found Philadelphia, whose name, by the way, means "the city of brotherly love." He made a famous treaty of friendship with the

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Photo by Curtis and Cameron

Penn's famous treaty of friendship with the Indians is always pictured as being signed under a magnificent elm, as in this painting. "Having consulted and resolved their business," Penn writes, "the King"—that is, the chief—"ordered one of them to speak to me.

He stood up, came to me, and in the name of the King saluted me, then took me by the hand." Penn adds words of praise for the Indians, and concludes: "Do not abuse them but let them have justice and you win them." Both sides loyally kept faith.

Indians; for his idea that all men are brothers did not stop short, as did that of so many people, with Englishmen, or even with white men. It is pleasant to imagine the grave young Englishman, with his long hair and knee breeches, sitting under a great elm and smoking the pipe of peace with the half-naked, red-skinned chief and his wise men and warriors. After Penn's death things did not go so well in the colony as might have

been hoped. But a noble idea of tolerance and peace had been brought to America.

Thus, before the middle of the eighteenth century, thirteen English colonies stretched along the coast from French Canada to Spanish Florida. The people had come to America for many reasons—but here they were, the beginning of a great colonial empire, which could one day make the English boast that the sun never set on their flag.

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Reading Unit No. 3

WHY AMERICANS DO NOT SPEAK FRENCH

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

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Things to Think About

Compare the French, English, and Spanish types of expedi-

tion to America. Which was the best?

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Summary Statement

France lost a great American empire because her government would not let the Huguenots mi-

grate. The French population in America was too small to defend French possessions there.

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In a sense the Hudson River has the distinction of having been discovered twice. For in 1524 Verrazano, an Italian sailing under the flag of France, went a little way up its course. But in 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing under the Dutch flag, really explored the great stream. In our picture you see him leaving his boat, the "Half Moon," to land on some forested shore. Thus early did New York begin to be a cosmopolitan place—a city of many nationalities!



Photo by Niagara Hudson Power Corp.

WHY AMERICANS DO NOT SPEAK FRENCH

The Story of How a Vast Empire Was Won from the Indians and Lost by the French

SOME say that Henry Hudson did not discover the Hudson River at all, but that eighty-five years before his little "Half Moon" sailed past the Palisades, a white man's ship had already been seen on its waters. This ship was said to have been commanded by an Italian adventurer named Verrazano (vē'rüt-sä'nō), and it flew at the masthead the flag of France. Although this is undoubtedly true, and although, in fact, Verrazano sailed along the American coast in that year (1524) all the way from North Carolina to Nova Scotia, nobody paid any attention to what he had found. So, if Hudson was not the first one, he might as well have been!

Verrazano was, of course, looking for the northwest passage to India, as were all the

other explorers in these waters during the sixteenth century. Ten years after this trip of his under the French flag, a native Frenchman, Jacques Cartier (zhák kâr'tyā'), made an even more determined attempt to find this passage. He explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and planted on a headland there a huge wooden cross emblazoned with the arms of France. The next year he sailed as far up the river as Montreal—it was he who named this regal headland the "royal mountain." The Indians told him of great waters to the westward on which one might sail for days without coming to the shore. They meant the Great Lakes, of course; but naturally Cartier thought they meant the Pacific, and supposed that he had found the northwest passage at last. He could not,

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Photo by Glens Falls Insurance Co

Although the French made friends with many of the Indians, from the first the powerful Iroquois—that great confederacy of “Five Nations”—were their relentless foes. This hatred of the Iroquois for the French dated back to the dramatic incident pictured here. It took place in July, 1609, on the shores of Lake Champlain, which Champlain himself had just discovered. He had fallen in with a party of Huron

Indians, and to win their friendship agreed to lead them in battle against a party of their old enemies, the Iroquois. In the picture Champlain has just fired the first rifle shot ever aimed at an Iroquois. It killed two of the chiefs at once, and the third fell immediately afterward. The Iroquois broke and fled. But they never forgave the French for that shot, which may well have decided the whole future of New France.

however, get beyond the Lachine Rapids—“China rapids,” as he named them in his great hopefulness. So he and his men returned to the rocky point where Quebec now stands. The winter they spent there was truly ghastly, because of the great cold and because of the scurvy, a disease which explorers and early settlers often suffered from, since it comes when people do not have the proper food. In the spring the only thing to do was once more to set sail for France, with nothing accomplished.

The Indian and His Canoe

Now when the Indians wanted to get from one place to another in the wilderness, they did not try to go in sailboats. And if they had far to go, they did not walk either. What they did was to build slender, light canoes out of wood or bark, and paddle them through the lakes and rivers which make a network over Canada and the Mississippi

Valley. When they came to a strip of land or a waterfall or a stretch of boiling rapids, they lifted the light canoes to their backs and tramped around to a place where they could begin to paddle again. When the French once understood this way of traveling, they immediately began to venture farther and farther west and south from the St. Lawrence country, and to build forts and trading posts and missions here and there in the wilderness.

The first of these tireless travelers was Samuel de Champlain, who came to Canada at just about the same time that English people were settling at Jamestown, in Virginia. In 1608 he founded a colony at Quebec, where Cartier had spent that wretched winter seventy-three years before. As a result of his long and loving labor, Quebec became the capital and focus of the French power in America. From here Champlain departed on many adventures. He



Photo Copyright by Singer Manufacturing Co.

When La Salle, with his band of colonists, was put ashore in a barren part of what is now Texas, he set to work and built a fort, which he called Fort St. Louis. From there he explored in vain for the Mississippi.

discovered the lake in northern New York which is called after him; on this trip he took part with his Indian friends in a war between them and their enemies, the Iroquois. It was to fight this same powerful "nation" that he crossed Lake Ontario later on.

The Early French Explorers

After Champlain, many were the "voyageurs," (vwá'yá'zhûr'), or voyagers, who paddled on the Great Lakes, along the Ottawa and the Ohio, finally even on the great Mississippi itself. They usually went almost alone, not in huge military expeditions like the Spanish or in great migrations like the English. Two or three white men, perhaps an Indian guide or two, and canoes enough for the party—that was all they asked. The government at home was not much interested in these lonely explorers, and so the men did not dare make the In-

Months later (1687) he set out, as in our picture, to march northward toward the Great Lakes and home. But the company had not gone many miles when disgruntled members of it murdered the leader.

dians their enemies if they could help it. Anyway, the founding of an American empire for France was only one of the things they wanted. Even more, most of them wanted to buy furs from the Indians. And very many of them were missionaries, who wished for nothing so much as to see all the Indians become good Christians. In order to convert them, these Jesuit (jěz'û-ît) priests—who took their name from the "Society of Jesus," a Catholic order to which they belonged—were willing to undergo all sorts of hardships in the wilderness, and even, as often happened, to die horrible deaths at the hands of hostile Indians.

America's Greatest Missionary Priest

Father Marquette, perhaps the greatest of the missionary priests, was one of the two Frenchmen who rediscovered the Mississippi River in 1673. His companion was Louis Joliet (zhó'lyě'), a fur trader. You will re-

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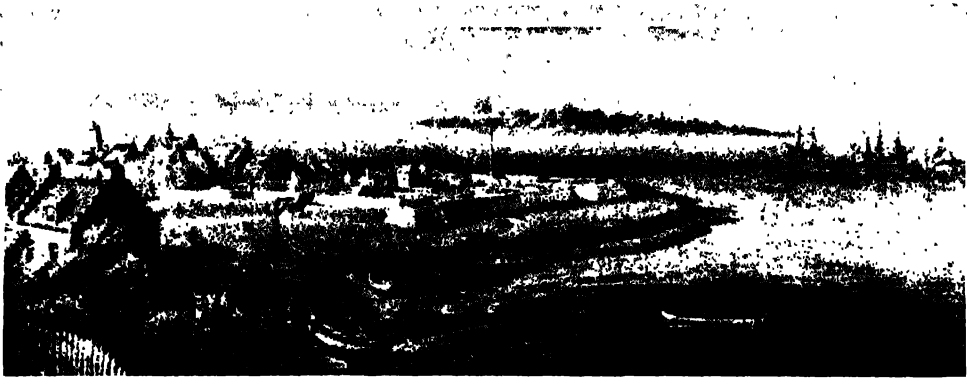


Photo by Title Guarantee & Trust Co. of N. Y.

While the French "voyageurs" were exploring the Great Lakes and the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, settlers from other lands were staking

out claims in America, too. Here, for example, is Fort Amsterdam, built by the Dutch at the lower end of Manhattan Island. It was lost to England in 1664.



Photo by Kentucky Progress Commission

This is a replica, or copy, of old Fort Harrod, at Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Harrodsburg, founded in 1774, was the first permanent settlement in the state.

But long before this, similar English settlements had sprung up in other frontier wildernesses, and the pioneers had sent scouts ahead to Kentucky itself.

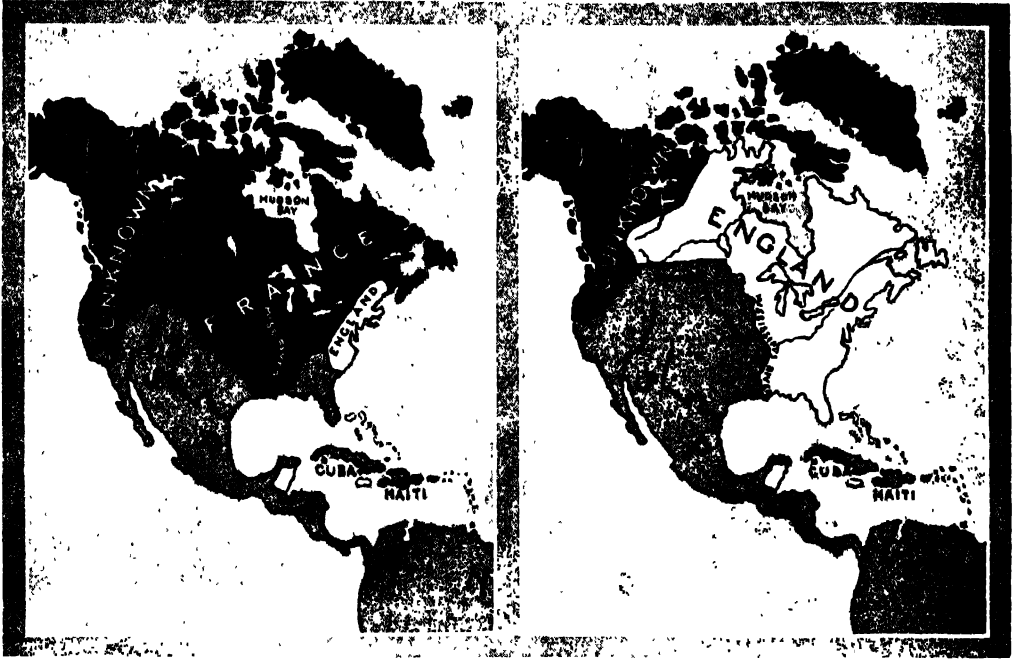


Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

In 1634 the explorer Nicolet paddled west as far as Lake Michigan, and landed in what is now Wisconsin.

Sure that he must be getting near China, he dressed in embroidered robes. The Indians thought him a god.

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These maps show us what France won and lost in America. Before the French War, New France spread, at least in theory, over the whole St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys. And indeed French explorers had

traveled far. By 1659 Radisson and Groseilliers had paddled into Lake Superior, seen the Rockies, and brought back some report of that great Northwest explored a century and a half later by Lewis and Clark.

member that Hernando de Soto had been the first white man to see the Father of Waters (1539). But now the river was discovered from the north. Father Marquette tells us how the friendly Indians warned the adventurers of the dangers of the journey, saying that the great river was in a land of hostile tribes, that it was full of monsters which "devoured men and canoes together," that a foul demon lived on it, and that the heat was so terrible the Frenchmen would surely die. Maybe the monsters were the "wild cattle," or bison, which came down to the river in droves, and the demon could have been the horrible devil Father Marquette tells us they saw painted on a high rock. As for the Indians, the chiefs of the Illinois, at least, welcomed the white men with a banquet and the solemn peace pipe, and the curious people, as he says, "devoured us with their eyes." The Frenchmen went only as far south as the Arkansas River, where they turned back because the river was not carrying them to the western ocean; so they did not get to the hottest part.

It was Robert Cavelier (ká'vê'lyá'), Sieur

de la Salle (syûr dê lá sál), who finally traveled the Mississippi clear to the Gulf of Mexico (1682). La Salle had a romantic dream of a French empire in America which should stretch over the whole continent from north to south and from east to west. But he had much ill fortune. When he returned from France after claiming the whole Mississippi Valley for the French King, he brought colonists and supplies to plant a French settlement in "Louisiana," as he had named the valley in honor of King Louis XIV. But his pilots missed the mouth of the river, and the colonists were set ashore on the barren coast of what is now Texas. Two years later, La Salle himself was murdered by one of his own followers. The first permanent French settlement on the gulf was not established until 1699. New Orleans was founded in 1718.

The French Empire in America

If you will look at a map of North America, you will see that an empire which extended from New Orleans all the way up the Mississippi River, and included the region all

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

This is one of the lonely posts of French Canadian fur traders in the Great Lakes region. One side of the

cabin has been removed in the picture so that we may see its simple arrangements both inside and out.

around the Great Lakes and the whole of the valley of the St. Lawrence, was pretty big. And that is not counting the unknown lands west of the Mississippi and north of the St. Lawrence Valley, all of which were by this time also claimed by France. Thus the string of English settlements east of the Allegheny Mountains was hemmed in by New Spain on the south, and on the north and west by the vast regions of New France.

The trouble was that these regions were too vast—and too vague. There were not enough French people in them. The French government would not allow the Huguenots (hū'gē-nōt), or Protestants, to settle there in order to escape persecution at home, as the Puritans had settled in New England to escape from a religion they did not love. Canada, of

course, was even colder and more forbidding than New England; and the Mississippi Valley seemed very far away indeed. Then

too, when settlers actually did come to Canada, the government at home would not let them alone, but insisted on regulating all they did as if they were still children. And even if a great many more people had come than did come, the wild territory was much too vast for them to spread over in one generation, or even in one century. Thus New France remained for the most part a primeval wilderness, with only an occasional trading post or lonely mission to mark the outposts of civilization.

One great strength the French in America did

have. They were usually on good terms with all the Indians except the Iroquois. This came about partly for the very reason



Photo by Visual Education Service

It was little cabins like this which the English settlers built ever higher up along the slopes of the Appalachians.

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A glance at this picture will explain why General Braddock was so disastrously defeated by the French and Indians on that tragic day in 1755. The French and Indians fought in the protecting shadows of the forest, but Braddock's men tried to draw up in the

open as they had always done in Europe. Braddock himself was killed. Young George Washington had two horses shot under him and his uniform riddled with bullets, but he managed to rally the survivors. He had known all along what was likely to happen.

that in New France the white men were so few. On the one hand, the Indians were not so much afraid of them; and on the other hand, the whites knew they could not afford to set the Indians against them. Then, as we said before, the priests really were interested in saving the Indians' souls, and often tried to protect their converts against the efforts of unscrupulous traders or officials to cheat or betray them. Above all, the very life of the Canadian settlements depended on the fur trade, which in its turn depended on peace between the settlers and the natives.

Why the Indians Fought the English

This friendship with the Indians stood the Frenchmen in good stead during the long-drawn-out struggle between them and the English for possession of the New World. For it cannot be said that on the whole the English got along very well with the Indians. Like the Norsemen of old, they were too likely to consider the red men "inferior people," mere pests with which life in the wilderness was afflicted, as it was afflicted

with hunger and cold and wild beasts. It was very hard for them to realize that these painted savages were after all men and women like themselves, and that it was only natural in the natives to want to keep their forests and rivers for their own use, instead of allowing their hunting grounds to be spoiled and their trees to be cut down by other people. The settlers wanted the land, and thought the savages were not making any very good use of it; so they took it—perhaps paying for it with a few bright beads or a hogshead of rum—and wondered why the Indians did not see the justice of the transaction. They remembered those nights when as children they had been roused by the frightening whisper of "Indians!" and had not dared to utter a word as, clinging to their mothers' skirts, they slipped off through the dark to the neighboring stockade to escape the terrible tomahawks. They did not remember that Indian children had been terrified by them, too, or that after all the Indians were in the country first. And they and the Indians too often blindly hated each other.

So it happened that the series of wars be-



Photo by The Balcock Galleries

This is how the painter Benjamin West has imagined the death of General Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham. In that brief battle before Quebec, the outcome of which decided the fate of New France, the leaders on both sides were slain. Later the people of Quebec

raised a single monument to Montcalm and to Wolfe, counting them both their heroes. On the monument is a noble Latin inscription, which may be put into English thus: "Valor gave them a common death, history a common fame, and posterity a common monument."

tween England and France during the eighteenth century became in America a series of "French and Indian" wars. There were of course some Indians on the side of the English, notably Champlain's old enemies, the Iroquois. But many more Indians fought on the side of the French.

The Steady Advance of the English

By the time when the last and most important of these wars came to be fought—it began in 1754—the English settlers were well started on that steady and tireless westward advance which would some day sweep clear through to the Pacific, three thousand miles away. They had spread west from Massachusetts, and had driven the Dutch from the Connecticut Valley. They had gone north and west up the valley of the Hudson, felling trees and trading with the Indians. They had traveled west from Virginia and

the Carolinas, looking for new lands to till. By this time they had built their log cabins and planted their corn all along the eastern slopes of the Appalachian Mountains.

Adventurous spirits among these "backwoodsmen" wandered far into the mountains looking for deer and bear. Now and then a brave family would load the household goods, the farm tools, and the children into a lumbering canvas-covered wagon and start westward, higher into the foothills. The mother, in her homespun dress, would ride in the wagon and hold the smallest baby on her knee. The father, with his deerskin shirt and moccasins and his long rifle, would help the oldest sons to drive the cattle, or scout ahead for game. Daring hunters, like the fearless Daniel Boone, were already beginning to dream of breaking through the mountain passes to the lovely land of Kentucky on the other side.

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Now even when these settlers lived in peace with the Indians they were still likely, in the frequent wars of which we have spoken, to be at enmity with the French. For the land in western Pennsylvania and all along the western border of the English colonies was disputed territory. Both the French and the English claimed it. But nearly all the settlers in it were English. So when the great French and Indian War came, it was the English backwoodsmen who had to put up "blockhouses," or little wooden forts, to which they could run for protection when the enemy was near. It was they whose crops were destroyed and whose cabins were burned when the fighting began.

The last French and Indian War was a part of a great struggle among the powers of Europe known as the Seven Years' War, because it lasted from 1756 to 1763. Its first shot was actually fired (1754) in the backwoods country of America, and the commander of the company which fired it was none other than George Washington, who was later to be the first president of the United States. Both the French and the English had been pushing into the Ohio Valley. The French built a fort, called Fort Duquesne (du'kĕn'), where Pittsburgh now stands. Washington, then a colonel of the colonial militia, was sent to protect the English interests in that district. There was a clash at a place called Great Meadows; and the war was on.

A New Kind of Warfare

For several years the French had the better of it. The English colonists did not work together very well; a wise plan of united action proposed by Benjamin Franklin at a convention held at Albany, New York, was not adopted. Then too the British soldiers who came over from England did not at first understand fighting in the forests. Almost all of the first force, under General Braddock, were killed near Fort Duquesne, because the French and Indians could fight from behind trees and rocks while the British troops were

used to fighting in the open. It was George Washington who led the remnant of the defeated force back into safety, thereby winning his spurs as a soldier.

But after a while the generals learned to listen to what the colonials could tell them about these things, and William Pitt, the new minister in power in the British government at home, inspired the British troops to new efforts. The French, after all, were few, as we have said; and their Indian allies were more or less scattered and undisciplined. The climax came in 1759, when Quebec was surprised and taken by the British. General Wolfe, the British commander, had heard of a secret path up the bold cliffs that guard the Heights of Abraham in front of the city. At dead of night, and with muffled oars, the British boats slipped down the St. Lawrence, and the soldiers clambered up the secret path in single file. The battle next morning lasted only half an hour. When it was over, both the gallant General Wolfe and the equally gallant French commander, Montcalm, were dead. The British flag flew over the chief stronghold of New France.

When peace was made by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the French government gave up its claims in the New World, one and all. To England went all of Canada and the disputed lands east of the Mississippi. To Spain, who had been allied with France in the war in Europe, went the lands west of the Mississippi.

So it happens that French customs and French government and the French language, instead of spreading over all of North America, as La Salle had hoped they would do, almost died out altogether. Only a few people, largely in the province of Quebec, where the largest French settlements had grown up, still speak French and keep up the old religion and some of the old customs. These are the people we call French Canadians. They are descendants of the hardy settlers and fur traders and "voyageurs" who once dreamed the golden dream of New France.

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Reading Unit

No. 4

IN THE DAYS OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Photo by A. S. Burbank

Miles Standish has been called "the Captain John Smith of the Plymouth colony." He did not belong to the Pilgrims' congregation in Holland, but was a bluff soldier of fortune who decided to throw in his

lot with the colonists. He at once became their military leader. It was he who set out, as shown in our picture, to meet the first attack of hostile Indians; he had been warned by Massasoit, a friendly Indian chief.

In the DAYS of the THIRTEEN COLONIES

What Life Was Like in the English Colonies Before They Became the United States

IT IS interesting to imagine how it would feel to wake up and find that the year was, say, 1765, and that one was living in one of the English colonies along the Atlantic coast of America. What would you think as you got up and put on your stiff, old-fashioned clothes and went out to see what it was all about? Things would surely seem very picturesque and romantic, and it would be hard to remember that, to the people one met, life was just an everyday affair, full of dull duties and sharp discomforts.

If you had been born to it you would take the discomforts for granted. You would never have heard of hot-air or steam furnaces, though you might know that a certain Benjamin Franklin had recently invented an iron thing to hold fire—which was called a stove. So you would crawl out of bed in your chilly room, trying not to pull the covers off anyone who was sleeping with

you, and break the ice in the water pail to wash your face. That evening you would be glad enough to pull a little hard stool up to the roaring fire in the fireplace while father read the daily chapter from the Bible. It would not occur to you to think that a candle, such as the one he was reading by, could be made only for decoration instead of for giving light, much less to suppose that any finer light would ever be found than the new whale-oil lamps that burned in a draft so much more brightly and steadily than a candle. You would not miss the telephone or wonder what was the matter with the radio—for of course you would not know anything about such things.

Even if you were young you would do all sorts of things for yourself. If you were a girl you would have spun and woven and cut out and sewed up the dress you were wearing. You would know how to bake bread in the great oven beside the fireplace, you

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would turn your hand to dipping candles and making soap. If you were a boy you would help to make the new plow or to build the house you lived in. And you would be learning to whittle countless clever and amazing objects with your father's big pocket knife. If you happened to want a bit of diversion, there would not be any "movies" to go to; you would have to think up your own games, or, if you were socially inclined, perhaps go to quilting or spelling parties—"bees," they were called—or make a picnic out of putting up a new house or barn for a neighbor.

When you wanted to go anywhere, you would not be able to jump into the car and get there in almost no time. You might walk, or go with horse and team if it was not far and if there was a road. You would think many times before you would travel a hundred miles or more overland in one of the springless stage-coaches. Better learn to ride a horse—though girls had best stay at home, for the roads were full of ruts and mud and maybe of Indians. If you had far to go, the best thing was to travel by water. A canoe or flatboat on the rivers, a brave sailboat on the sea—these were swifter and surer in those days before railroads and motor buses were ever known.

Before the Days of Uncle Sam

You would probably live in a small village or on a farm. There would be no factories, no great cities, no skyscrapers, no traffic lights. There would be no public library where you could find books to read. And at

home there would probably be very few books. If you took a newspaper—which is unlikely—it would be a little sheet rather like a good high school paper nowadays. You would not be able to go to a news stand and pick out a magazine from a bright display. But since you would never have heard of magazines, you would not miss them.

Of course there would be no American flag over the courthouse. The British flag would be there, and you would think of it as your flag, and would somehow think of far-away England as the center of things, the "home-land," where, perhaps, your mother and father had been born. As you grew up you would know that your America was still young and crude, that Americans still had to look to England for most

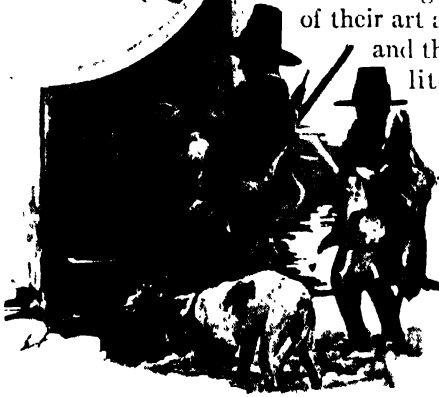
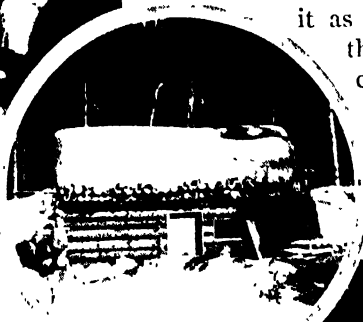
of their art and literature, and that the art and literature and thought which did belong to America were still really a part of the art and literature and thought of England.

But, just as in America to-day, the kind of life you led would depend upon who your father and mother were and in which colony you happened to have been born. American life is very different now for the children of a millionaire and those of a slum dweller, for the children of a New York lawyer, an Illinois factory hand, and a Montana sheep herder. So in those days the life of the rich and of the poor, of the North, South, and West, showed many differences.

Suppose you were a New Englander. If you were very lucky, you might be a member of the new colonial aristocracy, which rode about Boston in gilded coaches—to the great



Here are a few typical scenes of colonial New England—women chatting at their spinning wheels, a log cabin half buried in snow, Puritan men home from the hunt.



Photographs by Metropolitan Museum of Art, American Museum of Natural History, and Anderson, Rome

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Photo by N. Y. Public Library

This well-known picture shows New England Puritans of the early days on the way to church. The men must carry their guns for fear of the Indians, and even during the service must be ready to spring to the fight.



Photo by Rischgits

Here is a scene inside the first church, or "meeting-house," in New England. A century later, in the middle of the 1700's, the hold of the church and of its ministers was still very strong throughout New England.

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Photo by Essex Institute

In the year 1692 a strange madness broke out in Salem, Massachusetts. It was the fear of witchcraft. New Englanders were far from being the only people to suffer from the delusion; in Europe, also, many persons were persecuted or put to death for the "crime." This

scandal of the town—took snuff with the royal governor, and secretly hoped that some day the king would make them the beginning of an hereditary nobility in America; or you might be the son or daughter of a wealthy merchant, who had ships upon the seven seas and a fine library in his roomy house in Boston or Cambridge. Then you would perhaps have a governess or tutor to teach you your lessons at home—Latin and Greek and mathematics if you were a boy, or, if a girl, sewing and dancing and French. A girl would marry perhaps at sixteen or seventeen, and go to be the lady of another pleasant big house with many servants. A boy would perhaps decide to be a minister or a lawyer and go to the little college of Harvard or of Yale, or, if his father was unusually well-to-do, would cross the wide ocean to study at Oxford or Cambridge in England.

But your father would much more probably be a small tradesman or a farmer. Then

was the only time men and women in America suffered death under the strange accusation; but during the months of her madness Salem hanged nineteen persons for "commerce with the devil." Our picture shows very well the hysterical excitement of such a trial.

you would live in a village or on a farm. Your father would own his bit of land, and proud of it he would be, too. He would go of an evening to the town meeting, where he would stand up and tell what he thought ought be done about raising money for a new town hall or electing a new magistrate or persuading such-and-such a dangerous person to leave the community. During the day he would tend his little shop or plow his rocky fields.

A Typical New England House

Your mother would be busy baking and sewing and spinning and tending the baby. Perhaps she would find time to teach you your A B C's, and you could learn the more important matters of housekeeping and shop-keeping or farming from watching her or your father. Or perhaps you would go to the tiny village school, where the principal thing to be learned was the books of the Bible

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Of course young Puritan boys and girls were not always models of piety and obedience. Then the pastor

might come to the house, as pictured here, to read the Scripture, and to reason with the rebellious one.



Photo by Metropolitan Mu

The Dutch citizens of New Netherland loved nothing so much as to sit smoking their long pipes. Irving has great fun with this trait in his hilarious "Knickerbocker

History of New York." He makes up a story of how Governor Kieft—"William the Testy"—issued an edict against smoking—and was "smoked out"!

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Photo by The Manhattan Co.

This is a picture of fashionable New York at the end of the 1700's. The little city had become a center of

wealth and fashion even before the Revolution. Then for a time it was the capital of the new nation.

and how to be a good Congregationalist. Then, on Sunday, the whole family would dress up in their best homespun clothes and go soberly to the little white meetinghouse for church services. No matter how cold it is in the long New England winter, you must not mind if the minister prays for an hour and preaches for two or three. You could not go skating or read an exciting story on Sunday anyway—for such things are not done in colonial New England on the Sabbath.

Or perhaps you live among the wind-swept

sand dunes along the coast, on the island of Nantucket, or on Martha's Vineyard. Then your father is away all day fishing for haddock or cod, and if you are a boy, he may soon take you with him to learn how to manage the little fishing boats and bring home many fish to sell on the mainland. Or, more exciting still, he may be a whaler, and for long months at a time he will be away from home, sailing from Greenland to Guinea in search of the mighty oil-bearing whales. His is a trade that takes an iron nerve, a keen eye, and a steady hand, as anyone

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This painting is called "The Palanquin." A palanquin was a small, boxlike conveyance borne on men's shoulders by means of poles. So elegant a mode of travel would be only for the highborn belle of the Middle or Southern colonies, where there were slaves for bearers. In those colonies there was a highly organized and gracious social life long before the Revolution. Philadelphia shone with brilliant gayety,

and farther south, in Richmond and Charleston, there was a high-bred grace that survived even the grim days of the Civil War. The fine colonial mansion in the background above, with its simple, dignified lines, its gracious doorway and white pillars, reflects that bygone age. Many of those old mansions still survive, and are counted a precious heritage by the communities in which they stand.



Photos by United States Lines

No matter where you lived in the older colonies—in New England, or the Middle Colonies, or the South—there was always the feeling of the great wilderness stretching away to the westward, vast and exciting and largely unknown. But sometimes an adventurer would return from the farthest frontier—some trapper, perhaps, like the one above, with his fringed deerskin

clothes, his long rifle, and his thrilling tales. Then it would be hard for the pretty young mistress to attend to her spinning, or for the men to go about their business, or even for the black "mammy" to finish her sweeping. And when they have drunk in enough such stories, likely as not they will all pack up and set out for the Ohio country or for far "Kentuck'."

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Photo by The Heuser Co

It was in their town meetings that the New Englanders gained their experience in self-government. Each town

had its problems, and all the men met to talk them over and vote on them, as they are doing here.

knows who has read the famous story of Moby Dick, the great white whale. While father is battling with wind and sea and ocean giants, mother is thriftily seeing to the family affairs at home, so that when the ship at last comes in, full to the gunwale with barreled oil, all will be ready to welcome the adventurer joyfully.

It would not be so pleasant to belong to the class of free artisans and laborers, for most of them could not vote, and many people still looked down at them. But they were beginning to resent that, and if you belonged with them, you might have been concerned with some of the most exciting scenes leading up to the Revolution, which occurred only a few years after the time of which we are speaking.

Not many of the people in New England were Negro slaves, although some of them were. But very many white people were "indentured servants," really temporary slaves; that is to say, not having had enough money to buy their passage over from Europe, they sold their services for five or even seven years after their arrival in order to

cross—surely a high enough price to pay for the miserable accommodations they had on the boats! They would be advertised in the Boston papers like merchandise: a servant or a carpenter or a teacher "to be sold on reasonable terms."

Often whole families came in this way; so you might very well find yourself a

lonely servant girl or lad-of-all-work to be ordered about by everyone in the family who had "bought" you. You can see that the pleasantness of this sort of life would depend almost altogether on the luck you had in a master.

Many thousands of colonists became Americans this way—Englishmen and Irishmen and Scotchmen and especially Germans. Sometimes, if they were too unhappy, they ran away and took up land of their own on the farthest frontier.

There were slaves and indentured servants and farmers and tradesmen and wealthy merchants in the Middle Colonies as well as in New England. People there took life perhaps a trifle more easily. There were more great landed estates and fewer very small farms. The soil was richer, the climate milder, the people a shade less



Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art

This Puritan girl has grown to womanhood in the stern but God-fearing discipline of an early New England home.

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taken up with trade. Most of the people did not have such stern ideas about religion, and there were more different kinds of churches as well as more people who were not much interested in any church at all. On the other hand there lacked something of that lively

worked out for the streets, which had before been so dark. You would want to go to his new college—now the University of Pennsylvania—where various things were taught besides the Latin and Greek grammar of the other colonial colleges. You would be thrilled

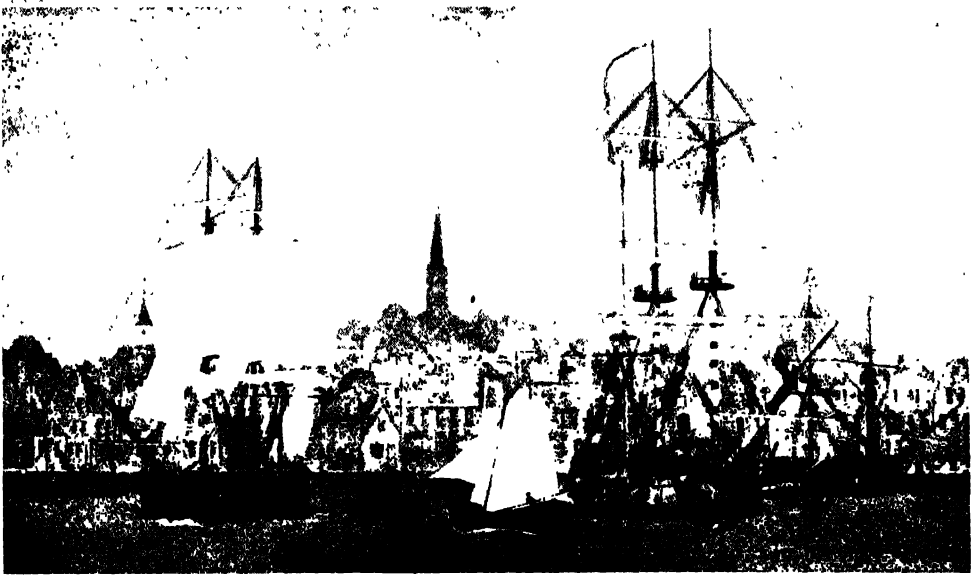


Photo by New York Trust Co

This is New York harbor and the New York skyline as they looked in the eighteenth century. There are

interest in local self-government and that sturdy independence of thought on political matters which made the New Englanders the first to plunge into the Revolution a little later.

In the Land of the Quakers

If you had been born in Philadelphia or anywhere in eastern Pennsylvania, you would probably be a Quaker. These were the people, you remember, who founded a colony where everyone was to be free to think and worship as he pleased. So you would find Philadelphia the most modern and tolerant city in America. Perhaps as you grew up you would become interested in the scientific experiments of the town's first citizen, Benjamin Franklin. You would hear how he had proved that the lightning was a bolt of electricity, and how all the great scientific men of Europe were praising him. You would see the new lighting system he had

neither skyscrapers nor steamships, but thronging masts show that already the city is a busy port.

with the stir of new ideas and new adventures of thought; and you probably would not grow up to feel that everyone who disagreed with you must be very wicked!

On the Great Plantations

Of the people who lived in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, more than half were black slaves. For here the best land was divided into immense plantations, and you will remember that these great estates had long been tilled by slaves. For those whose parents had been stolen away from an African jungle by some brutal slave trader, herded into a vile-smelling and overcrowded ship, and sold at auction to some American gentleman, life would not be of the pleasantest. Yet, here again much—very much—would depend on the master. If he held only a few slaves, as frequently occurred in the Middle Colonies and the North, he might very well treat a slave like

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Photo by Title Guarantee & Trust Co.

These gallant gentlemen and gracious ladies are New Yorkers of fashion met at a reception to the colonial governor of New Jersey in 1768. The reception was held in a country house now known as the Jumel Mansion; the city of New York long ago crept up

around the old house, leaving it standing in a little park. The guests of honor are on their way to sign at Fort Stanwix a very important treaty with the Iroquois—a treaty on which rests the white man's claim to large parts of New York and other states.

any hired man. Even on the great plantations he might keep a sharp eye on the black man's welfare, see that he was not starved or worked too hard, and tell his overseer to be careful in using the long whip. But if the master was not so minded, you can imagine how horrible such a life might be.

The Gay Life in the South

Far luckier would you be if you were born the son or daughter of one of these high-spirited and aristocratic slave-owning families. Theirs was perhaps the most romantic existence in the New World—unless we prefer the hard, exciting life of a whaler or a backwoodsman. Your father would possibly be deep in debt to business interests in London; but you would never guess that from looking at the spacious, columned mansion, the trains of slaves, the bright clothes imported from England, the gay hunting parties and dances. Your nearest neighbor would be some distance away on account of the breadth of

your acres. Of course one must always remember the absence of telephones and automobiles—and even of good roads! So when you went a-visiting you might well stay a week or a month—and what parties and gayeties you might have! Of course a boy would finish his education at Oxford or Cambridge, and a girl would amuse herself with embroidery and dancing, with music and suitors. Father, to be sure, would have plenty of responsibility and worry, what with those debts, and the slaves to feed and clothe in season and out, and brother's expenses and sister's marriage to think about.

The Hardships of the Middle Class

If you were a poor free farmer in the South, you would find it very hard to make your farm pay in competition with the labor of the great planter's slaves. So you would either struggle along the best you could, or move to the back country where land was cheaper and slaves as yet were few. Here

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you might either idle away your days with little interference from government, or you might energetically improve your land and perhaps become a substantial homesteader.

This back country, which extended north and south from Canada to Spanish Florida, and took in the western halves of most of the coast colonies and the land west to the great mountain divide of the Appalachians, was the first real frontier of the many westward-moving frontiers America has seen. If you lived here, you would be more interested in Indians than in England, and all the excitements and rivalries of the coast would seem to you far away and rather vague and unimportant. Almost all the people here lived on farms which they owned themselves. The country was a great melting pot.

Life on the Frontier

Say that your own family were Quakers who had moved west from around Philadelphia into the Ohio Valley, so that you might live on a broad farm, with still more room in which to expand it. Your next-door neighbor might be a Scot from some barren island of the Hebrides. Perhaps he had landed in Philadelphia without a shilling of money or an idea of what to do, and your father or the kindly ex-peasant from Germany who lived on the other side of you had taken him in, taught him how to handle a plow and sit a horse and shoot a gun, and hired him by the month until he had enough money saved up to buy a little farm of his own. Then perhaps your family and the Scotch-Irish family a few miles to the west and the English people from beyond them and all the other neighbors got together and built him a log house in one day, bringing a picnic lunch and turning the occasion into high holiday for all. If you lived here you would spend your time plowing or spinning, and there might or might not be a church for you to ride to on horseback, and there surely would not be any school other than

what a mother could furnish herself in odd moments.

If the father was a restless man, or did not like neighbors nearer than five miles or so, or found that his farm was not paying very well—up he would get and pack his family into a wagon and start to the farthest frontier on the western fringe of settlement. Here, in the uncleared forests, life would be wild and hard indeed. Every foot of field would have to be cleared of trees before he could plant it to corn. He must spend hours and often days in the forest shooting deer and bear for the family to eat. Sometimes he might take a young son along. Daniel Boone used to take his small boy with him when the child was only nine years old, and would sleep by the campfire with the boy huddled close to him for warmth. At home, friendly Indians would come to the house to talk or trade. There might not be another white family for miles through the forest. But if war broke out—with the French in Canada or with some Indian tribe, or with the English people themselves, as was the case in the Revolution—then it was always these lonely log cabins and their rough, isolated inhabitants who were likely to suffer most.

The First Modern Americans

The hardy backwoodsmen were great individualists; that is, they did not like to be interfered with and had scant respect for anyone's authority. They had to take care of themselves and their families and they did not want anyone to meddle in their business. In fact all the settlers in the back country had minds of their own. If you lived there in the days just before the Revolutionary War, you would be living—although you probably would not realize it—among the people who of all the colonials were least like Europeans and most like the mingled race that was emerging—most like the "Americans" of to-day.

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Reading Unit No. 5

HOW WE WON OUR FREEDOM

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Summary Statement

The reasons for the American Revolution were economic as well as political, but whatever

they were, the colonists fought against great odds to gain their freedom.

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This famous picture is called "The Spirit of '76." As these sturdy patriots march off to the fight we can almost hear the lively strains of "Yankee Doodle."



Photo by Gramstorff Bros

HOW WE WON OUR FREEDOM

The Story of the Quarrel between England and Her American Colonies, and of How It Came Out

IF YOU had lived in Boston in 1773 or thereabout, you would almost surely have learned to sing a song that ran like this:

There was an old lady lived over the sea,
And she was an Island Queen.
Her daughter lived off in a new country,
With an ocean of water between.
The old lady's pockets were filled with gold,
But never contented was she.
So she called on her daughter to pay her a tax
Of threepence a pound on her tea—
Of threepence a pound on her tea. . . .

So sang the sturdy colonials—in a ballad

still sung by their great-great-grandchildren's children to-day. And, to be sure, tea did have a good deal to do with the signing of the Declaration of Independence. But of course the quarrel was not nearly so simple a matter as the old song makes out. And very probably England, the far-away "Island Queen," and her daughter colonies in America, would have quarreled sooner or later if neither had ever thought of drinking "a dish of tea."

There were two reasons why this was so. In the first place, London merchants and business men, who had a great deal of influence over the English government, thought

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Photo by Gramstorff Bros

Probably if anyone could have smoothed over the quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies, Franklin could have done so. For he was

widely respected in England and over all Europe as a scientist and public man, and he was famous for his tact. Here he is shown at the British court.

that colonial industry and trade should be so managed as to bring the largest sum of money possible into their pockets; that was what colonies were for!

And, naturally enough, the colonial merchants and business men thought things should be so managed as to bring the most money into *their* pockets. This led, as we shall see, to a long series of disagreements about trade laws. In the second place, after having managed their local affairs themselves for so long, in town meetings or on the lonely frontier, the colonials had come to dislike being told what to do by a king and parliament sitting so far away as London. For even though the king and the members of parliament were Englishmen like themselves, the colonials came to feel that, since these rulers and lawmakers did not actually come from

America, America was not really represented by them. Now the English said, on the

other hand, that an Englishman was an Englishman, whether he lived in London or in Boston, and that when an English parliament taxed the American colonies, it was not taxing them, as the colonials said, "without representation."

That was the way all colonizing nations looked at things in those days. But the colonials were much too independent in spirit to agree with that, and they wanted to go right on governing themselves. In this way, the commercial differences furnished the occasion of the quarrel, and the political differences furnished the theories and the inspiration.

The commercial quarrel was of very long standing. Beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century (1651),



Photo by the National Portrait Gallery

This is King George III, who helped bring on the Revolution by making up his mind "to rule as well as to reign." He was by no means the villainous tyrant some have called him, but his mistakes and those of his ministers cost England dear.

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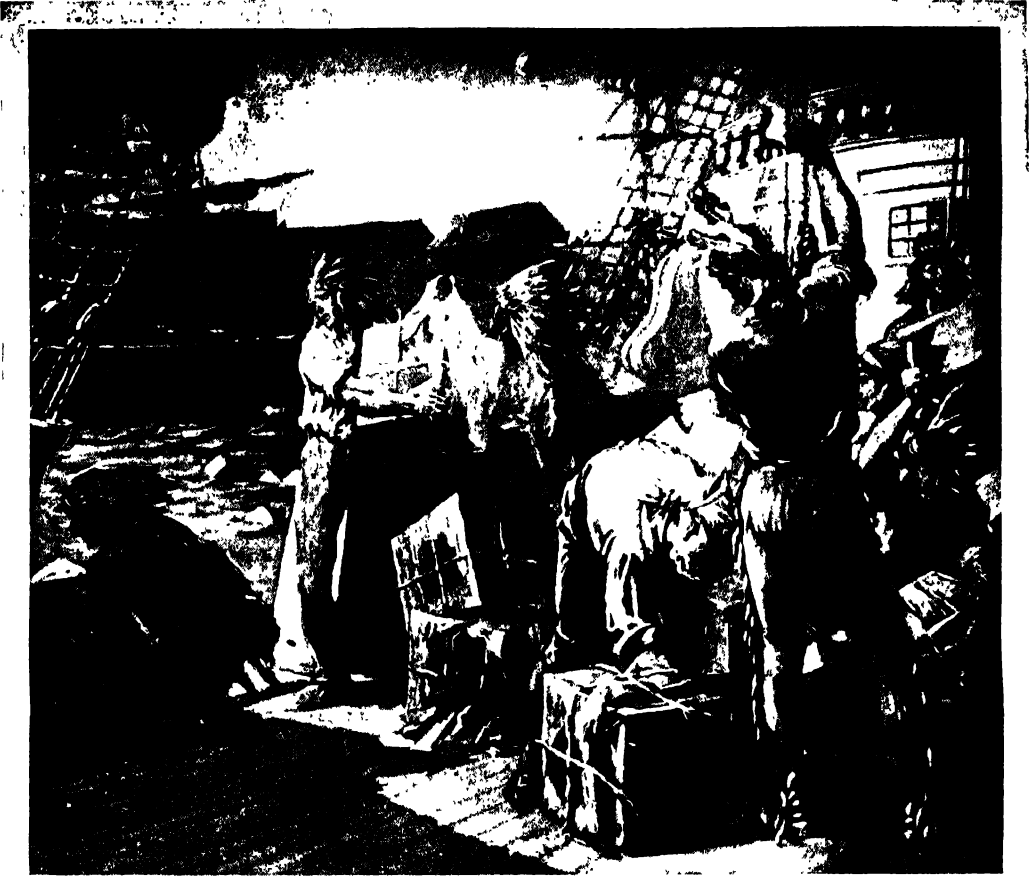


Photo Copyright by Detroit Publishing Co

Here is a scene from the famous Boston Tea Party. It was a grim sort of tea party when you think what it meant—but it looks oddly like a fancy-dress ball. Here

were grown men, many of them solid and respectable citizens, all dressed as Indians and solemnly throwing case after case of tea into the water!

there had been a long series of Navigation Acts and Acts of Trade passed with the idea of helping the trade of the whole British empire as against its rivals, the Dutch, the Spanish, and the French. These laws said that all ships must be owned by Englishmen, that certain things like cotton, tobacco, and sugar must be exported only to England, and that ships bound for the colonies must go first to England and pay duties there. But the colonial merchants could make much more money if they sold their tobacco directly to other European countries and bought their sugar and spices directly from those countries or from the West Indies. So most of them quietly broke the laws, and smuggled the goods in or out

of the country in defiance of the imperial officials.

Why the Colonies Wanted Their Freedom

There were also laws to the effect that the people in the colonies must not make certain things, such as woolen goods, but must import them from England. In the 1750's, laws were passed to say that the colonies must not issue any paper money. The other laws had put the colonials deeply in debt to the English merchants. Since they had very little gold to pay the debts with, or to carry on their trade, they had thought of printing paper money as the easiest way out. On the political side, there had been various efforts to alter or destroy the old charters of the

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colonies, and these had always met with spirited resistance.

In spite of these old quarrels, however, in 1763, at the close of the French and Indian Wars, the feeling between England and her American colonies was very friendly. They had just fought and won a war together. The trade laws were not troubling anyone much, since they were not very well enforced. Franklin, "our first ambassador," was in London, and was feeling confident of peace.

But the long war with France had to be paid for, and the English thought it only fair that the colonists should help to pay for it. Besides, a new king, George III, had come to the throne (1760), and he was a strong believer in the "royal prerogative," (*prê-rôg'â-tiv*), which means the king's right to take a strong hand in the government. This energetic young king had called about him a group of leaders from the Tory party, the old aristocratic party which had been out of power for a long time. Together with parliament—which was much influenced by the rich landowners and business men—the ministers of George III determined to enforce the old trade laws and also to devise new ways of raising money in the colonies to help in paying for the war and in building up the trade of the empire.

So the prime minister, George Grenville, worked out a program. The old laws were to be enforced, and new duties to be levied on various other things. An army was to be stationed in America, paid for partly by the home government and partly by the colonists. Money was also to be raised by selling stamps, which everyone must buy, to put on such things as newspapers,

pamphlets, and all sorts of legal papers. The Americans were given a chance to suggest some other way than this last to raise the money; but they did not believe in being taxed by parliament at all, and so had nothing to suggest. The whole program was then passed by parliament with a huge majority.

The people in the colonies were enraged. They hated having British officials walking into their ships and even into their houses to look for smuggled goods. They said that

"a man's house is his castle," and no "Writs of Assistance," as the search papers were called, gave any royal official a right to go into their homes. Those of them who were in trade hated to have to pay the

duties. The lawyers hated to have to buy stamps for all their deeds and mortgages, and the newspapermen hated to have to buy stamps for all their papers. Many a man wondered why there should be an army in a time of peace, and why he should pay for it.

So the cry arose that "taxation without representation is tyranny." The leaders passed resolutions of protest, and mobs rioted in the streets, sacking rich houses and burning gilded coaches. A general Stamp Act Congress was called, and met in New York (1765); it drew up a united protest and set forth the colonists' point of view. Worst of all, the colonists agreed to boycott English goods—that is, not to buy them at all until the law was changed. In short, the people were so angry and made such a commotion that the British government, in sorrow and astonishment, repealed the most hated of the laws, the Stamp

The fine bronze statue below is called "The Minuteman"; it celebrates the farmers and tradesmen who left their plows or accounts at a minute's notice to take up rifles for the defense of their liberties. The statue stands in Concord, and is the work of the distinguished American sculptor Daniel Chester French.

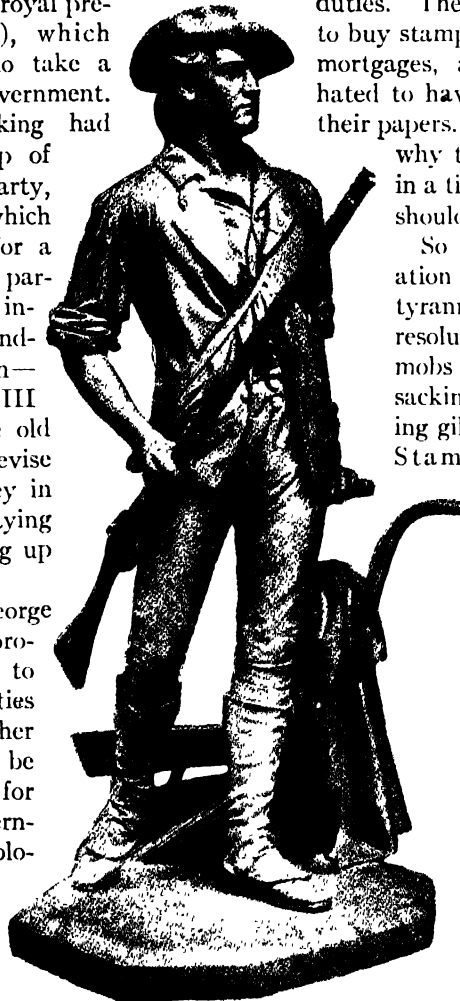


Photo by the Art Institute of Chicago



Photo Copyright by Detroit Publishing Co.

What American child has not heard of Paul Revere's ride on that momentous April 18, 1775—how he sped through the night to arouse the minutemen?

"A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo forevermore!"

Act, only a few months after it had been passed (1766).

With that, most of the wealthier and more conservative people were pretty well satisfied. If the British government had been wise, it might have learned its lesson and all might yet have been well. There were men in parliament who saw this—Edmund Burke, the great orator, and William Pitt and Charles Fox, statesmen and ministers. But the government was not wise, and it determined to try again. And meanwhile, in America, some of the more radical leaders, like the fiery Patrick Henry in Virginia and the democratic Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, kept telling the people not to let themselves be imposed on, not to give up their ancient liberties.

More duties were levied, and more resistance followed. Troops were sent to Boston to enforce order. By 1770 the excitement was so high that trouble broke out between the soldiers and the angry citizens, and several citizens were killed. The people called this "the Boston Massacre," and forced the royal governor to take the soldiers out of town. At the same time the new prime minister in England, Lord North, took away all the new duties except the tax of threepence a pound on tea. So in spite of the "massacre" things quieted down again for a time.

The Boston Tea Party

In the end it was the tax on tea that did it! The British government saw a chance to help the powerful East India Company, which

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Photo by Title Guarantee & Trust Co. of N. Y.

This painting is called "Marinus Willett Preventing the Removal of Arms by the British." It pictures an incident in June, 1775, when the Patriots in New York seized 600 British muskets from City Hall, and kept a British regiment from taking its muskets with it as it left the town. Arms were scarce and precious in this

war; getting those muskets was as good as winning a battle. This same Colonel Willett, by the way, later ran up the very first Stars and Stripes. It was after a victory at Oriskany, August 6, 1777. The flag was made out of a white shirt, a worn blue jacket, and strips from a red petticoat contributed by a soldier's wife.

was in financial difficulties, and at the same time to raise more money for itself. It decided to let the Company sell the seventeen million pounds of tea that were stored in England, without paying the tax that was due before it left the country. The Company could sell this tea in America cheaper than the tea the colonists smuggled from Holland. And the colonists would have to pay the government the threepenny tax for taking it into the colonies. But the Americans were of no mind to help the East India Company at the expense of their own trade and of the rights they had been claiming all these years—even if they could buy their tea cheaper by doing it. At Philadelphia and New York they turned the boats back without letting them unload; at Charleston they stored the tea in cellars without letting it be sold. But in Boston the British authorities would

not allow either of these ways out of the difficulty. So one night in December (1773) a party of citizens—rich merchants and free laborers side by side—disguised themselves like a band of Indians, and quietly dumped all the tea into Boston Harbor. This was the famous Boston Tea Party about which was written the little ballad printed at the beginning of this story.

The Congress of 1774

After that things rapidly went from bad to worse. Parliament completely lost patience with its disobedient "children" in America. It closed the port of Boston till the tea should be paid for, and forbade town meetings except for routine business. But the other colonies felt that Massachusetts was being punished for them all, and sent her food and assurances that they would not

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Photo by Grimsdell Bros

At dawn on April 19, 1775, British soldiers came upon a company of militia at Lexington. The commander ordered the colonists to disperse—they refused—somebody fired—and the first blood of the war was shed.



Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

Leaving eight dead "rebels" behind them, the soldiers marched on toward Concord. But they never reached it, for the colonists would endure no more. The poet Emerson has told us how—

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world."

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Photo by Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

This painting of "The Battle of Bunker Hill" is by John Trumbull, well-known American historical painter. The actual fighting in this battle took place on Breed's Hill, a smaller hill near Bunker which the Americans had occupied. The British rashly tried to take the hill by storm. Twice the redcoats climbed upward toward the breastworks thrown up by the Americans. The

American commander, Prescott, wisely bade his men hold their fire "till you can see the whites of their eyes." The slaughter was terrible. But the British re-formed and charged a third time—and this charge was successful, for the defenders were almost out of ammunition. The news that the volunteers had twice beaten back British veterans caused great rejoicing.

desert her. Everywhere resolutions were being passed and committees appointed and fiery speeches made. Another congress was called and met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. It drew up a statement of the rights of the colonies and sent a respectful petition to the King. And it determined on a boycott even more strict than the one which had caused the repeal of the Stamp Act eight years before. The Congress was to meet again, if necessary, the next spring.

The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere

By that time, actual fighting was going on. "Minutemen" had been drilling and arms had been secretly hidden here and there in Massachusetts. On April 19, 1775, British troops were going to Concord to seize one of these stores of ammunition and arms. But the colonials discovered the plan; someone hung a lantern in the tower of Old North Church in Boston as a signal, and Paul

Revere and William Dawes leaped on their horses and rode madly through the night to alarm the countryside. The British soldiers fought with the "embattled farmers" at Lexington—where was fired the "shot heard round the world" which actually opened the war—and again at Concord itself. Two months later came the Battle of Bunker Hill. The British won the battle, but the Americans fought so well that it was clear the regulars had found a worthy foe.

There was now no turning back. The Continental Congress had met again, and had elected George Washington of Virginia as Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United Colonies. Modestly and rather reluctantly he accepted. The Congress began to act as a sort of national government, raising an army, borrowing money, and later entering into diplomatic relations with other countries.

But for a long time almost everyone hoped

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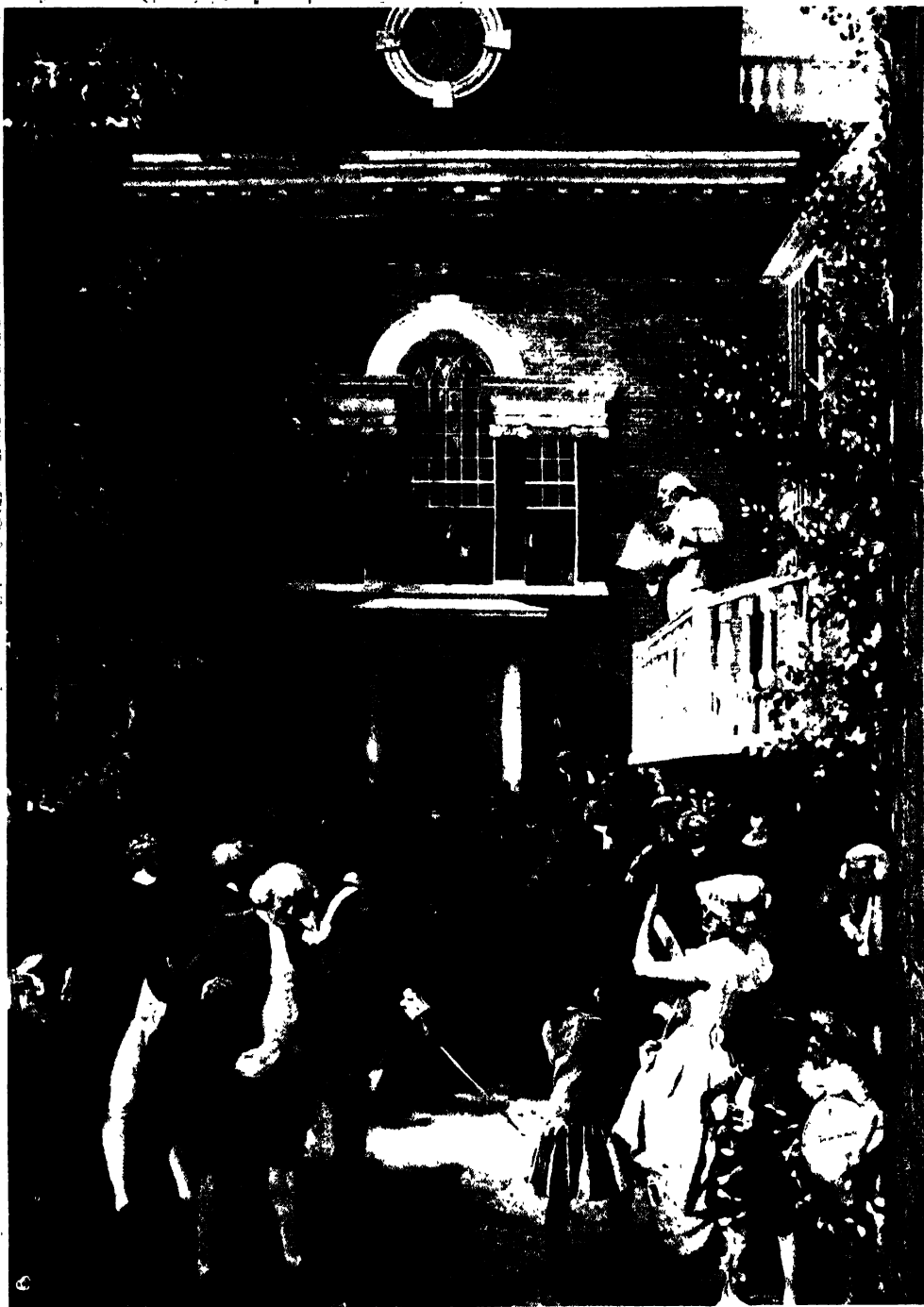


Photo Copyright by Curtis and Cameron

Although the Declaration of Independence was signed on July 4, it was July 6 before it was printed in a newspaper. In several cities it was read in public.

At Philadelphia the Liberty Bell called the people to the State House—Independence Hall—and a man with a booming voice read out the document to the crowd.

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Photo by Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

On July 4, 1776, the representatives of the thirteen revolted colonies set their signatures to a solemn Declaration of Independence. "When in the course of human events . . ." runs the great document—but

you may read the whole of it on another page. The signing of it is pictured above. The original copy of the Declaration is preserved in the Department of State. Its noble ideal is still an inspiration to mankind.

that the quarrel might be made up and that the colonies and the mother country might both remain within the empire. Petitions and protests were one thing, but splitting off entirely from the empire was another; and to many the latter seemed by no means wise. All the leaders were slow in coming to the conclusion that independence was the only way out. But while they waited and argued, the war went on. The Americans stormed Quebec and the British burned the town of Portland. The King blockaded American ports and hired unwilling German peasants to fight in the British armies. Franklin returned from London, confessing that nothing more was to be done by talk.

The Declaration of Independence

Then at last Richard Henry Lee, in June, 1776, moved in Congress that "these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." A committee was appointed to draw up a formal Declaration of Independence. Thomas Jefferson, who

was one of the famous men on this committee, wrote the immortal words in which America set for herself the high ideal of human freedom which she is still trying to live up to. In the Declaration it is written that all men are entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and that they have the right to do away with any government which destroys these ends. Then the great document goes on to enumerate all the ways in which the British government had striven to destroy them. It concludes with the spirited declaration of freedom from the British crown—"and for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor." This historic Declaration was adopted in its final form on July 4, 1776. The "Founding Fathers" were very quiet and sober about it. They did not then know how many firecrackers and skyrockets their descendants would be setting-off in memory of that day.

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Photo by Tittle Guarantee & Trust Co. of N. Y.

Washington is here conferring with his generals on a plan of retreat. That does not sound very gallant or glorious, but as a matter of fact, Washington won much of his military fame by skillful retreating. It had to be so, for the enemy nearly always had more men and supplies than he. On this occasion, in August, 1776, General Howe had won the Battle of Long Island and had cooped the Americans up in their breastworks on

Brooklyn Heights. He hoped to capture the whole army and thus end the war. But Washington slipped out of the trap. At this council it was decided to move the army across to Manhattan that night. So quietly did the boats load and depart that no British sentry heard a sound, and so thoroughly did the Americans gather up their supplies that the British could not find even a stray biscuit in the abandoned camp.

The Fathers had reason to be quiet and sober. For the war dragged on for five more weary years. It had been a rather reckless thing to defy the British army without more preparation than the colonials had. Everything had to be built up from the bottom. There was no Continental army except untrained volunteers, who were always drifting away when the term of their enlistment was over, or even deserting when they heard that their families were starving at home, with no one to take in the harvest. There was no government, except what could be taken over when the royal governors and their followers were finally driven out. The Congress had no real authority, but had to beg the different states to furnish soldiers and money to carry on the war. The paper money which the Congress issued became so worthless that

some of the shopkeepers papered their walls with it in derision, and you will sometimes even now hear the expression "not worth a Continental"—meaning worth absolutely nothing, like a "Continental" bill.

Dissension among the Colonists

Worst of all, by no means all the people believed in the war. A great many were merely indifferent or undecided. They remembered that they had been happy enough under the British rule—which was certainly mild and considerate in comparison with that of other nations over colonies—and they wondered what all this bloodshed and misery was about. Others, as in all wars, thought only of lining their own pockets, and were quite willing to sell food to the British in Philadelphia at good prices while Washing-

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



Photo by Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

The turning point of the whole war was the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, October 16, 1777. Not only

was this great victory important in itself, but it made possible the French alliance.

ton's men were starving at Valley Forge. A good many were honestly convinced that it was wrong to rebel against England, and either openly or secretly sympathized with the British side.

The Loyalists and the Patriots

So the Revolutionary War was also a civil war; that is, a war between groups of people in the same country. This made it a hard, unhappy time for almost everyone. The Loyalists, those who still believed that their first duty was to be loyal to England, were made miserable because their neighbors called them traitors and often refused to trade with them or speak to them. Sometimes mobs even tarred and feathered them and ran them out of town. The new state governments often took away their property. Thousands of Loyalists, including some of the best-educated and wealthiest of the colonists, left the country, fleeing to Canada or to England.

The Patriots, on their part, had to see their crops destroyed, their trade with Eng-

land cut off, their sons and husbands and fathers marching off to hardship and battle, perhaps to wounds and death. The armies fought up and down and back and forth over almost the whole colonial territory. Not only the people in Charlestown, Massachusetts, but the lonely farmers on the western frontier saw their houses burned and dead soldiers amid their wheat. The women had to weave more cloth because none now came from England, and take in the crops because their men were in the army. The ragged soldiers were ill-fed and almost never paid. During one terrible winter spent at Valley Forge, the snow was red with blood where they had walked barefoot in the cold.

The Man Who Was Loved and Feared

Fortunately for the United States, the British government also had its troubles. The Atlantic is three thousand miles wide, and that was a great deal wider in 1776 than it is now. Yet soldiers and supplies had to be sent across the ocean to fight this war. Then, when the armies got to America, they

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Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art

This famous picture of "Washington Crossing the Delaware" is the artist's idea of that fateful Christmas night in 1776 when Washington's troops braved the wintry river to catch the Hessians at Trenton unaware.

Washington knew that, to put heart into the discouraged Patriots, he had to win a victory after so many retreats, skillful though the retreats had been. And what was harsh weather to a resolution such as his?



Photo by Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

The Hessians were German soldiers hired by the British. Stationed at Trenton, they did not learn of Washington's crossing the Delaware until it was too late to make effective preparation, and after a stiff fight they had to yield. The picture shows their sur-

render. The battle marked the turning of the tide in this campaign, which had until then gone so badly for the Continentals. Swiftly Washington now slipped around Howe, won a battle at Princeton, and undid most of the advantage the British had gained.

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might fight and win battle after battle, but Washington's army or some of the other American forces could always slip away into the thinly-settled back country to form and fight again. The country was much too big to be easily conquered. Most important of all, there was the American commander, George Washington. There seemed to be something about this high-minded, steadfast Virginia gentleman which made final defeat impossible for his cause. He was a great general and a greater leader, a man whom his countrymen loved and trusted and whom his enemies held in wholesome fear.

When Washington Crossed the Delaware

Washington saved the Revolutionary cause in the first great campaign of the war. He had lost New York to a much larger army under General Howe, and things looked so dark for New Jersey and Pennsylvania that Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. But instead of giving up, Washington suddenly took his men across the Delaware River on a bleak Christmas night (1776), and falling upon the astonished enemy, won back the whole of New Jersey in ten days.

The next year the British tried to cut the rebellious colonies in two by sending one army down from Canada and another up from New York City, to meet in eastern New York. But General Howe, in New York, decided to capture Philadelphia instead; and General Burgoyne, coming down from Canada, was met by thousands of New England militiamen, who had left their farms, shouldered their muskets, and tramped through the tangled forests of northern New York to defeat him. He surrendered his whole army at Saratoga (1777).

This victory was the turning point of the war. For a long time Franklin had been at the French court in Paris, stirring up sympathy for the American cause. But the French, though they disliked England as much as they liked this charming old man

with the fur cap, the witty tongue, and the delightful democratic simplicity, had not thought best to recognize the independence of the United States. Now, however, when it looked as though the Americans might win their war after all, the French government gladly seized the chance for declaring war on its old enemy, England, and not only recognized the independence of the United States, but sent men and money to help win it (1778). Spain and Holland, too, were jealous of England, and now joined the war against her (1779-1780).

The generous young French patriot, Lafayette, was already in Washington's army. Now the French sent regular troops and a much-needed fleet—the Americans had no fleet at all except a few adventurous "privateers" like John Paul Jones's gallant "Bonhomme Richard." There was still a time of discouragement. The war was almost lost again by the sudden treason of one of the bravest and most trusted of the American generals, Benedict Arnold, who nearly succeeded in turning over the important fortress of West Point to the British. But finally the allied French and American armies and the French fleet managed to surround General Cornwallis and the most important of the British armies on the little peninsula of Yorktown in Virginia. Cornwallis could not get out, and on October 19, 1781, he surrendered. The war was over.

The Peace of Paris

At the peace conference, which was held at Paris in 1783, Great Britain admitted that the colonies had at last become "free and independent states." Besides, on account of a daring campaign in the West under George Rogers Clark, she was willing to let the American territory run westward all the way to the Mississippi.

So out of trade laws and tea parties, rebellion and revolution, had been born the United States of America.

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Reading Unit

No. 6

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

The Declaration of Independence may be divided into three parts. The first of these states the following axioms of government:

1. All men are created equal.
2. They have certain rights.
3. They have the right to revolt if these rights are violated. P. 1, 2

The second enumerates a list of twenty-seven acts committed by the king and violating the rights of man. They fall into fifteen classes.

1. Preventing necessary legislation, P. 3, 4, 5
2. Attempting to intimidate legislatures, P. 6, 7, 8, 15
3. Hindering colonial expansion, P. 9
4. Interfering with the course of justice, P. 10, 11, 17
5. Creating political sinecures, P. 12
6. Placing troops in the colonies, P. 13, 14, 16

7. Interfering with colonial trade, P. 18
8. Imposing taxes without consent, P. 19
9. Changing trial procedure, P. 20, 21
10. Attempting to abolish self-government, P. 22, 23, 24
11. Waging war against the colonies, P. 25, 26
12. Employing foreign mercenaries, P. 27
13. Conscripting colonists to fight against their friends, P. 28
14. Inciting the Indians, P. 29
15. Refusing to listen to colonial petitions, P. 30, 31

The third portion contains the declaration that the colonies shall be free, P. 32

Then follows a list of the signatories, P. 33

The Declaration concludes with a resolution that copies of it be published and circulated, P. 34

Things to Think About

Does "all men are created equal" mean that all have equal abilities?

What are governments instituted for?

Why was it dangerous to sign this document?

What was the Indian method of warfare?

Related Material

"Ring, ring for liberty!" 14-585

Why the Declaration of Independence was a blessing to England, 6-81

The man who originated the "contract" theory of government, 13-17

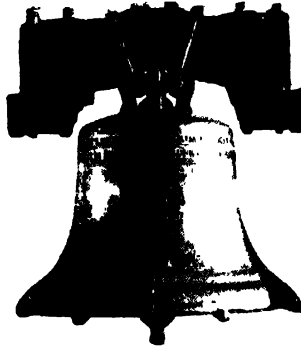
The only man to sign all three documents heralding the birth of our nation, 12-463

A famous family, 12-479

Author of the Declaration of Independence, 12-503

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Here are the words of that very famous document, the Declaration of Independence, and the names of all the signers, in their proper order. And here too is a picture of the Liberty Bell, which was rung from the tower of Independence Hall when the Declaration was signed. The words on it are amazingly appropriate, though put there years before: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."



When the British occupied Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War someone hid the Liberty Bell safely in the Delaware River. For years it was rung every Fourth of July and for many special occasions. But in 1835 it was badly cracked when tolling for the death of Chief Justice Marshall. Since 1854, except for state visits to fairs and expositions, it has stood on a thirteen-sided pedestal in Independence Hall.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776 A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws

of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions,

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation;

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress

assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK	
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Josiah Bartlett	William Whipple
Matthew Thornton	
MASSACHUSETTS BAY	
Samuel Adams	Robert Treat Paine
John Adams	Elbridge Gerry
RHODE ISLAND	
Stephen Hopkins	William Ellery
CONNECTICUT	
Roger Sherman	William Williams
Samuel Huntington	Oliver Wolcott
NEW YORK	
William Floyd	Francis Lewis
Philip Livingston	Lewis Morris
NEW JERSEY	
Richard Stockton	Francis Hopkinson
John Witherspoon	John Hart
Abraham Clark	
PENNSYLVANIA	
Robert Morris	George Clymer
Benjamin Rush	James Smith
Benjamin Franklin	George Taylor
John Morton	James Wilson
George Ross	
DELAWARE	
Cæsar Rodney	George Read
Thomas M'Kean	
MARYLAND	
Samuel Chase	Charles Carroll, of
William Paca	Carrollton
Thomas Stone	
VIRGINIA	
George Wythe	Benjamin Harrison
Richard Henry Lee	Thomas Nelson, Jr.
Thomas Jefferson	Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton	
NORTH CAROLINA	
William Hooper	Joseph Hewes
John Penn	
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Edward Rutledge	Thomas Lynch, Jr.
Thomas Hayward, Jr.	Arthur Middleton
GEORGIA	
Button Gwinnett	Lyman Hall
George Walton	

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

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Reading Unit No. 7



"WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES"

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

A common error in grammar, 7-175
When the United States almost had a king, 7-175
Our first government, 7-175
Why Maryland was slow in ratifying the Articles, 7-176
Why the Northwest Ordinance is a famous document, 7-176-77
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Why the War for Independence was a true revolution, 7-177-78
Who wanted to change the Articles of Confederation? 7-

178-79
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What is meant by a system of checks and balances? 7-180-81
Do the people elect the president? 7-181
The sun of the new republic rises, 7-182
Fearful of a tyranny, 7-182
The struggle for Union, 7-182
Our first president, 7-182

Things to Think About

Why is the Northwest Ordinance a famous document?

Why were the Articles of Confederation a failure?

Picture Hunt

A great moment, 7-176
"Westward Ho," 7-177

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Related Material

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Our first president, 12-473
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How we are governed, 7-345

While we were experimenting with a new type of government, men were experimenting with machines which were to change the course of civilization, 10-339.
Where the ideas in our constitution come from, 13-17

Practical Applications

Why did merchants dislike the Articles of Confederation? 7-178

Why is the double legislature called the great compromise?



"WE, the PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES"

How the States Which Had Fought the Revolutionary War Came to Turn into One Nation

THE people of the United States are nowadays so used to thinking of themselves as Americans first and only second as Virginians or New Yorkers or Oregonians, that they have even lost the feeling that the name of their country is plural, and have fallen into the habit of saying "the United States *is*" rather than "the United States *are*." But there was a time just after the Revolutionary War when it looked as though there were going to be thirteen little republics along the Atlantic coast instead of one large one. The American minister in London was even asked sarcastically whether he was expecting the British government to sign one treaty or thirteen.

That was after the passing of the momentary danger that the Revolutionary Army—impaid and neglected and completely disgusted with what it considered the ingratitude of Congress—might decide to rule the country itself in Congress' stead. At that time, when the fighting was over but the treaty of peace had not yet been signed, Washington could probably have been made king, if he had

wished it. He not only refused to think of making himself or anyone else king, but he persuaded the soldiers to go home quietly and wait till Congress should be able to give them the land and money they had been promised. After that, there was never any real danger either of a military dictator or of a king in America.

But there was danger that the thirteen states would not stay together in one nation. As you will know, if you have read the story of the Revolutionary War, Congress had not had much power during the war—perhaps the war could have been won much sooner if Congress had been more powerful. A committee had been appointed (1777) to draw up Articles of Confederation—a constitution, that is, for a union of several independent or sovereign states. But the last of the states to adopt these Articles—Maryland—had not done so until 1781, the year in which Cornwallis surrendered and the active fighting of the war came to an end. When peace returned, to be sure, the Articles were the law of the land. But even under them,



The signing of the Constitution, pictured here, was almost as momentous an event as the signing of the Declaration of Independence. It meant that there was to be one strong nation in what had been the thirteen

colonies, and not thirteen weak, quarreling nations. So when this scene was enacted at Independence Hall on September 15, 1787, the famous old building gained one more great memory for Americans to cherish.

Congress had no way to compel the states to help it pay the army or carry out the terms of the treaty or do anything else at all unless they wanted to. And with no war to hold the states together in the face of a common enemy, the paper promises of "perpetual union" seemed in a fair way to do no one much good.

In one important matter, however, the various states acted very generously, and the Congress was able to pass some wise laws, without which the United States to-day might have been a very different place from what it is. This was in the matter of the territory west of the Appalachian Mountains. All of this land was claimed by one state or another and often by two or three, under old colonial charters which sometimes had granted land westward for indefinite distances. The reason Maryland had been so slow in ratifying the Articles of Confederation was that she had insisted that all these claims be given up to the national government.

Settling the Territorial Claims

Virginia, whose claims were the largest as well as the best-founded of all, generously set the example by giving up all the country beyond the Ohio River (1784). New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the Caro-

linas followed suit; that left only Georgia with frontier claims, and hers were finally given up in 1802. So there was one thing less for the states to quarrel over, and the Congress had vast unsettled lands to sell or to reward its soldiers with, while the frontiersmen themselves had a chance to manage their own affairs and even to set up new states in the wilderness.

New States Come into the Union

For Congress wisely decided (1787) that as fast as the territory beyond the Ohio should be settled, it should begin to rule itself. First a territorial legislature was to be formed and a delegate without a vote sent to Congress; then the territory was to be divided into from three to five parts, and each part, when the number of inhabitants reached 60,000, was to be made a real state, on an equal footing with the original thirteen. This Northwest Ordinance is famous because the plan it proposed was followed, not only for the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, which grew up in the territory to which it applied, but for all the other new states also. No part of the new country was to be treated as a colony or possession to be ruled by the old states, but each was to become a state itself as soon as it was settled. It is strange to think of

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Tennessee or Kansas or Wyoming as a "possession" of the Eastern states or of Congress; but such a thing might very well have happened if Congress had gone about the matter as most countries had gone about such things before that time.

But the Congress did not have such good success when it tried to deal with the countries of Europe. The most serious difficulties had to do with these very lands in the West. There were still British soldiers in the Ohio country, although according to the Treaty of Peace they should have been withdrawn. The

British said they would withdraw them as soon as Congress made American merchants pay their debts to English merchants; but Congress could not make the merchants pay. To the south, meanwhile, settlers had been streaming through the Cumberland Gap along the Wilderness Road into Kentucky and Tennessee. They could not very well trade across the wild mountains with the East, and needed to use the mouth of the Mississippi River to carry their goods around to the coast by water. But the Spaniards owned the mouth of the Mississippi, and Congress could not get them to let American merchants sail their boats through. England and Spain knew very well that each of the states cared more about its own affairs than about those of the United States, and that the United States government was too weak to stand up for its rights or carry out its promises.

Meanwhile the states quarreled among themselves. They levied tariffs on one an-

other's goods, they fought over conflicting claims to land, they disagreed violently about the navigation of rivers, they refused to support the demand of the Westerners for trade on the Mississippi because they were jealous. They lost interest in Congress and neglected to send delegates. Fewer and fewer dele-

gates attended the sessions, until from October, 1788, to April, 1789, not enough of them came together to make the quorum necessary to carry on business — and there was really no United States government at all.

But the people were genuinely interested in

their state governments. After all, it was natural that they should fear a strong central rule. For had they not just fought a war to overturn just such a central rule, which had tried to manage their local affairs from London as Congress now wanted to manage them from Philadelphia? It was their town meetings and their state legislatures in which they could speak out their needs and which would attend to their wishes. Philadelphia was a long way from Boston or from Charleston in 1783; Europe and the Mississippi River were infinitely farther; and what the people of Boston and Charleston wanted was to be let alone to attend to their business and forget about the war.

America Becomes the Land of Equality

The common people, especially the farmers, had gained a great deal of power in the local and state governments since 1776. The Revolution had been a true *revolution*, as well as a rebellion against England. A great many



Photo by Visual Education Service

We must not forget that while all the exciting political events were going on in the older settlements, the great westward movement of the pioneers went steadily on. People continued to load their goods into covered wagons, climb in on top of the pile, and start for the frontier. Sometimes all went well enough; sometimes they had to fight their way, as they are doing here.

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Photo by Hoover's Art Studio

The westward movement went on all through the years of the Revolutionary War, and took a great spurt just after it. This picture records, for instance, the found-

ing of Youngstown, Ohio, in 1797. It shows John Young, who had bought the land from the Connecticut Land Company, welcoming the first of the settlers.

of the richest and most powerful people had been either British officials or Loyalists, and these had either left the country or had lost their lands and influence. Many huge estates, especially in New York, where the Dutch government had made grants of thousands of acres to "patroons," had been broken up into small farms. The leaders had needed everyone's aid during the war, and had consequently helped the people to realize their own importance. Besides, the high-sounding theories which the leaders had preached—about all men being born "free and equal," about "liberty or death"—made it very hard for men without property to see why they should not be allowed to vote as well as their "equals" in powder and gold lace, and made it impossible for a farmer not to think himself fully as good as a wealthy merchant. Those who owned no property, it is true, were still without the right to vote—although they were beginning to clamor

loudly for it. But the farmers and small tradesmen had become very powerful, and in several states they controlled not only the town governments but the state legislatures as well.

The result was that the farmers tried to regulate things to their own advantage rather than for the good of the people who lived in towns and who dealt in money and credits, in manufacturing, or in commerce. The farmers usually owed money to these city people, and quarrels arose as to how it was to be paid. There were troubles about paper money issued by the Congress or the states, much like the troubles between the colonists and the London merchants before the Revolution. The manufacturers did not want interstate tariffs because these interfered with their trade,

and did want a national tariff to keep out cheap goods from England. The farmers did not care about these things—what they wanted was cheap goods whether

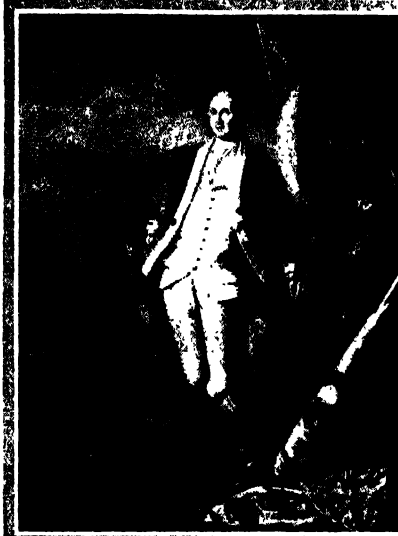


Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art

This portrait of Washington, by Peale, shows him as a warrior rather than as a statesman. For though in founding our government other men played rôles as important as his, the Continental army had no general who could approach the commander in chief in soldierly ability.

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they came from England or a neighboring state or the nearest town. As had happened ten years before, the trouble came to a head in Massachusetts (1786), when fifteen hundred men under an old Revolutionary captain, Daniel Shays, had a pitched battle with state troops over the enforcement of some new law about the collection of debts.

The times were bad anyway, as was only natural after such a long war. Whether things would have worked out fairly well in time under the old Articles of Confederation we can never know. For the so-called "upper classes"—the people of wealth and influence—were appalled at the way the poorer people were taking things into their own hands, and determined to do something about it. They were joined by creditors who could not collect their debts, by manufacturers who wanted a tariff, by merchants who were confused by trade barriers and by money that did not keep the same value from week to week, by ex-soldiers and speculators who had lands in the West which they could not protect from the Indians, and by all those who were troubled at seeing the United States despised and scorned abroad. A movement was started to revise the Articles of Confederation and make a stronger central power.

The Convention of 1787

A convention to discuss commercial matters met at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1786, and from it came the suggestion for a convention to revise the Articles. Congress issued a call to all the states (1787) to send delegates to Philadelphia in the month of May for the purpose of doing this. Delegates came from all the states except Rhode Island. When they assembled they quietly deter-

mined not to revise the Articles at all, but to start all over again and work out a plan for a new federal Constitution.

It was a distinguished gathering. Washington was in the chair, and among the delegates were most of the leading political thinkers of the day, including Benjamin Franklin, now more than eighty years old. But except for the aged

Franklin, the more radically democratic of the Revolutionary leaders were not

there: Patrick Henry had refused to come, Samuel Adams had not been asked, and Jefferson was serving as minister at Paris. So the convention was rather conservative in its ideas, and quite as much intent on securing private property and the power of "the best people"

against what seemed to the members to be too much democracy as it was on enabling the national government to defend the country and pay the national debt.

It was clear from the first that it would be no easy matter to agree on all these things. So the convention decided to shut out the public and settle down to the hard business of

smoothing out the many differences of opinion. The debates lasted nearly four months. Several members left before the end, unable to agree with the way things were going. Some refused to sign the Constitution when it was finished. But finished it was at last, and ready to put before the people in September (1787).

The "compromises," (*kōm'prō-mīz*), or adjustments in which each party gave up something in order to come to an agreement, had been of two main sorts—those between the large states and the small states, and those between the commercial interests of the North and of the South. As to the first sort, it was a question whether each state



Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art. All through these troubled times, as through the troubled times that had gone before, one of the wisest heads in America was that of Benjamin Franklin. He signed all three of the great documents that brought the United States into being—the Declaration of Independence, the Treaty of Paris, and the Constitution.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

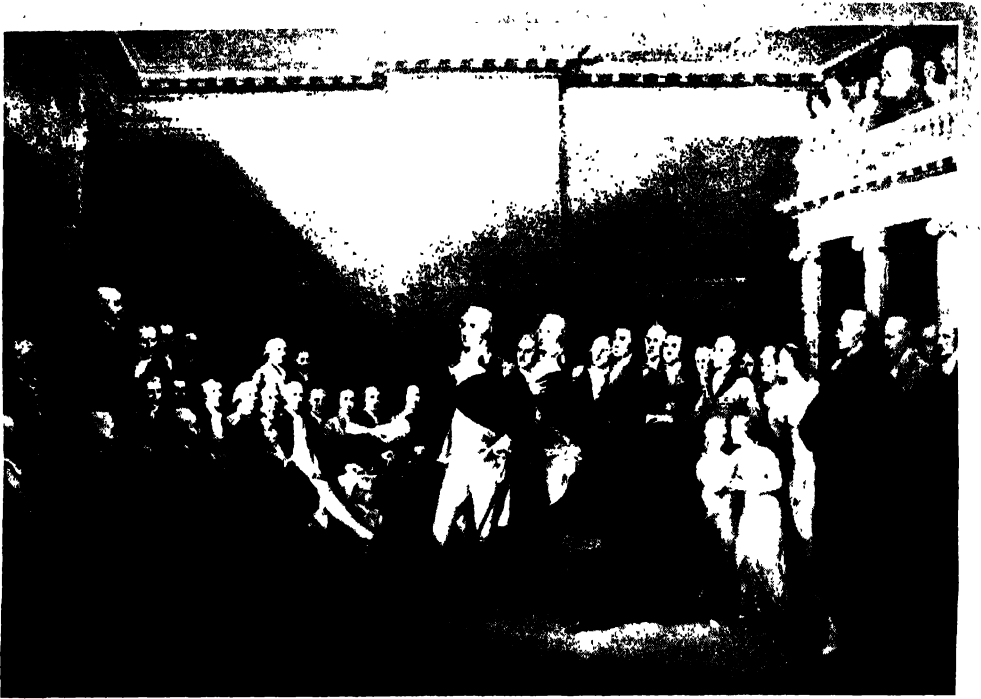


Photo by Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

On December 23, 1782, at the State House in Annapolis, Maryland, Washington handed to the Congress his resignation as commander in chief. "Having now finished the work assigned me," he said, "I retire from the great theater of action, and bidding an af-

fectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." But even the much that he had done was not enough; he was soon called back to be the President.

should continue to have the same voice in the central government, no matter how large or small it might be in population or land, or whether the large states should have a voice in proportion to their population. This was settled by deciding that there should be two houses in the new Congress, and that in the upper house, or Senate, each state should have two members, while in the lower house, or House of Representatives, each should have members in proportion to its population. This had been the hardest thing of all to settle.

The Beginning of the Slavery Problem

The other difficulties were largely in connection with the matter of slavery. Slavery had not proved profitable in the North but had become the foundation of the whole way of life in the South. The Southerners wanted to count their slaves as people when deciding on the number of representatives but not

when laying taxes; the Northerners wanted to do exactly the opposite. They finally agreed to count three-fifths of the slaves for both purposes. The Southerners, some of them, did not want to forbid the bringing of more slaves from Africa; the Northerners did want to forbid it. This was settled by leaving the trade alone for twenty years only.

Strengthening the Central Government

Everyone realized that the central government must be made stronger than the old Congress if the states were to be drawn into a single nation instead of being allowed to fall apart into separate nations. So state officials were to take an oath to uphold the national constitution above all, and Congress was given power to pass laws and impose taxes for the whole country, to raise an army, to have dealings with foreign powers, to coin all the money, and to do other necessary things. Further, there was to be a president,



New York gave Washington a great welcome when he came up from Virginia to be inaugurated. Here he is pictured stepping ashore from the special barge which had brought him across the Hudson. The boat

was rowed by thirteen masters of vessels, one for each of the thirteen states. On shore cannon boomed and flags waved and the crowds cheered, as Governor Clinton escorted him to the executive mansion.

or chief executive officer—something there had not been under the old arrangement—who was to see that the laws of Congress were carried out and who had large powers of his own. Lastly—another thing the old Congress had sadly felt the lack of—there were to be federal courts to try cases coming up under federal or national laws.

Our System of "Checks and Balances"

Since most of the delegates wished the government to remain steady in time of popular excitement, and in fact to remain in the hands of men of property and education rather than in the power of the "factious multitude," they arranged various ingenious "checks and balances." That is to say, they balanced one part of the government against another in order that nothing might be done in too much of a hurry. There were to be two houses of Congress elected in different

ways and for different lengths of time; and all laws must pass both houses. Then a law must be signed by the president. The president must have the Senate's approval of treaties and appointments. The Supreme Court was to have the power to say how a law should be interpreted in given cases. No members of the national government were to be elected directly by the people, except the members of the House of Representatives. The senators were to be chosen by the state legislatures, and the president by an Electoral College—a group of men chosen in whatever way the legislatures of the different states might determine. Judges were to be appointed.

A Constitution That Has Stood the Test

Though our senators are now elected by popular vote and various other amendments have been adopted, it is remarkable how

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little we have wanted to change the Constitution from that day to this. It was in fact an extraordinary thing for a group of men to have devised such a plan in four months' time and to have seen it adopted without the shedding of a drop of blood. Even Franklin, who had not approved of many things that went into the plan, thought at the end that it was good. He looked at a picture of a sunrise painted on the back of the president's chair, and said that he had all through the sessions been trying to decide whether that sun was rising or setting; but now he was sure it was rising.

When America Feared a Tyranny

When the proposed Constitution was carried before the states, however, a great many people were decidedly not of Franklin's opinion. Some could not be reconciled to this or that compromise in the plan. Many felt that so strong a central government could not fail to become a tyranny, and that the country was much too large to be ruled democratically from a single place: you must remember that there had never been so large a republic before, and that there were no railroads and telegraphs and syndicated news stories in those days, such as now make the whole country much smaller for purposes of government than the strip along the Atlantic was in 1789. The fear that by adopting the Constitution people would be giving up their liberties was strengthened by the fact that the convention had been made up of men from the wealthier classes, really had acted in an aristocratic way in making all the plans in secret, and really had tried in the Constitution itself to keep the power in the hands of the property owners.

The Struggle for a Union

But the defenders of the Constitution were much better talkers than those who opposed it, and the need of some sort of stronger

union was clear to almost everyone. So in the end, most of the special state conventions called to discuss the matter decided to give the new plan a trial. In some of the most powerful and important of the states—Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York—the struggle was fierce and the vote very close. North Carolina and Rhode Island at first refused to ratify at all. But the framers of the plan had provided that as soon as nine states should accept it, those nine should go ahead with it whether the others did or not; so eventually the other states changed their minds to avoid being left out in the cold.

Our First President

The decision once made, everyone seems to have thrown his cap in the air and shouted with pure relief and joy. The new Congress met, with George Washington for the first president of the country. The people loved and trusted him, whether they had approved of the Constitution or not. When he journeyed to New York to be inaugurated, he crossed New Jersey from his great estate at Mount Vernon, Virginia, through universal rejoicing. The townspeople put up triumphal arches and strewed his path with flowers. On April 30, 1789, he took the oath of office on the balcony of the new Federal Hall in New York, in the sight of a great and enthusiastic crowd. Once more the quiet, indomitable gentleman from Virginia was to lead his countrymen in a great and perilous adventure.

At last the thirteen states had grown into a nation. It was a new kind of nation—with a central power strong enough to make the land into a single unit, but with each state still free to do as it saw fit in many a minor matter. The great Constitution which provided for this power and this freedom together is, in spite of all its compromises, one of the most brilliant documents ever born of the brain of man.

The HISTORY of the UNITED STATES

Reading Unit No. 8

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

*Note: For basic information
not found on this page, consult
the general Index, Vol. 15.*

*For statistical and current facts,
consult the Richards Year Book
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THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article. I.

Section. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the

Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach

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of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section. 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section. 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish a uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counter-

feiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of

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the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article. II.

Section. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each

State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all

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Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III.

Section. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder

of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attained.

Article. IV.

Section. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article. V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article. VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitu-

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

tion, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Article. VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

GO: WASHINGTON—PRESIDENT
and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire	{ JOHN LANGDON NICHOLAS GILMAN }
Massachusetts	{ NATHANIEL GORHAM RUFUS KING }
Connecticut	{ WM SAM ^L JOHNSON ROGER SHERMAN }
New York	ALEXANDER HAMILTON
New Jersey	{ WIL: LIVINGSTON DAVID BREARLEY. WM PATERSON. JONA: DAYTON }
Pennsylvania	{ B FRANKLIN THOMAS MIFFLIN ROBT MORRIS GEO. CLYMER THOS FITZSIMONS JARED INGERSOLL JAMES WILSON GOUV MORRIS }
Delaware	{ GEO: READ GUNNING BEDFORD jun JOHN DICKINSON RICHARD BASSETT JACO: BROOM }

Maryland

{ JAMES MC HENRY
DAN OF ST THOS
JENIFER
DAN^L CARROLL }

Virginia

{ JOHN BLAIR --
JAMES MADISON JR. }

North
Carolina

{ WM BLOUNT
RICH^D DOBBS SPAIGHT
HU WILLIAMSON }

South Carolina

{ J. RUTLEDGE
CHARLES COTES-
WORTH PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER. }

Georgia

{ WILLIAM FEW
ABR BALDWIN }

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON Secretary

FIRST AMENDMENT

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble; and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECOND AMENDMENT

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

THIRD AMENDMENT

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

FOURTH AMENDMENT

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

FIFTH AMENDMENT

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

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SIXTH AMENDMENT

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

SEVENTH AMENDMENT

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

EIGHTH AMENDMENT

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

NINTH AMENDMENT

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

TENTH AMENDMENT

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ELEVENTH AMENDMENT

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

TWELFTH AMENDMENT

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose

shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability. Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

SEVENTEENTH AMENDMENT

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SEC. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution,

within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

TWENTIETH AMENDMENT

SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

SEC. 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

SEC. 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

SEC. 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

TWENTY-FIRST AMENDMENT

SECTION 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

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Reading Unit No. 9



THE BIRTH OF OUR POLITICAL PARTIES

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

The man who wanted an American monarchy, 7-192
The adherent of liberty, 7-193
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The unpopular whiskey tax, 7-194
Paying a nation's debts, 7-194
An undemocratic republic, 7-194
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Hamilton chooses the president from among his enemies, 7-200
A democratic president walks to his inauguration, 7-200

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What reasoning did we follow in refusing aid to France?
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While we were making a new nation, France threw off the shackles of autocracy, and England the age-old domestic system of manufacture.

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nouncing the treaty of alliance with France, 7-195.

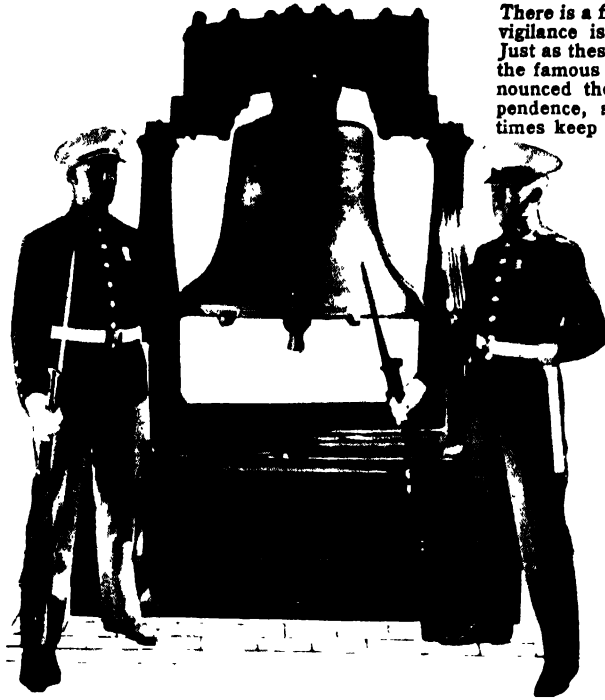


Photo by United States Marines

There is a fine old saying: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Just as these Marines are guarding the famous Liberty Bell which announced the Declaration of Independence, so we must all at all times keep watch in order that our hard-earned liberties may not slip away. In this story is written how the leaders of the young American republic began this task.

The BIRTH of OUR POLITICAL PARTIES

The Story of the Ten-Year Duel between Two Great Statesmen to Decide What the Constitution Was to Mean

A DASHING and brilliant young genius from the West Indies--a long-limbed Virginia philosopher: between these two lay the destiny of the young republic in America.

It was in vain that President Washington hoped the government under the new Constitution could be carried on without "factions," by which he meant political parties. For no matter how carefully you set down the words of a written constitution, there is bound to be room for difference of opinion as to just how the government should work in actual practice. The framers of the Constitution of the United States had of course intended that many things should be decided by laws and customs not written down at first. And besides, there was the question as to how strictly what was written down should be interpreted. Especially there was the question whether, where the Constitution

said nothing one way or the other, the government should be made more aristocratic or more democratic, and in whose interest the laws should be passed.

Now Washington had asked to sit in his cabinet of confidential advisers two men whose ideas about these things were as different as red from green or east from west. Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, was sincerely an aristocrat. He would have had no great aversion to a king and nobles in the land, though of course he knew that this was impossible. He believed in strengthening the aristocracy of wealth and education which was already the ruling power. This meant strengthening the national government as much as possible, favoring the commercial classes, and opposing the democratic farmers and the "lower classes" in the towns. For he feared and despised the "mob" and believed that the country

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would be happiest if the government were a gay capital. The inner circle lived in a whirl of teas, balls, and theaters, in the hands of the "rich and well born." and Washington held "levees" like a prince and rode forth in a gilded coach drawn by four cream-colored horses.

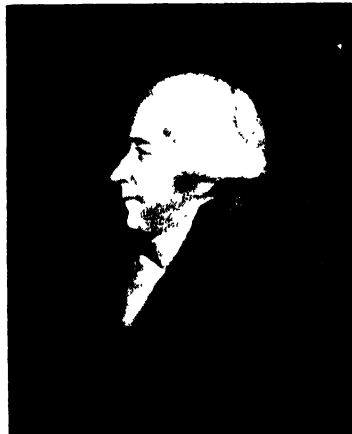
Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state, was just as sincerely a democrat. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, and had won religious freedom for his own state of Virginia. Although he belonged to an aristocratic family on his mother's side, he had been brought up in the frontier country and was firmly convinced that the hope of the nation was in the sturdy farmers and common people. He held slaves, but hoped to see slavery die out, and treated his own slaves so kindly that once when he came home they unhitched the horses from his coach and drew him home in triumph. He was also something of a philosopher and a scientist, like his friend Franklin, and even in the midst of a hot political campaign he could stop to write letters about mastodon bones. Unlike Hamilton, he had had nothing to do with the writing of the Constitution, as he had been in France at the time serving as minister, but he was not one of those who did not want the Constitution adopted. Instead, he hoped to build under it a government which should be at once strong and democratic.

The aristocrats were first on the ground. When the first Congress assembled in 1789, the little city of New York put on the airs of



Above is Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state when Washington was president, and later president himself. He was a convinced democrat, who believed that power should rest with the common people, and that the government should not regulate our lives any more than necessary. He was the founder of what is now the Democratic party.

Below is Alexander Hamilton, Washington's secretary of the treasury, and the greatest secretary the treasury has ever had. He was an aristocrat, who believed that "the rich and well born" are best fitted to govern, and that the federal government should be very strong. The present Republican party inherits certain of his principles.



Doubtless with Hamilton's approval, a newspaper called "The Gazette of the United States" was started, and its talk about "the ladies of the Most Honorable Mr." So-and-so and the goings-on of the "court in Cherry Street" earned for it the nickname of "the court journal." Later, when the government moved to Philadelphia, a brilliant and aristocratic society gathered in the drawing-rooms of Mrs. William Bingham and other Federalist ladies—where English gentlemen and exiled French nobles felt more at ease than the democratic philosopher from Virginia.

Meanwhile the government settled down to business. And for a country which had fought an eight-year war and then blundered through six years of quarrelsome peace, business meant first of all finance. Immediately all eyes were focused on the brilliant young Secretary of the Treasury.

Now Hamilton was a great financial genius. In quick succession he worked out and pushed through Congress a series of laws which firmly established the national credit, provided for adequate national taxes, brought order out of chaos in state finances, encour-

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aged commerce and manufacture, and indeed laid the foundations of the financial policies still largely followed by the United States government. The government had assumed all the debts of the old Congress of the Confederation; then it assumed the debts of the separate states. To raise money for the central government, an excise tax was laid on distilled liquor and a tariff was levied on imports. To strengthen and stabilize the whole system, a great official Bank of the United States was formed.

Everyone agreed that the new government must pay the debts owed to France and Holland, and everyone knew that some kind of taxes would have to be levied in order to raise money to pay them and to run the government. But many felt that the taking over of the domestic debts of nation and states, and the choice of the kind of taxes to be levied, were unwise and undemocratic policies. The domestic debt was paper money, which had long been worth much less than the value printed on it. Much of it had been bought by speculators; that is, by people who

took a chance that some day it would be worth more than they paid for it.

Now unscrupulous speculators, who knew that the federal government was about to pay face value for this paper

grew rich on money which should have gone to old Revolutionary soldiers and other holders of the paper. Hamilton's critics said, too, that the tariff aided only the commercial classes, and was hard on the farmers, and that the excise on whiskey was unjust to the frontiersmen, since the roads were

too bad for them to bring their grain East in any form less compact than distilled

liquor. During the debates on

these measures, the leader of the opposition in Congress was James Madison, who had had so

much to do with framing the Constitution that he is sometimes called its father, and who now opposed Hamilton's way of working under it. More and more, Madison looked to Jefferson for leadership. The split in Washington's cabinet was already clear.

Below is the severely simple shaft of the Bunker Hill Monument, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, set up in memory of the battle which first gave the rebellious colonies confidence that they could win their fight.

So far the people at large had been only mildly excited over these things. Only about a sixth of the adult males could vote anyway, on account of the religious and property qualifications. But in the very year in which the Con-

stitution was adopted a great revolution had broken out in France—the country

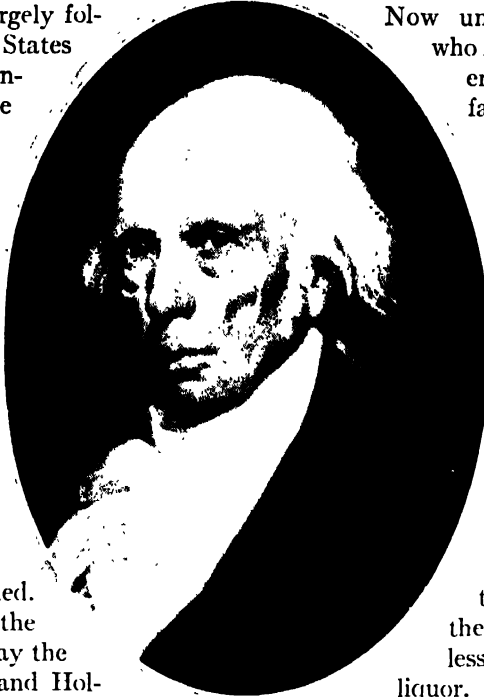


Photo by the Gallery of the N. Y. Historical Society

Above is James Madison, who is gratefully remembered for three activities in his country's cause. First, he was so influential in the Constitutional Convention, and wrote so eloquently in favor of adopting the Constitution, that he is often called "the Father of the Constitution." Second, he led the fight for Jefferson's principles in the early sessions of Congress. And third, he followed Jefferson as the president.

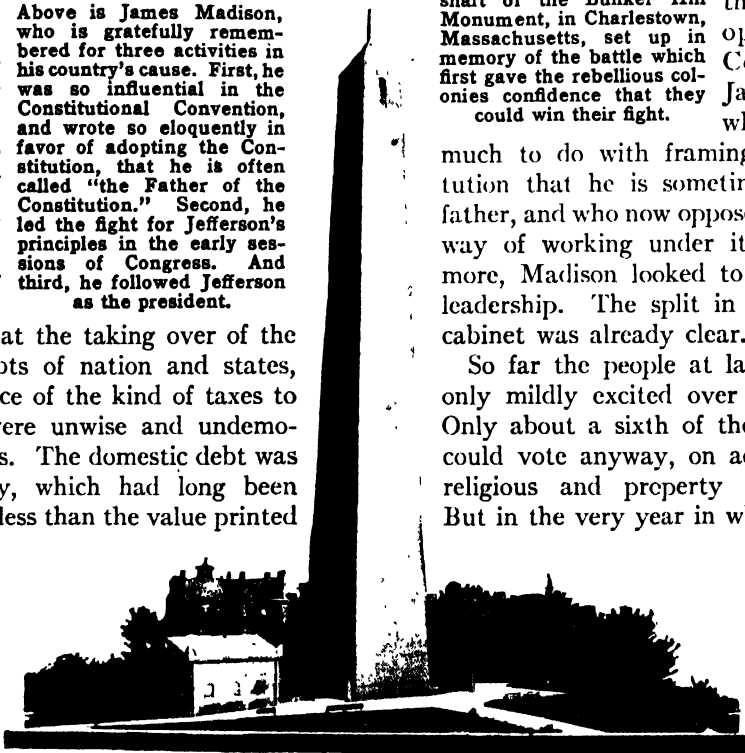


Photo by Gramstorff Bros.

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Photo by Independence Hall Museum

In this room in the State House at Philadelphia the "Fathers of the Republic" signed the Declaration of Independence. The State House still stands. It has

been renamed Independence Hall and made into a national museum. With other buildings, it was the seat of the national government from 1790 to 1800.

still gratefully remembered by Americans for aid in their own Revolutionary War. By 1792 it was clear that this French Revolution was actually to mean the rule of the people, that it was putting into practice and carrying further the democratic ideas of the American Revolution itself. As this strange and marvelous fact slowly dawned on the common people in America, a great wave of generous enthusiasm rose and swept over the country. Actors came before the curtains of theaters and sang the French marching song "La Marseillaise," (lâ mâr'sê'yêz'), bells rang from the steeples to celebrate French victories, exultant toasts were drunk in inns and taverns, liberty caps such as the French revolutionaries wore were set on poles along the roads, the French tricolor cockade and the strains of the Revolutionary song "Ça Ira" (sâ ê'râ'), flooded the land. Democratic clubs were formed everywhere—which you may be sure the wise Jefferson used as nurseries for his party organization. When the minister of the French Republic, Citizen Edmond Genêt (zhê-nê'), arrived, his progress to Philadelphia was a triumphal procession amid scenes of wild popular enthusiasm.

But the government was not at all enthusiastic. All the sympathies of the Hamiltonians, or "Federalists," were with England, who was soon at war with the young French democracy, rather than with France, whose new government was everything which the Federalists hated and feared. True, during the Revolutionary War the United States had signed a treaty of alliance with France, and now that France was at war herself, she clearly expected American aid, at least in the West Indies. But it could be argued that France under this new government was not the same France with which the treaty had been signed in 1778, and that consequently the United States was not bound to give the promised aid. President Washington, who desired peace and was moreover by temperament an aristocrat, issued a Proclamation of Neutrality (April, 1793). It was decided to receive the new French minister courteously, but with coldness and reserve.

When the Democrats Were Republicans

Of course the Republicans, as the Jeffersonians were usually called at this time—though the party that descended from them is our present Democratic party—were furi-

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Photo by The Knapp Co

At the end of his second term Washington at last felt free to announce that he was going to retire from public life. With the advice and help of Hamilton, he put into words the policies in which he believed, and in September, 1796, published his Farewell Address to the American people. This famous address

was carefully worked over and revised; our picture shows Washington reading it to his family. Among other things, Washington urged Americans to avoid too intense party passions. He also advised against "entangling alliances" with other nations—advice which the country faithfully followed.

ous at the attitude of the Federalist government. Genêt unfortunately only made matters worse by breaking all the rules of the diplomatic game, until finally he was called home at the request of the American government. But democratic sentiment in the country at large was still at high tide, and Jefferson was on the crest of the wave. Yet his position in the Federalist cabinet was no longer to be borne, and finally (January, 1794) he persuaded Washington to let him resign. He retired to his great estate at Monticello—and there, from his retirement, continued to lead the forces of democracy.

The Whiskey Rebellion

Feeling between Federalists and Republicans was running higher and higher. President Washington definitely took his stand with the Federalists by trying to break up the democratic clubs which had sprung up all over the country. At the same time (1794)

armed resistance broke out on the western frontier against the unpopular tax on whiskey. Washington himself rode at the head of the troops to put this down—with Hamilton at his side. The Jeffersonians did not approve of this Whiskey Rebellion, but of course they were blamed for it by the Federalists.

The Seeds of Another War

Meanwhile, from sympathy with France, popular sentiment had risen to a fury of hatred against England. This was not only because England was fighting France, but even more because she was still holding the forts in the West, and now began, under certain war measures called Orders in Council, to seize American goods and American sailors on the ocean and in foreign ports. The people shouted for war. Now only one thing could have been more distasteful to the Federalist government than to enter the

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It has been claimed that the American republic was really born, not in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on July 4, 1776, but in this house at Newburgh, New York, on March 14, 1783. For it was then that Washington made it clear, once for all, that he would never let himself be made dictator or king. He had made his headquarters here in this pleasant house by the

Hudson all through the winter of 1782-83. Cornwallis had surrendered, but peace had not been made; and only Washington's steady leadership kept the soldiers from drifting home and perhaps losing all they had gained. If Washington had not nipped in the bud the conspiracy to make him king, the Revolution might have set up just another monarchy.

war on the side of France—that one thing was to enter any war against England. A special envoy was sent to London to negotiate a treaty. This envoy, John Jay, was an able and patriotic Federalist statesman; but, apparently because Hamilton had been too frank in his assurances to the British minister in Philadelphia that nothing would induce the American government to break with England, he could bring home only a very unfavorable treaty indeed. The Senate was rather ashamed of adopting it, and tried to keep the people from knowing what was in it. But a Republican senator sent a copy to a Republican newspaper. Then the storm broke.

America's Most-hated Treaty

By this time (July, 1795) Hamilton, too, had resigned from the cabinet, but continued to direct the fortunes of his party from his retirement in New York. Speaking for Jay's treaty at a public meeting there, he was actually hit by a stone hurled from the infuriated mob. All over the country marching mobs paraded the streets, copies of the treaty were burned amid shouts and throwing up

of liberty caps, effigies (ěf'ī-jī), or figures, of Jay were hanged and burned in the public squares. To be sure, now and then a chamber of commerce or other gathering of merchants and staunch Hamiltonians, indorsed the treaty. But it was clear what the majority thought of it. Washington, apparently despairing of finding anything better, finally signed. Only after a sharp struggle—in which there was even an incident or two of out-and-out fighting among members—did the House of Representatives at last vote the money necessary to put the hated treaty into effect.

All through the struggle, the Federalists had naturally made use of Washington's approval of their policies; and the great name and personality of the hero of the Revolution lay like a shadow across the Republican arguments. But even the love the country bore him did not protect the President from a good deal of the very personal abuse which Congressmen and editors in those hectic days flung at one another. Perhaps this had something to do with the President's resolution to retire now to the quiet of his beloved plantation at Mount Vernon.

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The election of Washington, both for his first and for his second term, had been unanimous. But no election was ever to be so again. The party system had been born; in 1796 John Adams received the votes of the Federalists, and Jefferson those of the Republicans—or of the Democrats, as we should call them to-day. But although John Adams, hero and statesman of the Revolution, and vice president under Washington, was now elected, the doom of the Federalists was already sealed. For they were divided among themselves. Hamilton disliked Adams intensely, and had tried to swing the election to another Federalist. Now, with Adams elected, Hamilton tried to run the President's administration for him through the members of the cabinet—nearly all of whom, unknown to the President, took their orders from Alexander Hamilton, private citizen, in New York.

But the new President, although rather vain and absurd at times, was a man of much courage and patriotism. In spite of the treachery in his cabinet, he performed one great service during his term of office; he kept the country out of war with France.

The X Y Z Affair

For no sooner had a second war with England been postponed for a season, with much bitterness and humiliation, than the United States found herself actually on the brink of war with the French Republic. The French had not liked one American minister because he was pro-English and aristocratic; the next was a Republican and popular, but could do nothing because of the pro-English

Jay treaty. The next minister the French flatly refused to receive. Then a special commission was sent (1799) to talk things over—and the French minister, Talleyrand, tried to bribe them! When the news of this outrageous performance, known as the X Y Z Affair, leaked out in America, war seemed inevitable. Even before this, the excitement had run high.

Now the anti-war Republicans were almost overwhelmed. The people shouted for war with France almost as lustily as a while ago they had shouted for war with England. As for the Hamiltonian Federalists, they were in the seventh heaven. Washington was induced again to head the army. Hamilton, who had always longed for a military career maneuvered himself into second command. There was actual fighting on the high seas.

But neither Talleyrand nor President Adams wanted war. And soon enough the popular enthusiasm for it died down. So, in the teeth of most determined opposition from the Hamiltonians, the President sent a second special commission to talk things over. By the time they got to Paris, Napoleon had seized the government. But he was willing enough to make peace. The old treaty of alliance, of 1778, was done away with, and as for all that had happened since, both sides agreed to forgive and forget.

A Set of Infamous Laws

But in the meantime at home the Federalist party had run amuck. There was division not only between Adams and Hamilton, but between both of them and their followers. In the hysterical summer of 1798, when the quarrel with France was rising to the climax



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

This statue of George Washington stands in front of the United States Subtreasury Building at Broad and Wall Streets, New York City. It was erected there to mark the spot where Washington stood on that historic day in 1789, when, on the balcony of Federal Hall, he took oath of office as our first president.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



Photo by United States Lines

When we are telling the story of a nation we have to spend more time than is quite in proportion on its politics. So it is a good thing every now and then to stop and remind ourselves that people in other days did not spend all their time thinking about politics,

any more than we do now. While the things we have been describing in this story were going on, a large part of what is now the United States was still uncharted wilderness, over which the "First Americans" still hunted and paddled their canoes.

of the X Y Z Affair, the extreme Federalists had pushed through Congress a series of laws which people of all parties since have united to call infamous. These were the Alien and Sedition Acts. Republicanism was to be put down at all costs. Because immigrants usually became Jeffersonians, the time for naturalization was raised to fourteen years. Because foreigners sometimes spoke in favor of France, the President was given power to deport any he thought dangerous. Well they knew this power would not be used against the English Tory William Cobbett, who was one of the fiercest Federalist editors! Because many Republicans persisted in criticizing the acts of the government, and even in opposing the war, people were to be liable to fine and imprisonment for "malicious writings against the government." This last, the Sedition Act, was clearly a violation of the first Amendment to the Constitution, which had been adopted at the beginning of Washington's administration as the first of the ten amendments in the "Bill of Rights."

The President signed these acts, but only the last was enforced strongly enough to make trouble. Under it for a time there was a sort of reign of terror—which, like most reigns of terror, only made people angry and brought new strength to the victims' side. Representative Lyon of Vermont had to plead through the barred window of a jail to prevent a mob from rescuing him by force. His friend Anthony Haswell was greeted at his release by the strains of "Yankee Doodle." But even more important than such incidents was the passing of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions—written by Madison and Jefferson. These Resolutions declared the Alien and Sedition Laws unconstitutional and therefore void, and urged their repeal. A second Resolution in Kentucky suggested that if the laws were not repealed, a single state might "nullify" them by refusing to obey them. Fully as many hints about breaking up the Union had come from the Federalists as from the Republicans during these exciting years; but

this doctrine of nullification in the Kentucky Resolutions was used many years later in the attempt to break up the Union at the time of the Civil War.

The Famous Election of 1800

Not only the indignation aroused by these bad laws, but the quarrels in the Federalist party, were an aid to Jefferson when he ran for the presidency again in 1800. He had a genius for getting his loyal followers to work for him, and for arousing the enthusiasm of the common people. So now he could stay quietly at Monticello and watch the campaign go on. Hamilton, on his part, was still trying to get some other Federalist than Adams into the presidency. The result seemed certain when, in a spectacular contest, Aaron Burr won the votes of New York away from Hamilton. When the electoral votes were counted, both Jefferson and Burr, who was running for the vice presidency, had more votes than the Federalist candidates.

The Election of Jefferson

But Jefferson was not elected yet. First there must be staged, at the half-built new capital in Washington, what perhaps was the most exciting election drama in all American history. For at that time the electors did not vote separately for president and for vice president. Instead, the man receiving the most votes was to be president and the one getting the next highest number was to be vice president. If there was a tie, the House of Representatives was to decide. But everyone who had voted for Jefferson had voted for Burr too, and so technically they were tied for the presidency. Of course everyone knew that what the voters wanted was Jefferson for president. But the more extreme Federalists got the idea of electing Burr, thinking that they could perhaps manage him better than they could Jefferson.

Hamilton, who hated Burr even worse than he hated Jefferson, was vigorously against the scheme. But he could not budge the extremists. Burr, on his part, refused to make any promises; but on the other hand, he did not say he would refuse the presidency if it was offered him. Jefferson sat quietly at the bottom of the table in the coldest corner of his boarding-house dining room, and watched the performance in amused silence.

For days the House took ballot after ballot, with eight states for Jefferson, and six for Burr—nine being necessary to elect. Members slept in their seats or slipped away between votes for a bite to eat. One Jeffersonian, ill with a fever, had his bed set up in the Capitol, and wrote ballots between hours of fevered sleep. At last the Federalists gave up. Democracy had triumphed.

Democracy Triumphant

So, in March, 1801, as he walked quietly to the new Capitol at Washington to be inaugurated as the third president of the United States, it looked as though Jefferson had at last won his ten-year duel with Hamilton. In truth, this election did mean a great and permanent gain for the farmers and the common people, for the principles of a republic. Never again would the aristocrats be so sure of themselves, so open in their claims. Yet Hamilton, in defeated retirement in New York, and soon to die in a duel with his old enemy Burr, really left as strong an imprint on the government of the United States as did his great rival. The whole financial system of the government was his—the system devised not only to make firm and safe the national credit, but on the whole to favor the merchants and the manufacturers against the farmers. His spirit as well as Jefferson's marches on down the years to our own day. He was one of our most influential men.

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Reading Unit No. 10

AMERICA BREAKS WITH EUROPE

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Photo by Gramstorff Bros.

The famous U. S. frigate "Constitution" was almost captured by a British fleet at the very beginning of the

War of 1812. Caught in a calm, she lowered her boats, and for two days the men towed her toward safety.

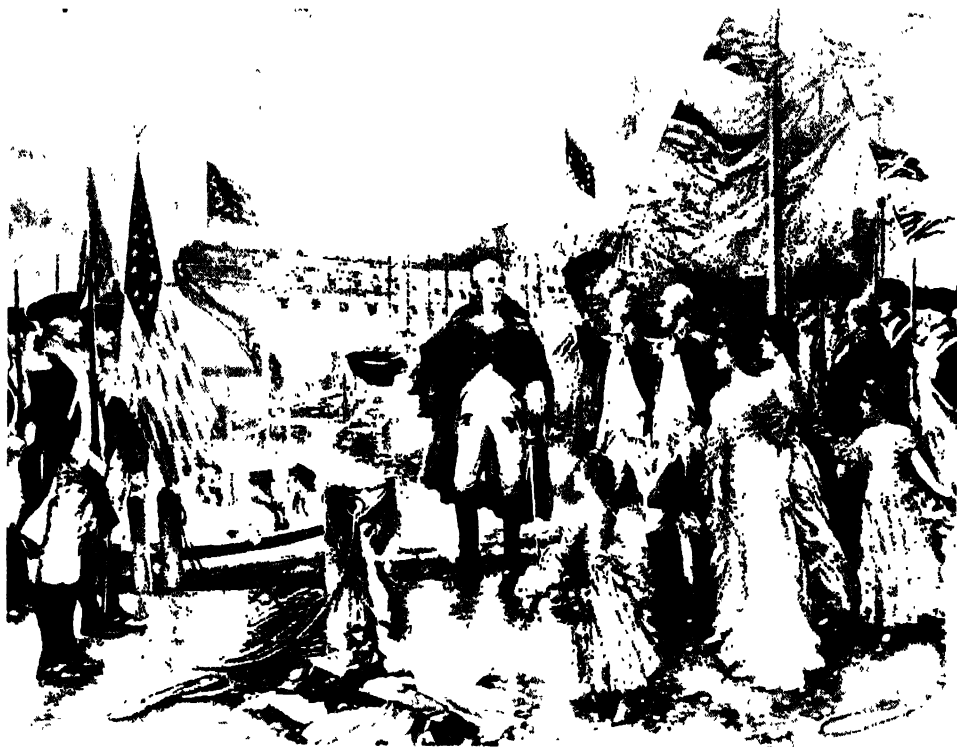


Photo by the Knapp Co.

This picture is entitled "The Birth of the Navy." The United States Navy may be said to have been born in 1795, when Congress decided to build six frigates to protect American merchant ships against warring European nations and against the pirates who infested the Barbary Coast of Africa. Three of these frigates—the

"United States," the "Constellation," and the "Constitution"—were actually built. The "Constellation" won the first fight of the new navy, against a French ship in the undeclared commercial war (1799). Both the others, especially the "Constitution," gained great fame during the War of 1812.

AMERICA BREAKS *with* EUROPE

How the Young United States Struggled Through to Final Independence

IN 1801, when Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated as president of the United States, it seemed to some of his bitterest Federalist enemies that the republic was doomed. This atheist—he was not an atheist, but many thought he was—would destroy religion. This revolutionary would do away with all Hamilton's carefully-built system of government finance. This believer in "states' rights" would make the federal government so weak that the Union would fall apart. This democratic "leveler" would head the country straight for the rule of a disorderly mob.

Of course nothing of the sort happened. Quite naturally the Republicans did away with much of the ceremonial which they had not believed in, and it is even recorded that once President Jefferson received the scandalized British minister in a dressing gown. They turned a few of the bitterest Federalists out of office—really not very many of them—and did what they could to weaken the hold of the other party on the federal courts. They allowed the Alien and Sedition laws to die, and Jefferson pardoned all who were imprisoned under them. But most of Hamilton's system they left alone.



While the white man was constantly reaching out for more and yet more land, the original owners of the continent were meeting in councils like the one above

to see what steps might be taken to stem the advance of the paleface. But as you may see from the map on a later page, it was all of no avail.

And it turned out, as we shall see, that their objection to a strong federal control over the states depended entirely on what that control was exercised for. The result was that by about 1815 the Republicans had taken over so many of the old Federalist policies and so many of the old Federalists had consequently become Republicans that there was very little left of the old quarrels to fight over. It seemed to be coming true, the odd thing which President Jefferson had said when he was inaugurated: "We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists."

But the fears of the extreme Federalists were after all not without some grounds. For the bitter quarrels which arose in the days of Presidents Jefferson and Madison very nearly broke up the Union, though not because the Republicans wanted too weak a central government. To understand this, we must remember that the kind of democracy in which President Jefferson believed—he had been brought up on the frontier and now had a plantation in eastern Virginia—

was the kind he knew in the South and West, where most of the people were farmers. He had very little sympathy with people who lived in towns and earned their living by handling money or buying and selling goods, as did the most influential people in New England. But it was in the interest of these very people that Hamilton and the Federalists had been managing things. So all through the years when Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe were in the White House, the old quarrel between the agricultural interests and the commercial interests went on, only now with the farmers and planters of the South and West in power at Washington, instead of the merchants and financiers of New York and New England. This accounts for some of the confusing things which people did and said in these years.

The first important event in President Jefferson's administration was a tremendous boon to the people of the South and especially of the West. This was the purchase of Louisiana (1803). Now Louisiana in those

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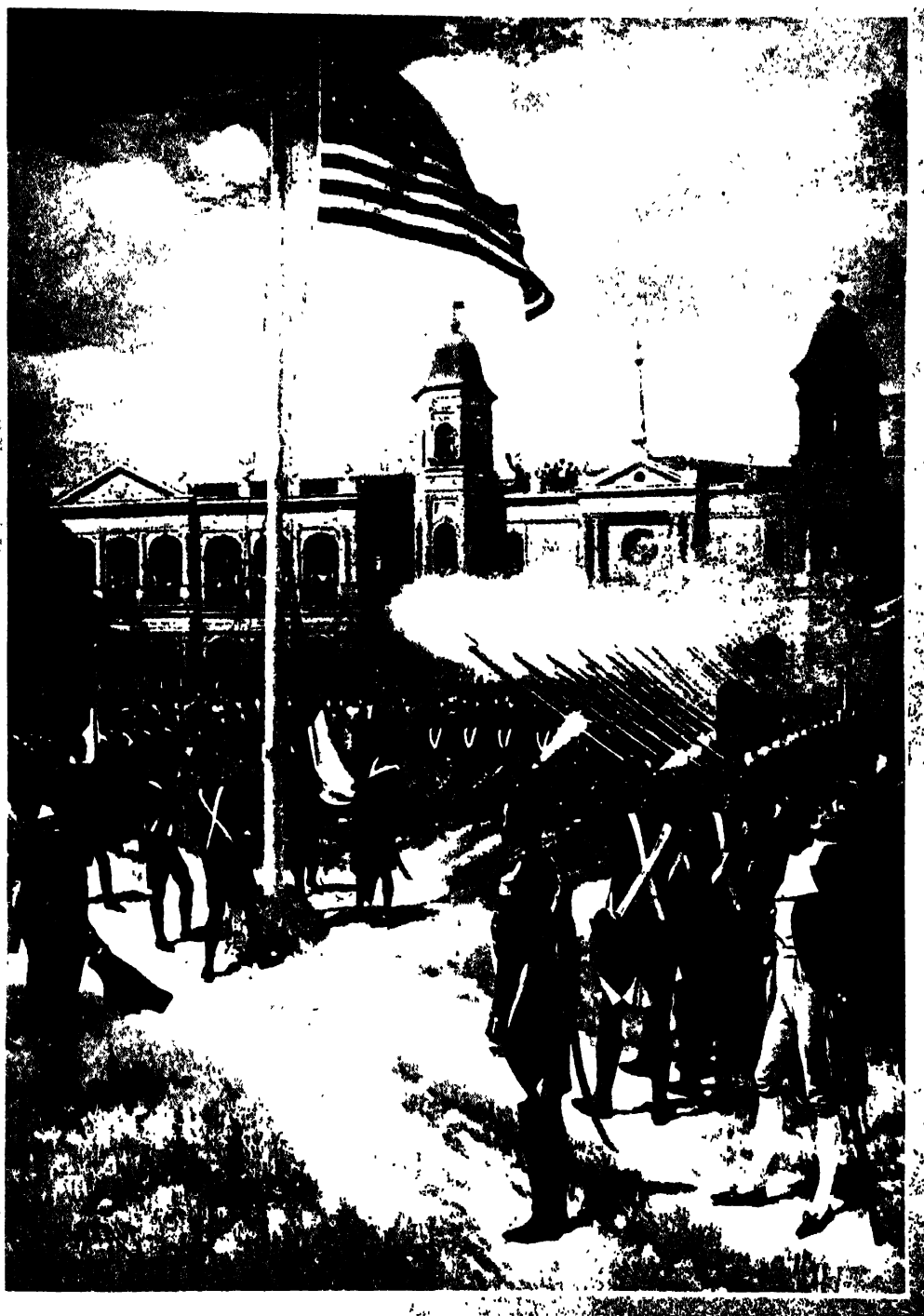


Photo by Louis T. Fritch

On December 20, 1803, a crowd of citizens—Spaniards, French, and Americans—gathered outside the town hall at New Orleans to watch the simple ceremony of passing Louisiana over from the French to the Americans. They had no reason to be unduly excited, for they were used to changes of government. It was

only twenty-one days since the French flag had been run up to replace the flag of Spain. Now the tricolor was to come down from the staff and the Stars and Stripes be raised in its stead. When the two flags met halfway up the staff, there was a pause and a salute. Then the Stars and Stripes flew from the top, alone.

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Photo of Base Map from U. S. Dept. of Interior

This map gives us at a glance the steps in the growth of the territory within the boundaries of the United States. At the end of the French and Indian War (1763) a line was drawn by royal proclamation along the crest of the Alleghenies, and the country west of

it proclaimed an Indian protectorate. In 1783 the newly recognized United States reached to the Mississippi. In 1803, the vast Louisiana Purchase doubled American territory. And the other additions followed in due order, until now the flag flies from coast to coast.

days meant the whole Mississippi Valley west of the river—the country now divided into the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota, together with large parts of Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. At the time no one knew exactly where the boundaries were, as most of the country was still a deep wilderness of forest and prairie; but it was clear that the purchase doubled the size of the United States. So you can see that nothing of much greater importance could possibly have happened to the country at large, or in particular to the hordes of land-hungry farmers along the western edge of the old settlements.

The Louisiana Purchase

No one was more surprised than President Jefferson at this astonishing addition to the Union. His idea had been merely to buy the territory around New Orleans. The American frontiersmen east of the Mississippi had to send their corn, tobacco, and bacon

down past New Orleans to the Gulf of Mexico—the roads being much too bad as yet to allow them to ship their produce east over the mountains. The Spaniards had always owned this country, and arrangements had been made with them to let the Americans use the mouth of the river. But now word came that the Spaniards had given up all Louisiana to the French—and that was an entirely different matter! Spain, for all her proud glory of earlier centuries, had now become a weak nation and need not be feared; but France under the warlike Napoleon was only too likely to make trouble and close the river to the Americans. "There is on the globe one single spot," wrote the President to the American minister at Paris, "the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market." So he sent James Monroe to join Livingston at Napoleon's court. They were to see if they could persuade France to sell the territory around the mouth of the river.

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Napoleon was starting another war with England, for which, of course, he needed money, and he was not much interested in far-away Louisiana anyhow. So he casually offered to sell the whole vast territory for fifteen million dollars or so. You can fancy the astonishment of the American envoys at that! But they swallowed their amazement, courageously took matters into their own hands, trusting that their country would bless its luck and support them, and accept the offer. It is said that when Napoleon's brothers heard of this extraordinary affair they sought Napoleon out to rebuke him. They found him in his bath, and his only answer was to splash them with water in his towering rage that they should dare to interfere.

The Federalists did not want to accept this treaty, but the Republicans voted them down. Now there was nothing in the Constitution to say that the federal government could buy any territory at all, much less a country as large as the whole nation had been before; and the Republicans had always said that they did not believe in doing things for which the Constitution gave no power. But they now found that they did not mind giving the central government more power, if they liked the things it did with that power. And they liked the purchase of Louisiana, because it gave land and free trade to the Western farmers. On the other hand, the Federalists, who had always stood

for a powerful central government, now found that they did not like it so well when they did not like the things it did. And the reason they did not want to annex Louisiana was that it would give much more influence and many more votes to the farming states than they had had when the Union was formed, especially since it had been arranged that Louisiana should some day be divided into states just like the old Northwest Territory. In this way the old parties seemed to have changed places—which is rather confusing, but very human after all.

At all events, there was to be no danger of a war with France in the West. Instead, another huge territory had been opened

up, which was to keep the pioneers occupied for generations to come. Almost at the same time (1804-6), the foundation of the American claim to the Oregon country in the far Northwest was laid by the famous and romantic journey of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to the shores of the Pacific at the mouth of the Columbia River. These hardy explorers, like the old French "voyageurs," paddled up the Missouri River by canoe. Then they made their way over the wild, snow-filled Bitterroot Mountains in Montana and Idaho, and thence to the broad reaches of the Columbia and down to the sea. The destiny of America lay waiting in the West. There were the forests and plains and mountains to be conquered and peopled.



Photo by Visual Education Service

The great exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark (1804-6) laid the foundation for the American claim to the Oregon country. The party paddled down to the mouth of the Columbia River in the summer of 1805; it is there that our picture shows them. They had traveled through the vast wilderness all across the continent, and had come at last to the Pacific.

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There too were the bitter problems to keep the whole nation thinking and quarreling till the time of the Civil War.

But America was not yet free to meet this destiny and attack these problems. She still faced eastward across the sea to Europe, still found herself badly tangled in Europe's quarrels.

For once more France and England were at each other's throats. This time the fight was fiercer than ever, for Napoleon had made himself ruler of France and had set out to conquer Europe. Gone, for a time, was that French Republic which the followers of Jefferson had loved. Some felt that England now was the country that was fighting for liberty. To others it must have seemed that there was scant right or justice on either side. Almost everyone hoped that the United States might be able to keep out of the quarrel and let the nations fight it out between themselves.

But keeping out of it was difficult. Napoleon was having things pretty much his own way on land, but he had been driven from the sea by the English fleet. So, hoping to starve England out, he prohibited all commerce with her, by the Berlin and Milan Decrees (1806, 1807). England replied by new Orders in Council; no neutral ship was to trade with any country under Napoleon's control without first stopping at a British port. Now, with Europe at war, the United States had become the chief carrier of the world's commerce, and it was to her that these decrees and orders made the most difference. To be sure, Napoleon really had too little power on the sea to make his high-sounding decrees mean very much; and even

the strong British navy could not interfere with the swift and canny American vessels enough to spoil their profits effectually. Yet all this was distinctly annoying to Americans.

Even worse was the English practice of "impressing" seamen. A British ship would hail an American merchantman, board it, examine its papers, and maybe carry off

several men from its crew to serve in the British Navy. The theory was that these men were deserters from the British fleet. And often enough, doubtless, they were. For during the war American trade had been so prosperous that the wages of the "tars" had risen far above those on British ships, and the treatment of the sailors was much better, too.

A good many men did desert from the British ships and sail again on the American; everyone knew and admitted this. But the Americans thought the British should have taken the word of American commanders on the matter, instead of searching the American vessels. Besides, the English would not admit that an Englishman could cease to be a British subject by becoming a naturalized citizen of the United States; and so when they found naturalization papers on some of these sailors they took the

men anyway. They even took some native-born Americans, saying that their papers were false.

The Embargo Act of 1807

Something had to be done to prove that the United States was not still a British colony but was an independent nation and as such to be properly respected. But President Jefferson, although he had never greatly liked England, was very eager to win this



This is George Rogers Clark, an elder brother of the William Clark of the Lewis and Clark expedition. It was to George Rogers Clark that Jefferson at first suggested the exploration of the West. He had been the leader of a bold and heroic campaign in the wilderness around Vincennes, in what is now Indiana, during the Revolutionary War. This campaign won the first great western region, the Northwest Territory, for the United States.

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Photo Copyright by Canfield and Shook

Lewis and Clark had only thirty-five men in their party. They traveled like the old French "voyageurs," following the courses of the rivers in canoes, depend-

ing on the Indians for friendly guidance. In our picture Clark is signing a treaty with the Indians. He and Lewis had to be diplomats as well as explorers.

respect without war. So he evolved the rather modern idea of punishing England – and France too for the matter of that – by altogether cutting off American trade. This was done by the Embargo Act (December, 1807), which forbade all American vessels to sail to European ports.

The Country Plunged in Poverty

The trouble with this remedy was that, so far as American commerce was concerned, it was worse than the disease. There had been something of excitement and grim sport in running the European blockade; and then too, if a ship did get through, it made so much money that its owner did not mourn too much for the other ships he had lost. But now ships rotted at the wharves, and beef, pork, and tobacco spoiled in the warehouses. New England merchants went into bankruptcy, and Southern planters, unable to sell their tobacco and cotton, were ruined.

A great wail of protest arose, loudest from the very people whom the act was supposed to protect from the wicked French and English. Smuggling increased, and to stop it the Republicans passed laws which made Federalists talk sarcastically about the Republican opposition to the old Alien and Sedition laws. Federalist New England, in fact, talked precisely as Republican Virginia and Kentucky had talked at the time of the Kentucky Resolutions.

Finally, in 1809, the act was repealed, and a milder Non-Intercourse Act was passed.

This provided merely that there should be no direct trading with England or France, and allowed trade again with the rest of Europe. Jefferson, whose own estate had been plunged deep in debt by it, always felt that if the country had been willing to bear with the embargo a year longer, the war which finally came in 1812 could have been avoided.

James Madison Becomes President

But only so well-loved a president as Jefferson had been could have persuaded the country to bear with the embargo as long as it had. And now (1809), feeling like "a prisoner released from his chains," Jefferson laid down the troublesome problems of the presidency, and retired to his beloved Monticello. James Madison, a most able man and Jefferson's friend and disciple, was elected in his stead. But the war which Jefferson, with all his tact in handling people, had found it so hard to avoid, Madison was not able to avoid at all.

The War of 1812

The new President's chief mistake was in believing too easily what the British and French governments told him in their desire each to turn him against the other. The British government would disavow what its minister had said, and Napoleon frankly lied to him. Yet no worse abuses arose than had been borne when Jefferson was president. And, as we have seen, the New England

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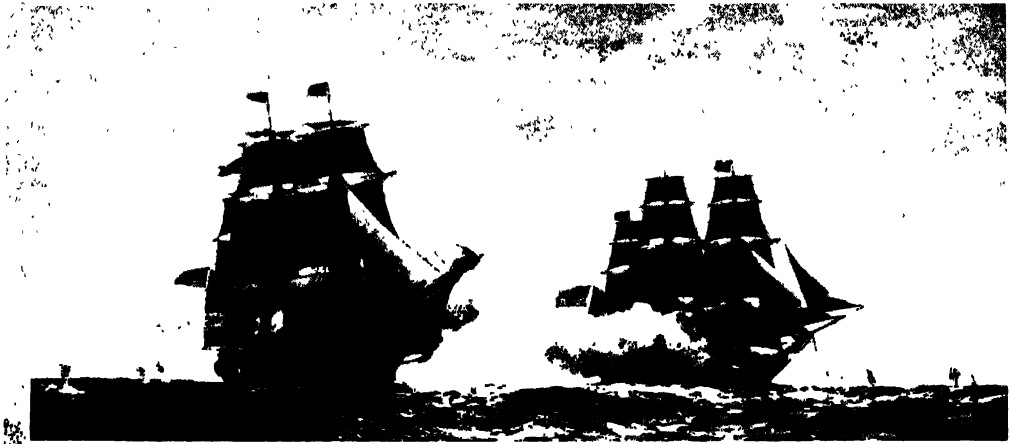


Photo Copyright by U. S. Naval Academy

The War of 1812 was the last war in which a sailing vessel could win fame by a spectacular duel with an enemy ship. Consequently, the sea fights of this war had a picturesque gallantry which modern navies cannot match. Here, for instance, is the duel between the

U.S.S. "Constitution" and the British frigate "Java," fought off the coast of Brazil in December, 1812. As usual, "Old Ironsides" got the better of it. This and many other gallant fights made the "Constitution" so famous that she has been preserved as a memorial.

traders much preferred to curse England and France lustily—and keep right on trading with them. In the end it was the land-hungry West which forced the war.

The West, which had no ships upon the sea, had no quarrel with France. But it had a quarrel with England. For years the whisper had gone from settlement to settlement along the frontier that the British in Canada were stirring up the Indians against the American settlers. Now, in 1811, William Henry Harrison—who would one day be president because of it—fought a battle with the Indians at Tippecanoe in Indiana, and when he burned their town he found there stores of British powder. Was it not enough? asked the eager young "War Hawks" in Congress. Our flag is insulted on the seas, they said, and the Indians are set upon our pioneers at home. Then too—and perhaps this was the main point, after all—what a chance to conquer Canada! And those who did not want Canada because it would mean more "free" territory—that is, territory where there would be no slaves—replied, Yes, or we could use the war to manage the conquest of Florida in the slave-holding South. Thus Henry Clay, the eloquent young orator from Kentucky, and John Calhoun, the new power come out of South

Carolina, rode on the crest of the war wave into their long leadership.

Convinced at length that it was the only way out, President Madison, in June, 1812, recommended that Congress declare war. And war was declared.

Although there had undoubtedly been excuse enough in international law for this war, never was there a more unfortunate and pointless conflict. Only a few more weeks of patience would have cleared up the quarrels about commerce which were the original cause of it. For, if there had only been at that time a cable to bring the news to Washington, the American government would have discovered that the very day before the declaration the Orders in Council had actually been repealed.

"Mr. Madison's War"

The country was far from being united in support of the war. Enlistments were half-hearted and slow. Militia refused to cross the border into Canada. Generals quarreled with each other instead of uniting against the enemy. Detroit was surrendered with scarcely a show of resistance. Money was hard to raise and the national currency lost value as it had in the old unhappy days of the Confederation. Those having an eye

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cocked at Florida refused to stand behind the invasion of Canada. Some of the New Englanders, whose trade had given rise to the quarrel in the first place, talked about "Mr. Madison's war" and seriously threatened to withdraw from the Union.

The Victory on Lake Erie

Indeed it was more luck than foresight that saved the United States in this war from a most humbling defeat. The invasion of Canada failed utterly. A counter-invasion from Canada was halted only by the famous victory of Captain Oliver H. Perry on Lake Erie—"We have met the enemy and they are ours," he wrote—and by that of Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough on Lake Champlain (1813, 1814). Having almost no fleet on the Atlantic, the United States was unable to keep the British from blockading American ports and attacking seacoast towns. In September, 1814, the British even took and burned the capital city of Washington while the President of the United States took refuge in the Virginia woods.

Yet there were those victories on the Lakes. And on the sea, in the teeth of the British fleet, hardy American frigates like the "President," the "United States," and the "Constitution"—"Old Ironsides"—made matters difficult for English commerce. On land, the only considerable American victory was won after the treaty of peace, although of course the soldiers did not know it at the time. This victory was at New Orleans (February, 1815), where the doughty Andrew Jackson, later to be the first frontier president, held the town against determined British attack, in one of the bloodiest battles ever fought on American soil.

Almost from the beginning of the war the nations had been wishing themselves well out of it—and no wonder, when its cause had died as the war itself was being born. Peace was President Madison's wish particularly, and he first made advances through Russia, and then welcomed those made by Great Britain for direct discussion. The Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war, was signed in December, 1814. It was a mere agreement to stop fighting. The matters of

search and impressment were not even mentioned.

The Second War for Independence

And yet, foolish and pointless as this war was, there is some excuse for calling it the "second war for independence," as many have chosen to do. For soon after its close the fighting between England and France was over, and so interference with American commerce was naturally over too; and Jackson's stirring victory could be praised without remembering that it had had no effect on the treaty of peace. So everyone was feeling very proud and patriotic. The New Englanders had actually had a convention at Hartford to discuss their grievances and to hint at secession, but now they hinted at secession no more. People felt that independence was won at last; they thought less about Europe and more about America.

It was left for President Madison's successor, James Monroe, to make the dramatic gesture fitting to this new way of looking at things. This happened in 1823, when there was danger that certain of the powers of Europe would attack South America in order to give back to Spain the countries which had rebelled against her. England did not want anything like that to happen any more than the United States did. There was friendly talk between the statesmen of the two ex-enemies, and the American government knew that behind whatever it might do was not only its own power, but the British fleet too. Then President Monroe set forth in a message to Congress the idea that the American continents were no longer to be considered "subjects for future colonization by any European powers," and that while the United States did not intend to meddle with European affairs, she did not expect European nations to meddle with American affairs either. This is the famous Monroe Doctrine which has kept Europe pretty much out of America ever since.

So at last the young republic was ready to turn its eyes to the interminable miles of forest and plain and mountain waiting to be conquered and peopled and lustily quarreled over toward the west.

The HISTORY of the UNITED STATES ---

Reading Unit No. 11

AMERICA TURNS TO THE WEST

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

Two inventions, the steamboat and the cotton gin, played a great part in building up the West. One made transportation easier.

The other created a demand for more land for cotton cultivation, and indirectly led to the Civil War.



Photo by the National Museum

The great valley of the Mississippi was not won without violence. To be sure, the Louisiana Purchase had meant that luckily there was no danger of fighting with France or Spain. But that had nothing to do with the original owners — the Indians.

AMERICA TURNS *to the* WEST

Of the Peopling of the Great Valley and of the Quarrels Which Arose at Washington concerning It

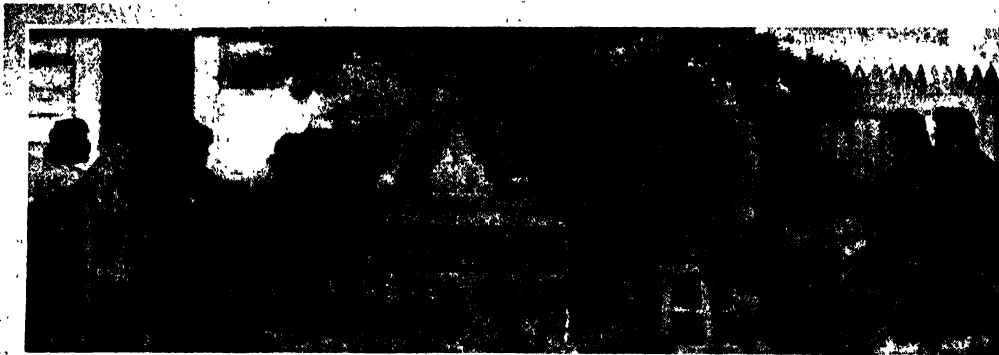
OF ALL the many names which pious or patriotic or poetic explorers gave to the Mississippi River, only the lovely name given it by the Algonquin Indians, who knew it long before the white men came, has survived. The Spaniards called it the “great river” (Rio Grande), the “river of the Holy Ghost” (Rio del Spiritu Sancto) and the “river of flowers” (Rio de Flores); the Frenchmen called it “Colbert,” “St. Louis,” “Buade.” But when the English-speaking Americans came, though they drove the Indians ruthlessly from its banks, they still called the mighty river Mech-e-se-be, Mississippi—which may mean “river of meadows and grass,” but is probably to be translated “great waters” or “father of waters.”

Among the children of the Father of Waters, the largest and longest of limb are the Missouri and the Ohio; these are Indian names, too. The Ohio reaches its long arm eastward toward the Appalachian Mountains, tempting the people of New York and Pennsylvania and more distant New England to float down its current to the heart of the great central valley. The Missouri flings its

long arm northward and westward, beckoning toward the distant Rockies and the plains and uplands of Montana and the Dakotas. The Mississippi-Missouri is the longest river valley in the world.

During the early years of the nineteenth century the most exciting thing that was happening in North America was the peopling of this great valley watered by the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi. Even before the Revolution it had begun. By the end of the War of 1812 four new states—Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796) in the central region, Ohio (1803) to the north, and Louisiana (1812) to the south, had already entered the Union as full-fledged states. Now at the end of the war (1815), the trickles and rivulets of west-bound people became a mighty stream. Five new states, with their melodious names, knocked within five years at the door of the Union: Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), Missouri (1821). By 1820 more than a quarter of the people of the United States, or something over two and a half millions, were living in the great valley.

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Even during the Revolution America expanded westward beyond the Alleghenies. Daniel Boone and others established settlements in Kentucky and fought off the Shawnee Indians. In 1775 William Henderson, as head of the Transylvania Land Company, bought the claims of the Cherokees to the region. In our

picture Henderson is calling to order the first legislature of "Transylvania." But the independent pioneers did not want to live under any Transylvania Land Company—they meant to own their own land. So in 1778 they got the state of Virginia to take over Henderson's claims. And Transylvania became Kentucky.

Down between the brooding forests of the Ohio they floated, men, women, children, cattle, plows, and household goods packed on quaint flat-bottomed craft that drifted south and west with the winding current. Some stopped along the banks of the Ohio. Their axes rang, log huts appeared, grain grew, and cattle began to graze in the clearings. "What a contrast," cried a keen-eyed observer in 1808, "with the uninhabited banks of the beautiful river when I first saw them [in 1792]! When the howl of the wolf, or the hooting of the owl were enough to strike terror into the heart of the voyager, fearing that these might be the telegraphic sounds of Indians preparing to attack him." Cincinnati grew up, "a beautiful little city"; Louisville became "a handsome town." "And thus far," continues the poetic novelist—it is Hugh Brackenridge speaking—"the curtain of the wilderness may be said to have been lifted up."

Moving the Frontier Westward

And steadily the curtain lifted further. On down the Mississippi the people floated. Others came west along the Great Lakes to the north, or crashed through the wilderness by way of the mountain passes to the south. First came the hunter, solitary, cat-footed as an Indian and as careless of his own life or a foe's, with a ramshackle lean-to and perhaps a rather bedraggled wife and children somewhere in the forest. Then along the rivers

came the rowdy, fearless, "half-horse-half-alligator" rivermen, who guided the immigrants to their new homes, or took pork and lumber and bear oil down the rivers on flatboats or vast rafts. When they had quarreled and sung and danced through the long days and weeks to far-away, romantic, half-French New Orleans, they would sell their goods, and the flatboat or raft too, perhaps, and start back in bands for protection from the river pirates, who would not at all mind having the money their pockets were stuffed with. Or they would laboriously work their keel boats up the long miles with oars or poles. And all the time, along the rivers and back in the forests, axes rang and log huts arose and towns grew up. Slowly the curtain of the wilderness was lifting.

Steamboats on the Mississippi

Then one day in 1811, the wondering crowd at Natchez, Mississippi, saw a queer water monster, belching smoke and steam, turn and round against the current, and draw panting in alongside the dock. A Negro in the crowd tossed his cap gleefully into the air and cried, "Old Mississipp done got 'er master now!" It was Nicholas Roosevelt's "New Orleans," first steamboat on the Mississippi River.

Within a decade the river was swarming with steamboats, and the period of their glory lasted almost until the time of the Civil War. They were great top-heavy craft

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built for shallow water, with two decks above water and only three feet or so below—so ugly, as someone has remarked, that they were beautiful. Soon there were comparatively few of the old keel boats and flat-boats to be seen, for this new contrivance could go upstream as well as down without benefit of pole or oar. The big boats carried nearly all the freight and passengers up and down the Mississippi and the Ohio, and even began to work up the “Big Muddy,” as the Missouri was called. Their holds were crammed with meat and grain and tobacco and cotton. Their decks swarmed with tourists and immigrants and gamblers and missionaries and slaves. As they pulled out from New Orleans or Cairo, Negro stevedores lifted rich voices in song, and excited crowds waved and shouted. At town after town their whistles sounded, and the Negroes loaded and unloaded the cargo, swinging up and down the gangplank with a half-dancing step to the rhythm of their singing or the picturesque curses of the officers. Small boys in Missouri and Mississippi registered secret vows some day to run away and learn to be steamboat pilots—and did it. The lordly pilot himself, who could read the face of the waters like an open book and find Jones’s Plantation in the midst of a pitch-black night, stood aloof and calm at his wheel, giving orders even to the captain. It was he and his steamboat, more than anything else, that hastened so marvelously the peopling of the great valley.

For the forests, and the Indians with them, were doomed. Nothing could now stop the white people, greedy for land and at last possessed of an easy way to get in and out of this vast new country. If the Indians could be ar-

gued or tricked into signing their land away in a treaty—well and good. If not, it was war. And bit by bit the red men were pushed back by the white settlers, with the guns of the “Great White Father” at their backs; and bit by bit the forests fell.

Hardships on the Frontier

A hardy race, these pioneers! Men and women and little children lived always in the shadow of danger from wild beasts or Indians or lawless white men. Life was hard on the frontier, full of back-breaking labor and empty of conveniences. It was lonely too, at first, when the farms were still far apart and the roads bad or non-existent. As towns grew up, there would be more social life of course—a little school, a church, a weekly newspaper; even now and then, especially along the river, a one-night stand by a group of play actors.

But things, including manners, were pretty primitive. One shocked English lady reports that when she visited Cincinnati in 1828 the garbage was thrown into the streets for pigs to grub at, and at social gatherings the men “spit, talk of elections and the price of produce, and spit again,” while the women “look at each other’s dresses till they know every pin by heart,” and discuss “Parson Somebody’s last sermon on the day of judgment” or “Dr. T’otherbody’s new pills for dyspepsia” till time for the over-hearty refreshments.

As for morals, they depended a good deal on where the people

in question came from. A great many brought from New England the strict ideas which were already becoming softened there, and frowned as severely on dancing and cards as on thieving and murder. On the other

The simple shacklike building below is the oldest building in Ohio. It is a relic of the days of the old Northwest Territory—the office of the Ohio Land Company at Marietta.

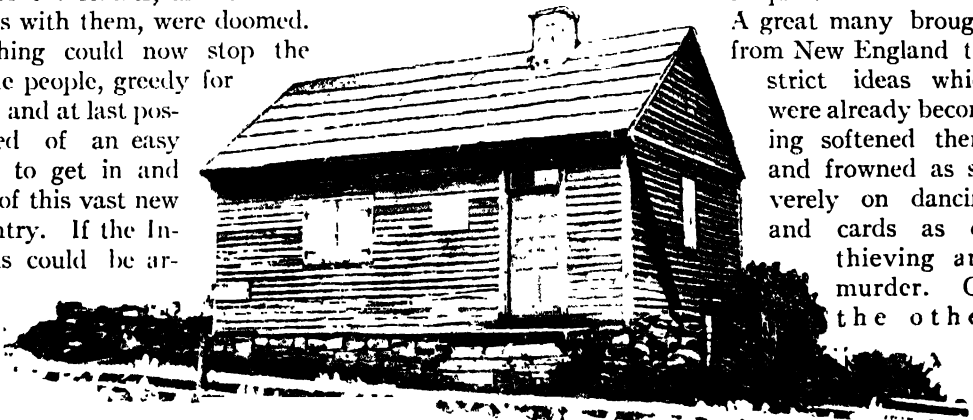


Photo by Marietta C. of C.

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hand, wild country is bound to be full of men quite beyond the law; and in the great valley there were plenty of them—sellers of “universal cure-alls” made of muddy water from the Mississippi flavored with some bitter forest herb, fake missionaries who were likely to rob you while you slept, murderous gangs who hid in the wilderness or in caves along the rivers. Of religion the people were likely to think but little most of the time, and then to go one day to a “camp meeting” and, listening to some revivalist preacher, be converted amid wild enthusiasm—for a time. A hardy, independent people, these pioneers, rough and uncouth and often very ignorant; but in their hands lay the future of the country.

“The Era of Good Feeling”

While all this was going on, the people back East too were beginning to realize that they had a very different country from the little group of thirteen Atlantic states which had first set up the Union. For a time, at the close of the War of 1812, Congress and the country were half-drunk with the heady wine of a sudden national patriotism. The trouble with Europe was over, and the wide lands of the Louisiana Purchase were carrying the flag far beyond the great central river and on across the continent into the unknown wilderness. In Congress there were surprisingly few differences of opinion. Party lines had been pretty well wiped out—except for a few “die-hards”—by the events connected with the war. Now the National Republicans, become as much like Hamilton’s old party as they were like their founder Jefferson’s, passed several laws such as Hamilton would have himself approved. They raised the rates

of the tariff (1816) and rechartered the United States Bank. They increased the regular army and strengthened the coast defenses. So little opposition was there to these strongly nationalistic measures, and so little was there left of the old Federalist party, that the years of President Monroe’s administration (1817-1825) are often called “the era of good feeling.” During this time also the President fed the national pride by arranging at last the annexation of Florida from Spain (1819), and by warning Europe, by means of the Monroe Doctrine (1823), to keep out of the two Americas.

When the States Began to Quarrel

But it was not the West alone that was changing, and this new national feeling was soon checked by fresh differences between the sections. And now more and more clearly began to appear the sinister quarrel between the North and the South, with the West as the prize.

This quarrel had begun before the Constitution was adopted, had been written into the Constitution in the form of various compromises, had had much to do with the party contests of the time of Jefferson and Hamilton, and had been the basis of the threats of secession first by Kentucky and Virginia, later by New England. It was the quarrel between the states whose

As the white settlers pressed westward the red men were forced still farther west before the advancing frontier. Hitching their ponies to a device like the one shown here, they pushed on toward the sunset, looking for a land that they might call their own.

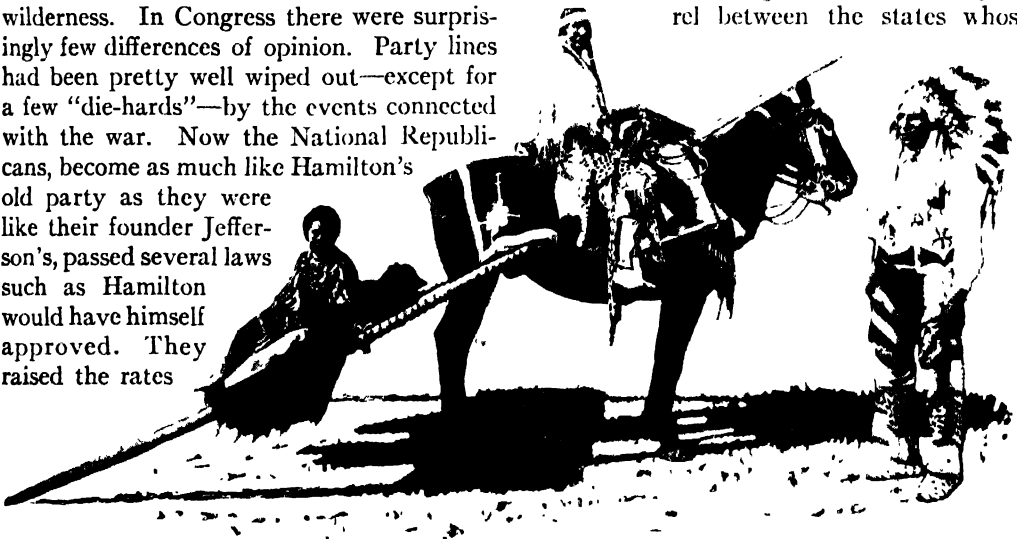


Photo by B. & O. Ry.

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people were farmers and planters and the states whose people were merchants and manufacturers. So it was nothing new.

But now it took a somewhat different form. For a good many years the people of Europe and America had been thinking less and less about religious theories and more and more about science. And along with thinking about science in general they had thought about how to apply science to traveling and making things. They had been inventing machinery. They had been carrying on what is known as the Industrial Revolution. The steamboats on the Mississippi were a part of the Industrial Revolution. They had come originally from the East, where Robert Fulton and others had invented the machinery and patented it while Jefferson was president. Machines which made it much easier and quicker to weave cloth and do many other things were brought to New England. With their ocean trade half ruined by the war and their "infant industries" protected from their English rivals by tariffs, the New Englanders were turning more and more to factories and cotton mills. The very poorest of the people, men, women, and children, or the newest of the immigrants from Europe worked in these mills and factories. It was a hard life and the wages were cruelly low, but the owners made money. At all events, the North was swiftly becoming a land not of farmers or even of sailors and merchants, but of factory workers and capitalists.

The Cotton Gin and the South

Meanwhile, in the South, it came about that the Industrial Revolution, instead of leading to the building of factories, was making the growing of cotton on the great slave-

worked plantations more and more profitable. A New Englander named Eli Whitney, who had gone to Georgia for his health, had invented a contrivance called the cotton gin (1793). By means of this simple machine, the slaves could pick the seeds from the raw cotton fiber just three hundred times as fast as they could by hand. Of course

the masters began growing more cotton. The crop increased from 2,000,000 pounds in 1791 to 177,000,000 pounds in 1821. The Yankee school-teacher, without meaning to, had engineered a revolution and placed King Cotton securely on the throne of the South!

There were two unhappy results of this revolution which Whitney could scarcely have foreseen. It made slavery so profitable that the Southerners, who had before this apologized for it and hoped it would some day die out, now began to defend it and feel that it was altogether a necessary and proper thing. Also, since growing cotton soon exhausts the soil, it made the Southern planters begin to clamor for more land in the West where they could grow cotton with slaves.

At the same time, in the North—where slavery had never paid and by now had died out—people were already beginning to murmur against the idea of allowing any slavery in the United States at all. The bitter argument, economic, moral, and religious, which arose over this question belongs really to the time two or three decades later than 1820. For by that date the situation had had time to develop, and the people had had time to think about the matter more thoroughly. But it was in 1820 that, with surprising suddenness and vigor, the quarrel over slavery first made itself strongly felt in Washington.

The occasion was the petition of Missouri



James Monroe was one of the American delegates who arranged the Louisiana Purchase. In 1817 he became the fifth president of the United States. While in the White House he set forth the famous Monroe Doctrine which warned European governments from interfering any longer in the affairs of the New World.

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to be admitted as a state. It was not the first time that there had been opposition in Congress to the admission of a new state. When Louisiana was admitted in 1812, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts had cried that it

was the deathblow of the Union, and that New England had better get ready to secede. He said, truly enough, that letting in another slave-holding plantation state upset the balance of the sections as it was when the Constitution was established. But Congress kept on admitting new states, and the balance was equal as

to slave states and free states in 1820. Missouri would upset it again.

For Missouri had made out a constitution which allowed slavery. Now Missouri, as you can see if you look at the map, is neither far south nor clearly north. She had been settled by people from both sections, but when it came to making out a constitution, the slave-holding group had won. So if Missouri were admitted, there would be twenty-four senators from slave states and only twenty-two from free states.

Much to everyone's surprise, certain congressmen made a fight against letting Missouri in unless she would forbid slavery. When Congress could not agree, there was great excitement all over the country until the next session. Finally the matter was

settled by a compromise. Maine was admitted as a free state (1820) and a little later (1821) Missouri was taken in with her slave constitution unchanged. Besides, in order to make it easier to know what to do next

time, it was agreed that no future state from the Louisiana Purchase should allow slavery unless the state in question lay south of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$. This line would run westward from the southern boundary of Missouri to the Spanish territory where Texas now begins.

It left most of the great Purchase to the North. This was the

famous "Missouri Compromise" (kôm'prô-miz).

And all the time, no matter how politicians might squabble or reformers talk, "Old Man River" rolled on unconcernedly. The steamboats whistled to each other through the fog, the Negroes sweated and sang, the pilot stood aloft and aloof like a god. And on the banks of the rivers and back into the forests the axes rang and the ground was plowed and towns arose; or along the somber reaches of the lower river rose white plantation houses surrounded by huts for the black slaves and wide acres of kingly cotton. Gone were the red men, fast going were the forests. The eyes of the nation were fixed more and more steadily on the great valley of the Mississippi and its daughter rivers.

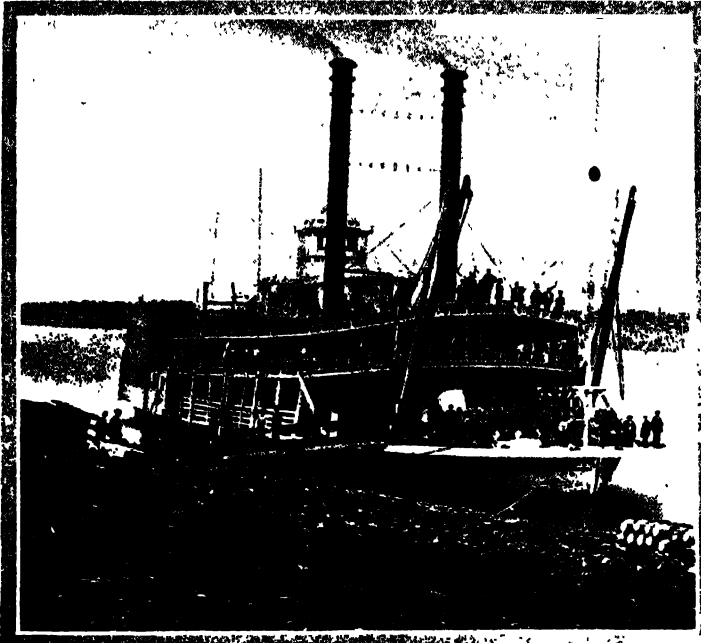


Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Up and down the Father of Waters the steamboats still ply, carrying freight and passengers, as this one is doing. To be sure, they are rather more prosaic than they used to be—not so likely to run races or to blow up, and much more easily guided, by reason of improvements in the river channel. But though they still go puffing back and forth, the railroads have sadly undermined their glory. Since World War II they have even lost much of their freight, for long trains of barges now carry bulky, slow-going cargoes.

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Reading Unit

No. 12

THE FIRST VICTORY OF THE FRONTIER

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Photo by Jurud Photo Shop

One of the most thrilling moments of all his trip must have come to Captain Lewis when he first set eyes on the magnificent Great Falls of the Missouri, in what is now Montana. He and four others had gone ahead on foot, leaving Clark to bring the boats up the river. Here we see Lewis and one of his party resting and

musings at the last of the five great cataracts. This has been named Black Eagle Falls. For Lewis tells us of how he saw on a tiny island below it the nest of an eagle—"and a more inaccessible spot I believe she could not have found; for neither man nor beast dare pass those gulphs."

This is "Davy" Crockett, who long ago passed into legend. He was the dauntless hunter, the fearless Indian fighter, the matchless teller of "tall tales" featuring his own prowess. But though he could hardly have made good his boast to ride on a streak of lightning, he was a brave fighter and a mighty frontiersman, and as such deserved his fame.



The FIRST VICTORY of the FRONTIER

How an Imperious Old Soldier from the West Took Over the National Government in the Name of the Common People

THEY say that when Davy Crockett of West Tennessee was on his way to Washington for his first term in Congress—that would be in 1827—a stranger, spoiling for a political quarrel, demanded of him who he was. Davy said: "I'm that same David Crockett, fresh from the backwoods, half-horse, half-alligator, a little touched with the snapping turtle; can wade the Mississippi, leap the Ohio, ride on a streak of lightning, and slip without a scratch down a honey locust; can whip my weight in wild cats—and if any gentleman pleases, for a ten dollar bill, he may throw in a panther—hug a bear too close for comfort, and eat any man opposed to Jackson." Thus with its coonskin caps and boastful stories, its ignorance of the ways of the old politics and of high society, its extravagant humor and aggressively democratic ideas, the frontier advanced upon Washington.

This Jackson, whom the great bear hunter first adored and later opposed, was the same General Andrew Jackson who had won acclaim in 1815 by his great defense of New Orleans against the British. Since then his

chief exploit had been the somewhat high-handed "conquest" of Florida during a war with the Seminole Indians—operations which had led to the passing over of that long-coveted country from Spain to the United States (1819). He too was from the frontier country of Tennessee, and in him the frontier had found all the heroisms and virtues it most admired. He was as honest and hard-hitting as the hickory staff he carried; his followers called him Old Hickory out of pure affection. He was afraid of nothing and of nobody, was utterly convinced that all who did not believe the things he believed were scoundrels and traitors, and yielded to none in his devotion to the Union and to the common people. He was no philosopher, no cultivated gentleman, like Jefferson, but had the rough simplicity and force of the frontier from which he came. Yet in him was a certain personal dignity, and even a touch of knight-errantry, which charmed men and women into a blind enthusiasm. And the frontier, loving a hero and caring little for the fine points of theory, took him to its heart.

But the frontier never would have been

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able to elect Jackson president if there had not been a great change in the laws concerning voting since the days of Washington. Slowly the religious and property qualifications, in the East as well as the West, were being dropped, until in the 1820's many of the states had white manhood suffrage—that is to say, all adult white men could vote, whether they paid taxes or not. In the East this meant that great numbers of mechanics and clerks and factory hands now had a voice in the government, instead of only "the rich and well born," to whom men like Hamilton had desired to restrict the vote. These people too turned to Jackson as their hero and leader. The General's following was thus really a farmer-labor party, made up of small farmers of the West and laborers of the East. They called themselves "Jacksonians," "Democratic Republicans," later merely "Democrats."

The first time that Jackson ran for the presidency was in 1824, at the close of President Monroe's second term.

This was not really a party contest, for the old Federalist party was dead, and during the "era of good feeling" while Monroe was president, almost everyone had called himself a Republican. But eras of good feeling cannot last forever, especially in a country as big and changing as the United States in the 1820's, and this presidential contest turned out to be the beginning of an era of *hard feeling*.

The Election of 1824

The candidates were "favorite sons" of the different sections. There was John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, son of John Adams, second president of the United States—a man of fine character and wide political experience, a statesman of the old school. There was Daniel Webster, also of Massachusetts,

a brilliant lawyer and orator, soon to become the spokesman of the manufacturing North and the apostle of the new devotion to the Union. There was John C. Calhoun (käl-hōn') of South Carolina, one of the "War Hawks" who had brought on the War of 1812, now becoming the most brilliant

spokesman of the ideas and interests of the South. There was

Henry Clay of Kentucky, another of the 1812 "War

Hawks," now emerging as the leading spokesman of an "American System" by which the federal government should try to harmonize the interests of all the sections and should tie the East and West together by roads and

canals and railroad lines.

Finally, there was General Jackson himself, uncompromising democrat and hero of the frontier.

All of these men except Calhoun, who was running for the vice presidency, were candidates for the presidency in 1824. So it is not surprising that none of them received enough votes in the electoral college to elect him. That meant of course

that the House of Representatives had to choose a president from the three men having the highest number of votes. Clay, who was fourth and so out of the race, decided to support Adams; and so, although Jackson had received more votes than Adams, the latter was declared elected—to the great disgust of the followers of the doughty General. As for Jackson himself, he resigned from the Senate in order to organize a country-wide campaign against the new president and in favor of his own election in 1828.

A Man with Many Enemies

The unfortunate Adams, elected by a minority and disliked by the West and South as a New Englander and by the new democ-



Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The lean and determined face of Andrew Jackson tells us something of his strong will and dauntless spirit. This was the man whose election to the presidency brought the frontier into power at Washington. We still talk about "Jacksonian democracy," meaning the sort of popular government he introduced.



In the Tennessee mountains life has not changed much since the days when Tennessee was the far frontier.

This picture was taken not very long ago; yet change the costumes a little and it might be in Jackson's day.

racy as a representative of the aristocratic old order, got help from no one and criticism from all. It was like an omen that during his term of office his father, Revolutionary hero and leader of the old Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson, also a hero of the Revolution and the founder of the old Republican party which was now going to pieces, both died on the same day—July 4, 1826. Thus the two old leaders breathed their last exactly fifty years from the day when they had signed the Declaration of Independence together. The old order was dead, and a new set of leaders and ideas was coming into power. In 1828 the new order rose in its might and swept Jackson into the presidency with a vote of almost two to one in the electoral college.

Jackson, the Commoner

There had been nothing like the bitterness of this campaign or the thoroughness of this revolution since 1800, when Jefferson became president. But Jefferson, in spite of his simplicity of manner and his democratic

notions, was yet a member of an old and aristocratic family and in himself a man of culture and refinement. Andrew Jackson, on the contrary, was a plain son of the soil, who had been reared in poverty, knew what it meant to work with his own hands, and had picked up only a scant education, no one quite knew where or how. He chewed tobacco, went about unshaved, and told unprintable stories. And his followers! It is said that after the inauguration ceremonies, a surging mob of worshipers overran the drawing rooms of the White House, upsetting punch bowls, climbing in muddy boots on damask chairs, and in their enthusiasm crushing the President himself so hard against the wall that he narrowly escaped injury. It reminded the aristocrats of stories they had read about the mobs of the French Revolution.

President Jackson had no mind to leave any stone unturned in his determination to capture the national government for the common people. It seemed to him that "the rich and well born" had had things their

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own way long enough. "To the victors belong the spoils," he believed, and now the people—by whom he meant of course his own followers—were at last the victors. And so quite calmly and openly, believing that he was doing what was best for the country, he and his government discharged a thousand

or so federal employees and put Jacksonians in their places. This was the origin of the

tution himself, the Supreme Court to the contrary notwithstanding.

As was to be expected in such troublous times and with so redoubtable a fighter at the head of the government, the eight years of Jackson's administration saw several exciting political battles. These were all very important in the long struggle among the different groups of the country—between the poorer people and the "money interests," between the manufacturing North and the cotton-growing South, between the settled East and the frontier West.

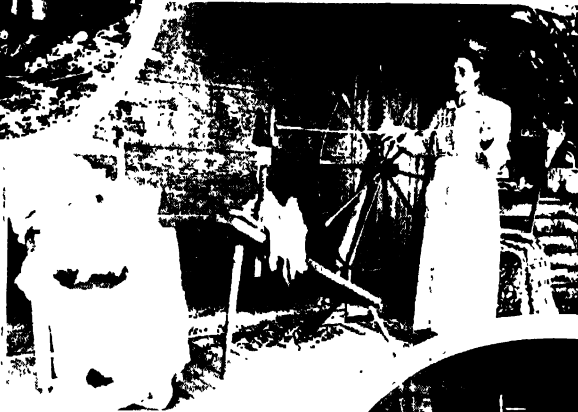
The first of these battles was over South Carolina's attempt to nullify the tariff law.

Toward the end of John Quincy Adams' administration a very high tariff had been passed—because the anti-tariff men thought that if they made the proposed law bad enough the tariff



Photo by Visual Education Service

The spinning wheel is still seen in the Tennessee mountains, as it was in every frontier cabin of the old days. The woman above is dyeing skeins of wool, to the right she is spinning, and below she is carding fleece.



"spoils system" of rewarding political followers with the places held by members of the defeated party.

No president has ever been more stubbornly independent than Jackson. In fact, so dictatorial was he that his opponents nicknamed him "King Andrew." One of his innovations was that, like many a real king, he took secret counsel with a group of favorites who were not necessarily in any way connected with his official cabinet. This inner circle of friends was called the "kitchen cabinet"; its members served him with the most admirable devotion. The President would listen to advice from his friends, but he took neither advice nor argument from anyone else. And he took orders from no man. He even claimed the right to interpret the Consti-

men would not vote for it; but the tariff men had voted for it anyway. This "tariff of abominations" was favorable to the manufacturing North and hateful to the agricultural South. Calhoun had written a lucid and logical "Exposition and Protest," in which he set forth clearly the doctrine that such sectional acts were tyrannical and unconstitutional, and that the final decision concerning them lay with the various states.

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Photo by W. J. Bloom

This pioneer family has chosen the site for its home, and the men are busy putting up a log cabin. Mean-

while the women cook over a camp fire, and use the covered wagon for a house.

But the South had hoped that Jackson would be on its side, and so had let the matter pass. Now it found that Jackson was not much interested in the tariff one way or the other, and was doing nothing about it. So the South began to mutter about nullification, as Kentucky had at the time of the Alien and Sedition laws, and as New England had at the time of the Embargo and the War of 1812.

The Question That Led to Civil War

The dispute as to whether any state could nullify—that is, simply disregard a federal law, involved the whole vexed question as to where the rights of the separate states ended and where the power of the Union began. That was the terrible question that finally led to the Civil War. In the midst of the excitement over the tariff (in 1830) there occurred in the Senate a very famous debate which presented the two sides of this question in sharp contrast. Robert Hayne of South Carolina upheld nullification very clearly and with a powerful historical argument. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts replied in what is perhaps the most famous speech ever made in Congress. He declared that the Union was a union of the *people* rather than of the states: "It is, Sir, the people's constitution, the people's government; made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people." These were words that had a pleasant sound in the

ears of Jacksonian democracy, even from the mouth of the leader of the New England capitalists. "While the Union lasts," the great orator went on, "we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil . . ." And he rose to a magnificent climax in which he saw on the one hand the horrors of civil war and on the other the glories of a united and prosperous republic—"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

It made a tremendous impression. People in the North and West forgot that New England had once come nearer secession than any Southern state ever had. They cared little whether the historical arguments of Hayne and Calhoun were better or worse than Webster's. They only felt a new and vast emotion of patriotism. This put the South under a great disadvantage in its attempt to keep its interests from being forgotten by the nation at large.

The Compromise Tariff

But the people of South Carolina felt that the tariff was ruining them. And, believing that it was quite within its rights, a state convention in 1832 declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void. It threatened secession if Congress attempted to enforce them within the borders of the state.

President Jackson, however, was not the man to allow such defiance of federal au-

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thority to pass. If he agreed with Webster in nothing else, he at least agreed with him in putting the Union above any state or party. At a Democratic banquet in 1830, when the toasts seemed to him to be too much flavored with nullification, he had cried, "Our federal Union: it *must* be preserved!" And now he intended to preserve it. In private conversation he threatened to hang to the nearest tree the first man he found attacking a federal agent; and in a public proclamation he announced that "their object is disunion, and disunion by armed force is treason."

In the end, Calhoun and Clay worked out a compromise tariff, the idea of nullification declined, and it was not necessary to hang anybody after all. But in this battle over the tariff, as in the fight over Missouri in 1820, North and South were but sharpening their weapons for the conflict over slavery which ended in the Civil War. That Jackson was helping to unite the West with the North in that conflict is a matter of great importance.

Another of the soldier-president's battles—or rather running fights—was with the Supreme Court. It was quite true that the old Federalist way of looking at things had found a last, and very powerful, line of defense in the federal courts. Chief Justice Marshall, appointed by President John Adams in 1801, had for a generation been quietly handing down decisions which not only strengthened the federal power—Jackson would not have objected to that—but also upheld the financial and economic ideas of Hamilton, the great Federalist. There was not, of course,

very much which the President could do to lessen the influence of the Court and its great Chief Justice. But in two or three matters he simply paid no attention to the decisions—each time ignoring them in order to put into effect some principle dear to the heart of the frontier, which he represented.

Frontiersmen hated the Indians, who were in their way, and had little patience with the government's feeble efforts to protect the red men from outrageous cruelty and injustice. The westward advance too often went arm in arm with the breaking of treaties and with other acts of oppression toward the first owners of the soil. President John Quincy Adams had tried to keep the state of Georgia from forcing the Cherokee Indians to migrate beyond the Mississippi when they had a treaty right to stay where they were. The Supreme Court had three times pronounced in favor of the Indians. But Jackson, the frontiersman, would not enforce its decision. And the Indians had to go.

Frontiersmen, too, hated and feared the "money interest" of the East—to whom they were usually in debt—and in this hatred they were joined by the common people of the East. Now it seemed to Jackson that the very inner sanctum of the money interests was the National Bank of the United States. He called it a "hydra of corruption." It did not matter to him that the Supreme Court had said such a Bank was constitutional; the Bank did not seem to him either constitutional or desirable, and he determined to smash it. He made his war on it the chief issue in his fight for reelection in 1832, and took his victory as a



Photo by the National Museum

The fine, strong face above is that of John Marshall, chief justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835. In the years following the War of 1812 he handed down a series of great decisions which did much to make the federal government strong, and to determine that many of the ideas of Hamilton's Federalists should live on after the coming of the democrats under Jefferson and Jackson. His is the greatest name in the history of American law.

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Photo by Kennedy & Co

The days of "Old Hickory" and of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were a politician's paradise. Everyone was interested in politics and ready to get excited over

them. It was a time of torchlight processions and of open-air meetings—like the one in our picture—and of enormous amounts of political and patriotic oratory.

command from the people to carry on the war. In defiance of Congress he removed the government deposits from the Bank and deposited them in "pet banks" in the various states. The National Bank was thus neatly starved to death—though it went on as a state bank under Pennsylvania.

Unfortunately, in this particular battle, the President was dealing with forces which he did not very well understand. He was not a good enough financier to know how to win the financial system of the country for the people without making tragic mistakes. Whether the war on the great Bank was a mistake or not is still a question, but the measures of the President to discourage paper money and speculators probably only made a bad matter worse. What happened was as follows:

Roads and canals and the new railways

were being built everywhere, and the great valley of the Mississippi was opening its lands and waterways invitingly. Everyone had wild ideas of "boom times," and everyone spent money wildly, especially for the cheap, rich lands on the frontier. State banks issued huge numbers of banknotes, which were simply paper money, for most of them did not have enough gold and silver on hand to pay for more than a tiny fraction of the banknotes they put out. The President, hoping to steady things by encouraging "sound money," told the officials of the United States Treasury to accept only gold and silver, or banknotes based on them, in payment for public lands. But the "wild cat" banks did not have the money. And when people began sending in all their paper to change it for coin, the bubble of speculation burst.

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By that time (1837) the imperious old soldier had left the White House, and Martin Van Buren occupied it in his stead. There was not very much that he could do about the situation. A new method of taking care of government money was devised. It was called the Independent-Treasury, or Subtreasury, System, and under it public money was not put in banks at all but in vaults owned by the government. But the panic and depression in the country went on.

It was a time of great suffering. Railroads lay half built, hundreds of banks failed, nine-tenths of the factories closed their doors. In New York and Philadelphia there were bread riots, the starving people breaking into warehouses for flour. It was several years before things swung slowly back to normal.

Of course this was not entirely the fault of the Jacksonians, though Jackson's policy may have brought the panic on a little sooner. But it naturally made good campaign talk. Jackson's immense personal popularity was no longer there to bring in the votes. The opposition, too, was learning to work together, although it was at first made up of all sorts of people who merely did not like the President. Now something very like the old division between Federalists and Republicans seemed to be coming about again. The Democrats were the natural descendants of Jefferson's Republicans—the party of home rule, of the common people, of the farmers and laborers. The other party now began to use the old English name of Whig.

The idea was that, like the English Whigs, they were fighting against a one-man rule, this time, of course, the rule of Jackson or his successor. But they were really the heirs of the old Federalists, the party of a strong

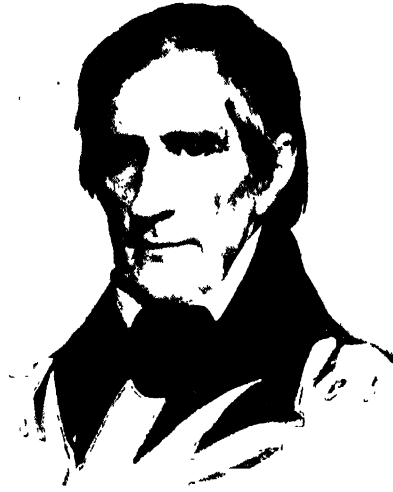
central government, of the richer people who had a "stake in society," of manufacturers and capitalists. They had made something of a showing in 1836 when Van Buren was elected. In 1840 they won the election.

They did it by taking to heart the lesson that Jackson and his coonskin followers had taught them—by going out after the votes of the common people. Jackson had been a military hero from the West. Very well,

they would nominate General William Henry Harrison, victor of the Indian battle of Tippecanoe (1811). The people seemed to like frontier poverty and homespun virtues very

well, they would make the campaign on the issue of log cabins and hard cider. So the campaign turned into a mad orgy of stump speeches, torchlight processions, flattery and free drinks, and cries of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!" Tyler was the vice presidential nominee. Practically nothing was said about issues. But the method was a great success, and Harrison and Tyler were overwhelmingly victorious.

It was clear that frontier democracy had come to stay. Something of dignity and straightforwardness had been lost, something of justice and equality had been won. At all events, the stage was set for the next act of the drama.



William Henry Harrison, who was swept into the presidency by the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign of 1840, had earned his nickname of "Tippecanoe" by a famous victory in an Indian war of 1811.

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Reading Unit

No. 13

ONE FLAG FROM OCEAN TO OCEAN

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Leisure-time Activities

PROJECT NO. 1: Read Harte's "The Luck of Roaring Camp."

PROJECT NO. 2: Read Hough's "The Covered Wagon."

Summary Statement

The roaring forties were all the name implies. Into this decade was crowded a narrow es-

cape from war with England, a war with Mexico, and a mad gold rush to California.

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Photo by Los Angeles Public Library

In 1542 Cabrillo, sailing under the Spanish flag, discovered and explored part of the California coast.



Photo by the Artist, David C. Lithgow

The Spanish priests planted Indian missions over all the Southwest. This is the first Mass at Monterey.



Photo by Los Angeles Public Library

It was decided that the first Spanish colonists at San Diego must return to Mexico unless the relief ship brought supplies by March 20 (1770). As if in answer to Father Serra's prayers, it arrived that very day.

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"Westward ho!" Across the wide, dusty plains wind the covered wagons in long procession. It is like noth-

ing else in history, this vast movement of land-hungry settlers, this swift filling up of the wilderness.

ONE FLAG *from* OCEAN to OCEAN

How the Stars and Stripes Were Carried West to California and the Pacific

IN THE "fabulous forties" the people of the United States were riding on the third and greatest of the waves of migration which carried the line of white settlements westward from ocean to ocean. The first of these waves had come after the French and Indian Wars, in the decades following 1763, and had filled the Tennessee and Kentucky country. An attempt on the part of the British government to stop it had been one of the grievances of the frontier against the mother country. The second great wave came after the War of 1812, and filled the central valley of the Mississippi. This third wave, during the thirties and forties, was to sweep across the plains and deserts west of the Mississippi and over the continental divide to the Pacific.

As usual, trappers and traders had been in the lead. As long before as 1811, John Jacob Astor had founded a trading post at Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia River in what is now the state of Washington, and his powerful American Fur Company was disputing control of the whole Oregon country with the great British Hudson Bay Company. Astor was one of the first of the

long line of financial leaders to make his millions out of the growing West.

At the same time, adventurous American sailing vessels were beating their way around the distant Horn and touching at Monterey and other ports in California. They brought beads, knives, gunpowder, pottery, cotton goods, and rum from New England, and bought furs in return. Then they struck out across the Pacific and sold their cargoes at fabulous gains in Canton, China. One shrewd Yankee, for example, sold in Canton for \$22,400 the otter skins that he had bought in California for two dollars' worth of cotton goods. The few Mexicans who came to live along this coast were picturesque enough in their wide, silk-lined hats, bright sashes, and gallant cloaks; but they were a thriftless lot, and would pay huge prices for a pair of Yankee-made shoes, "like as not," as one commentator puts it, "made of their own hides." The hides had thus journeyed twice around the Horn to be turned into boots and returned to the original owner of the cattle they were made from.

Meanwhile equally intrepid traders who preferred the perils of desert and mountain

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Photo by Paramount Pictures

It took many weeks to follow the Oregon Trail to the new lands of the far Northwest, and often the emi-

grants were overtaken by wintry weather on the journey. For in the high Rockies the cold comes early.

to hose of the sea were breaking into California from the east. In 1826 the fur trader Jedediah Smith made his way overland from St. Louis to San Gabriel, and then he spent ten years or so exploring California and opening up a passage between it and Oregon. In 1829 the famous Santa Fé Trail was opened. This was mainly a trade route, and ran across the desert from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fé, New Mexico.

The Settling of Texas

In Texas, on the other hand, nearly the first people across the border of the old Louisiana Purchase into Spanish territory were wealthy leaders of colonies who obtained huge grants of land from the Spanish or Mexican government and agreed to settle so many colonists "of good character and Catholic faith" there. How closely the conditions as to moral character and religious persuasion were observed is perhaps a question; but the colonists came. The result was that in the early thirties, a decade after the first of these grants to Americans, there were

already twenty thousand people in Texas—more than had come in all the three hundred years of Spanish rule before. And through the next fifteen or twenty years they continued to come.

To the north, too, the tide of migration had started in the wake of the traders. In Oregon, which at that time included what is now the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and British Columbia besides, the traders were followed by missionaries to the Indians. Among these Marcus Whitman and his wife Narcissa were very active in persuading settlers to follow them. By 1840 the great migration was well under way.

"Jumping Off" from Independence

The immigrants would gather at the little frontier town of Independence, on the edge of the great plains. Here they would form into companies, sometimes as many as fifty wagons together, elect leaders, and make their arrangements for guidance and defense before "jumping off." Then one morning the long train of wagons, covered with white

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canvas which gleamed in the sun and drawn by heavy, patient oxen, would wind slowly off across the prairie in a low-hanging cloud of dust. Armed men on horseback would ride on before it scouting, and others would herd the droves of cattle and other live stock behind. Women in homespun dresses and great sunbonnets would be sitting by the drivers or among the household goods stacked in the wagons. Children were everywhere, and many of the women had wee babies in their arms.

A Glimpse of the Western Prairies

The trail cut across the lonely prairies of what is now Nebraska, more or less along the River Platte. The prairie was alive with wild things. Little prairie dogs poked their noses from their holes, where they lived in odd companionship with blinking owls and spotted snakes. Deer and antelope ran fleetly before the hunters. Huge herds of bison, with their awkward shaggy manes and stumbling pace, stared at the intruders or thundered away in a cloud of dust at the approach of the hunters. Wolves howled about the camp at night or slunk across the horizon in the daylight. The prairies were also the home of fierce storms—of incredible winds and cold, blinding rains that arose with astonishing swiftness. But what the immigrants most dreaded was the prairie Indian. The warlike Sioux lived on these plains, and although supposedly at peace with the white men, they naturally resented this invasion of their country, and no one could

tell when the fierce war cry might ring out and a cloud of arrows bring havoc to the wagon train. If that happened, there was nothing for it but to wheel the wagons into a circle for defense, with the immigrants and as much of their live stock as possible inside, and behind this barricade meet arrows and firebrands with rifle shot.

Westward Ho!

After weeks of this sort of life, the immigrant train would reach the South Fork of the Platte. This river was shallow and muddy, and could usually be forded without the loss or ruin of too many animals and household treasures. Then, as the weary travelers came into Wyoming, there were the Rocky Mountains to be crossed, through the great Wyoming Pass—which saw as many pioneer trains as had the Cumberland Gap in the Alleghenies in the old days just before and after the Revolution. At the crude fur-trading station of Fort Laramie the immigrants could pick up a few supplies, and perhaps a bit of shrewd advice from some hardy trapper who lived a wild and solitary life among the mountains. At long last—if all went well—they would see the slow waters of the majestic Columbia, and find new labors and new prospects awaiting them in the woods and fertile valleys of Oregon. But it was work for stout hearts.

Nor did all the covered wagons go to Oregon. Some turned south for California, or sought that land by other routes. Stories of the most incredible hardships have come to us from

When the emigrants could not barricade themselves behind their wagons, Indian fighting on the plains was likely to be a matter of swift riding and shooting as one rode. This party is making for the timber with the redskins in hot pursuit.



Photo by City Art Museum, St. Louis

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Photo by E. B. Crocker Art Gallery

The Southwest still keeps many memorials of the old days when it belonged to Spain—beautiful old mission buildings, for example, and towns with melodious Spanish names. But the Spanish “seigneurs” are

gone, with their great estates and courtly manners and aristocratic ways. This picture is a glimpse into that vanished past—the Spanish fandango danced at some Spanish mansion in the wide wilderness of California.

these expeditions across an almost uncharted alkaline desert and through wild and frozen mountains. One party was caught (1846) by an early winter in the snow-filled fastnesses of the Rockies, where they must all have died of cold and starvation and sheer horror, had not a courageous party of nine men and six women struggled through to the settlements and brought the survivors help.

The Dream of Early Settlers

In this way the restless and land-hungry people overflowed the formal limits of the nation. What they wanted was just a chance to get on. As for the Indians, no one had ever very seriously considered them. And probably most of the settlers had little thought of what the great migration might mean to the United States as a nation or to any other nation. Yet the Oregon country was in dispute with Great Britain, and California, New Mexico, and Texas were definitely Mexican territory.

But when they were once in their new

homes, these American settlers certainly wanted to remain Americans. And as for the nation at large, there was stirring in it a vast romantic dream, born partly out of mere love of wealth and size and power, and partly out of that patriotic enthusiasm for the Union which had made the people take Webster's Reply to Hayne to their hearts. They had caught a vision of the Stars and Stripes flying over an unimaginably vast Republic—from the familiar shores of the thirteen original states to the distant and romantic headlands of the Pacific. They called it Manifest Destiny, which means a thing clearly intended from the beginning of the world.

Texas Wins Her Freedom

The first thing which happened in the working out of this golden dream was the rebellion of Texas from Mexico. Mexico had won her independence from Spain in 1821, but she was still weak and torn by continual revolutions, and completely unable



Photo by the Gerlach-Barklow Co.

In February, 1836, Santa Anna's army surrounded the fort of the Alamo, near San Antonio, and laid siege to the Texans within. Though outnumbered sixteen to one, the Texans held out eleven days. Even then they did not surrender, but fought desperately on till the

last of them lay dead. Davy Crockett, the frontier hero, died in this fight, with more than 160 others. Even the sick in the hospital were put to the sword by the victors. At the news of the tragedy the Texans raised the battle cry, "Remember the Alamo!"

to police—much less to settle—the wide lands of Texas and California. Feeling her weakness, in 1830 she took fright at the constant flow of American settlers across the Texas border, and forbade any more Americans to come. But it was too late. The population of Texas was already overwhelmingly American, and these Americans would have none of the new exclusion law. They declared their independence (1836), and made it good in a short, sharp military campaign. Santa Anna, the new Mexican president, marched against them; he killed the entire garrison of 183 men at the Alamo (ä'lä-mō), a mission building in San Antonio, and a little later shot 350 prisoners in cold blood. But that sort of thing only made matters worse for Mexico. The rest of the Texan army, under General Sam Houston (hūs'tōn), fell furi-

ously on the Mexicans at San Jacinto (săn jā-sin'tō), shouting "Remember the Alamo!" They swept everything before them, and even Santa Anna himself was taken prisoner. Then the Texans elected Houston president of the Republic of Texas, and petitioned Congress for admission to the Union.

The Problem of Annexing Texas

But nine years were to pass before the petition was accepted. This was not because of a lack of people who wanted to accept it. In fact, as far back as the administration of John Quincy Adams, Mexico had been offered a million dollars to give up Texas—which some Americans claimed should have been considered part of the old Louisiana Purchase anyway. At that time Mexico had refused to sell, and had thus lost both

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Texas and the million dollars. The trouble over admitting Texas now arose because she wanted to be admitted as a slave state, and by 1836 the anti-slavery sentiment was very strong in the North. Neither Jackson, who was president when Texas first asked admission, nor Van Buren, who succeeded him, thought best to offend the abolitionists—the people who were strongly against the spread of slavery, and who even wished to do away with it where it now existed. President Harrison, who was swept into office by the Whig victory of 1840, would probably not have been willing to offend them either. But he died only a few weeks after his inauguration, and Vice President Tyler, who then became president, was by no means a strict Whig. He broke with the real Whig leader, Henry Clay, over Clay's program to reestablish the Bank, increase the tariff, and otherwise follow out the old Hamiltonian financial system. Then he came out boldly for annexation.

The abolitionists (ăb'-ô-lî'shŭn-ĭst) were sure that it was a slaveholders' plot. "Let other calamities, if God so will, come on us," cried one of their leaders, William Ellery Channing, meaning they all could be endured except this; "but a nation devoting itself to the work of spreading and perpetuating slavery, stamps itself with a guilt and shame which gener-

ations may not be able to efface." It was quite true that the chief reason which Calhoun and other Southern leaders had for desiring to annex Texas was that it would give them more slave territory and hence more power in shaping national policies.

"Fifty-four Forty or Fight!"

But not all the senators who voted against Calhoun's treaty of annexation (1844) did so because they disliked slavery. Some hesitated because they knew the annexation would mean war with Mexico, or for other reasons. At all events the treaty failed. But only the next year it was victorious, after the Democrat James K. Polk, who fa-

This is General Sam Houston leading his Texans to victory against the Mexicans at San Jacinto (1836). After this victory Texas ran up her Lone Star flag as an independent republic, and elected Houston her president.

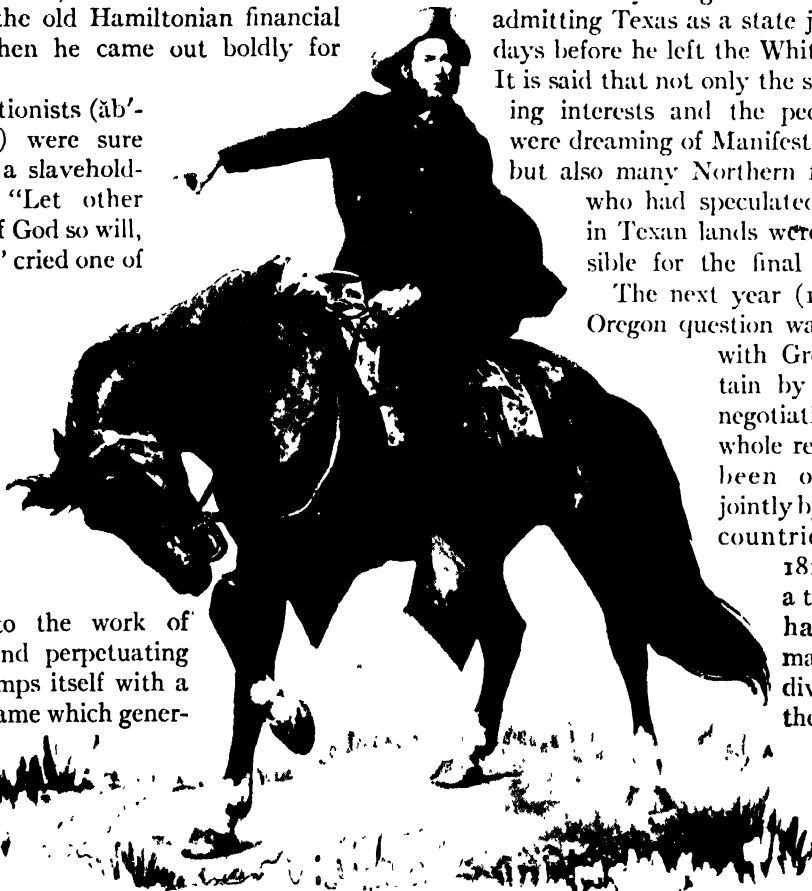


Photo by Wide World Photos

vored annexation, had been elected president by a narrow margin over the Whig Henry Clay, who had at the last minute decided to oppose it. President Tyler signed the resolution admitting Texas as a state just three days before he left the White House. It is said that not only the slaveholding interests and the people who were dreaming of Manifest Destiny, but also many Northern financiers who had speculated heavily in Texan lands were responsible for the final decision.

The next year (1846) the Oregon question was settled with Great Britain by peaceful negotiation. The whole region had been occupied jointly by the two countries since 1818. An attempt had been made at a division in the Web-

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Photo Copyright by St. Louis Public Museum

The last stand of the Mexicans against the invading American army was made here at Chapultepec, a castle fortress on a hill two miles or so from Mexico City. The American guns bombarded the castle dur-

ing all of September 12 (1847), and the next day the infantry attacked. There was desperate fighting, but in the end the fortress fell. Santa Anna fled, and General Scott entered Mexico City. The war was over.

ster-Ashburton Treaty (1842). But in the campaign of 1844 the Democrats had shouted for "the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas"—claiming that Oregon was American by virtue of discovery and settlement and that Texas was really a part of the Louisiana Purchase and so American too. And, with their eyes on the parallel of latitude on the northernmost limits of the Oregon territory, they had shouted "Fifty-four forty or fight!" Now, however, they were much more sane and much less quarrelsome. For Mexico was growling at the annexation of Texas to the south, and Great Britain was too formidable a foe for them to take her on at the same time with Mexico. So President Polk was very glad to sign a fair treaty which divided the disputed region about evenly by running the boundary where it still lies, along the forty-ninth parallel westward to the Pacific.

The dispute with Mexico was not so easily settled. Mexico had never recognized the independence of Texas, and was naturally insulted when the United States received the

rebellious state into the Union. Some say that President Polk would have been glad to keep the peace—now that the United States had Texas anyway—but that Mexico would not give in. Others say that Mexico, knowing her weakness, was willing to do a good deal to avoid war, but that President Polk—with his eye on California—was determined to fight. However that may be, fighting broke out in disputed territory along the north bank of the Rio Grande in April, 1846. And once war had begun between two such ill-matched foes as the weak and divided Mexico and the powerful United States, there could be but one end to it.

The War with Mexico

The conquest of California and New Mexico was already half accomplished. Americans had already been stirring with discontent in California, and American military leaders were already on the ground waiting for word of the outbreak of war. Mexico had never been able really to govern this huge territory inhabited largely by Americans, and now she lost it without a blow.

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Photo by Los Angeles Public Library

Here are a few of the forty-niners hopefully "panning gold." This was before the days when gold mining was done by machinery. Anyone could walk to the

nearest hill suspected of having a vein of gold and begin to dig, or to the nearest river whose sands might hold gold and wash it out of the "dirt."

That same summer (1846), Colonel S. W. Kearny (kär'n) marched across the desert from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and took Santa Fé without a battle. He then crossed the mountains and at San Diego joined Frémont and Stockton, who had completed the conquest of California. The Mexican soldiers made less trouble than deserts and mountains in this campaign.

The next February General Zachary Taylor, with a hard-fighting little army, won a victory over a much larger army at Buena Vista in the Rio Grande country. Later General Winfield Scott, at the head of ten thousand men, made straight for the center of Mexico proper, and in September raised the American flag over the capital, Mexico City itself.

However determined President Polk may have been to obtain California and New Mexico, he had never had any desire to shed more blood than necessary in the process. He had repeatedly offered peace if the Mexicans would relinquish their coveted lands.

Now (1848), with Mexico at his mercy, he resisted the efforts of some extremists who would have had the United States take the conquered country over bodily. He even insisted that Mexico be paid \$15,000,000 or more for the ceded territory. The main point was won—the great "Southwest" had become a part of the Union. And the Stars and Stripes now floated over a land that stretched from sea to sea.

This method of annexing land by war and conquest seemed wise to by no means all the people, however. The Mexican War had been denounced in the bitterest terms by both Whigs and abolitionists. The Whigs were not all of them wholly sincere; they did not like the war because it was being carried on by Democrats, and Democrats were getting any glory there was to be got out of it. To the abolitionists, on the other hand, it seemed only another move in the wicked plot against American liberty, of which the admission of Texas had been a lurid beginning. The



Photo by Commonwealth of Australia

This old prospector may have been "panning gold" for many a year, never giving up the hope that some day he will "strike it rich."

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taking of the Southwest seemed to them and other lovers of liberty and fair play to be mere highway robbery. "But you still say you want room for your people," cried Senator Thomas Corwin; "this has been the plea of every robber chief from Nimrod to the present hour." In his "Biglow Papers" James Russell Lowell told his opinion of the war in biting though humorous language which many people must have thought little less than treason.

The Rush for Gold

The thing was done, however; and soon it became hard to imagine how it could have been otherwise—as if it had been Manifest Destiny indeed.

And like an unexpected climax to an exciting melodrama, in the very year of the treaty gold was discovered in the Sacramento Valley, California!

As the news leaked out, there began such a rush of adventurous migration as even America had never seen before. Artisans dropped their tools, school-teachers closed their class books, ministers deserted their pulpits, farmers left their crops to rot in the fields. First from California itself, then from the East, at length even from far-off Europe, they came, mad with the lust for quickly-gotten wealth. And for the thousands that came, other thousands perished on the way. For all the routes to the "new El Dorado" (ĕl dô-ră'dô)—or "golden land"—were perilous ways. Some of the adventurers set out on the long and stormy trip around the Horn—too often in some crazy vessel that foundered in the first tempest. Others crossed the plague-infested Isthmus of Panama, and fought for room on the filthy little boats which plied north along the Pacific coast from there. Others chose to cross Mexico, taking the risks of cholera, scurvy, and highway robbers. Still others, fearing the perils of the sea, went overland. The branched off from the Oregon Trail somewhere in Idaho, or struggled across the plains and mountains by way of Salt Lake City, or braved the horrors of the alkaline desert on the Santa Fé Trail. Just as many a ship

went down without a trace, thousands of nameless graves lined the trails across the deserts and the plains.

The Forty-niners

Yet, lured on by stories of unimaginable riches, the people continued to come. Two men, it was said, had found \$17,000 worth of gold on a single small spot in a single week—and why should we not do as well? For this migration was frankly a great gamble—not for these men the longing for religious freedom which had founded Salem, Massachusetts, or the urge to till the good soil in loving labor which had populated Kentucky or Minnesota. These were for the most part rough and violent men—there were not many women among the "forty-niners"—brave, reckless, hard-drinking, quick on the trigger. They named their camps and settlements Slumgullion or Jack-ass Gulch or Roaring Camp. They dwelt in perpetual excitement, in perpetual hope or disappointment. They lived hard lives, in isolated and unorganized groups without homes or schools or churches. Little wonder that it finally grew necessary for the steadier men to organize what they called Vigilance Committees—to hang murderers and banish ballot-box stuffers without process of law. It was years before the regular police were able to control the situation.

The Growth of California

Meanwhile the population of California was growing so fast that by the autumn of 1849, with a population of some 85,000, she was already knocking at the door of the Union for admission as a state—while Congress was still discussing how to govern her as a territory. The gold rush had swept her ahead of the other communities of the new Far West in the race for statehood.

But what happened to California's application for statehood is another story. For the matter became involved in the quarrel over slavery. When the Stars and Stripes swept westward to the Pacific, they brought with them not only their protection but their problems as well.

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Reading Unit

No. 14

THE DIVIDED HOUSE OF NORTH AND SOUTH

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

The election of Lincoln was the impetus needed to cause the divided house of North and South

to totter and fall. The verbal war over slavery was followed by a war of steel.

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Above the bitterness and turmoil of the mid-nineteenth century in America there rises one great figure.

It is the figure of Abraham Lincoln, the gaunt Westerner who became a second "father of his country."



Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art

The DIVIDED HOUSE of NORTH and SOUTH

How Their Different Ways of Living and Thinking Brought the American People to Disunion and Civil War

A HOUSE divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

The speaker was a tall, lanky young lawyer-politician from Springfield, Illinois. The year was 1858. These fateful words were part of the speech in which Abraham Lincoln accepted the nomination for senator from the rather new Republican Party. Lincoln did not win that particular election; but, because of what happened afterward, these words of his about the divided house are still famous.

If we want to understand how the house of the Union came to be so hopelessly divided in the 1850's, we must know a little of how the people in the North, the South, and the West were living and thinking in those days. For the United States in the 1850's was a very different place from the United States in the time of the Revolutionary War, or even from the United States in the first part of the nineteenth century, before Jackson was elected president. And almost everything that was happening seemed to be making worse the old quarrel which had first

begun to look ugly at the time of the Missouri Compromise (1820).

In the older states of the North—New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania—the Industrial Revolution, which was already under way in 1820, had by now completely overturned the simple life of Revolutionary times. Great cities had arisen. New York, which was an overgrown village when Washington was inaugurated there, now had half a million people in it. Factories and mills had sprung up all over that part of the country, and thousands of farmers' sons and daughters had left the land to go to town and work in them. A steady stream of immigrants from Europe was pouring in to work in them too. These people were usually ignorant of American ways, and very poor. On the other hand, the business men were making huge fortunes out of these factories, or, like John Jacob Astor, out of the growing West.

Highways and canals, steamboats and railroads, were binding together the cities of the Northeast and carrying goods and people back and forth between it and the Mississippi Valley. The Erie Canal, as early as 1825, had connected New York harbor and the Great Lakes, and other canals had followed it. This was the time of the greatest glory

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Here is a shipload of immigrants who have just landed at New York sometime toward the latter part of the nineteenth century. The coming of these people had much to do with the changes going on in the country. Great numbers of them worked in the fac-

stories of the Northeast. Many drifted West and took up land. But very few of them went South, where the hard labor was done by slaves. The United States had some 4,136,175 foreign-born inhabitants in 1860, but only 118,585 of them lived south of the border states.

of the Mississippi steamboats. And yet the steamboats were not to be in their glory much longer—for the railroads had come to take the trade away from them. In 1830 a tiny steam engine had groaned and snorted for thirteen miles along the newly laid tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Now there were between twenty and twenty-five thousand miles of railroad track, a good deal of it in the Mississippi country. All this meant that the farmers in the Mississippi Valley could easily send their grain and pork East and receive in return the products of Eastern factories, and that the old Northeast and the northern part of the Mississippi country were being drawn closer together.

In the Days of Clipper Ships

Travel in ocean steamers was only just beginning, but tall, lovely clipper ships set sail from Salem and Boston and made their way around the Horn to distant China and Japan. In 1844 the first treaty was signed with China; it gave Americans special privileges meant to help trade. During the fifties

Commodore Matthew Perry boldly visited Japan—where no foreigner was supposed to go—and his visit led to treaties of friendship and commerce between Japan and the United States.

The Invention of the Telegraph

In 1844 Samuel Morse had received the first message over the telegraph which he had invented. This meant that news could now be flashed swiftly from one end of the country to the other; no longer did people have to wait weeks to hear how an election had come out or to be told of a fire or a strike in another city. Quick news meant better newspapers. Besides, the magician steam had touched the printing presses too, and they no longer had to be run by hand. This is the time of the rise of the first great daily papers. The New York "Sun" was launched in 1833, and sold for a penny—a daily paper at last with a thoroughly democratic price. The New York "Herald" was begun two years later; it was widely influential under the editorship of Horace Greeley, vigorous champion of the under-dog and au-

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thor of the saying "Go West, young man, go West."

The democracy to which the new papers spoke was very much alive, and seething with excitement and change. Most of the men could vote by now. And they were busy trying to educate themselves as befits citizens and freemen. All sorts of educational experiments were being tried. Several states worked out systems of education for everybody; these took a student as far as college at the public expense. In the newer states, where there were no old church schools or universities to fill the need, state universities and agricultural schools began to appear. It was Michigan which led the way in this.

The Beginning of American Literature

In the older parts of the country, where people had time to begin thinking about something except stump pulling and Indian raids, art and literature were becoming important. James Fenimore Cooper was writing about Uncas and Leatherstocking, Herman Melville about Moby Dick, the white whale, Washington Irving about Rip Van Winkle and Ichabod Crane.

In the mill towns of New England, no less than in such a city as New York, the population was by 1860 becoming an astonishing mixture of peoples. These six children belong to six different nationalities and two distinct races; they are all pupils at a single school in a mill town in New England.

In New England, Longfellow was telling of Hiawatha and Evangeline, Oliver Wendell Holmes of "the wonderful one-hoss shay," Thoreau of his cabin at Walden Pond, Hawthorne of the house of the seven gables and the scarlet letter. Lowell and Whittier were putting into verse what they thought about slavery and other matters. Emerson—the finest mind of them all—was writing his essays. Walt Whitman was beginning to compose his lusty poems about the wide and democratic America he so loved.

New Religions for Young America

Both in the East and on the frontier, all sorts of new religious ideas were abroad. In Boston and its suburbs the stern old Puritan creed had been largely forgotten, and the milder ideas of Unitarianism had been widely accepted. In the frontier country—which still included the Mississippi Valley—great numbers of Methodist and Baptist missionaries and revivalists were stirring the people. Many new sects had appeared. The most famous were the Mormons, or Latter Day Saints. Life was made so hard for these people that they finally migrated to



Photo by Visual Education Service

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Photo by Salt Lake City C. of C.

The Mormons journeyed more than a thousand miles in their long wagon train before they entered Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847. Their new home, as we can see, had a forbidding look; here were only dry hills

the wilds of Utah, where they built Salt Lake City, still the headquarters of their faith.

So many of the immigrants who came to the Eastern cities were Roman Catholics, mostly from Ireland, that the numbers of the church grew by leaps and bounds. Some of the Protestants were disturbed by this and formed a political party which was like a great secret society and which was largely anti-Catholic in purpose. When asked about their society, the members would reply "I know nothing," and so the society got the name of the Know-Nothing party.

Wage Slaves of the North

Reformers and believers in justice and democracy did not fail to see that these same immigrants were being very badly treated by the factory owners who employed so many of them. In fact the Southerners were fond of saying, with too much reason, that these "wage slaves" were worse off than the slaves of the South. Among the immigrants themselves were many strong leaders, some of them from Germany, where there had just been an unsuccessful revolution. These men brought with them ideas about justice to laboring men which naturally appealed to many Americans. So this is the time when labor unions began to organize, and when

covered with bunch grass and sagebrush. Yet thousands more followed in the wake of this advance guard. The beautiful city they built up in the desert is one of the great achievements of the pioneers.

the long war of strikes and boycotts began between capital and labor.

It was a time too when there was widespread belief in utopian (*û-tô'pî-ăn*) socialism—that is, in the swift coming of a perfectly just and democratic social order. Some groups of people gave their ideas a trial in small communities—for instance, at Brook Farm, in which Hawthorne and even Emerson were interested. But radical ideas seldom came to any very solid result at this time, because there was always the frontier. If people found that their wages were too low or their place too cramped, they were very likely just to pack up and go West.

The air was full of tumultuous democracy. Women as well as men began to talk about their rights. Many of them worked in the factories. Brought out of their homes at last, they began to whisper ominously, then to speak up in meeting. They demanded education, recognition in the law courts, even votes. At the first Women's Rights Convention (1848) they issued a Women's Declaration of Independence, modeled on the original one, which had taken account mostly of men. But much of the women's energy was turned toward the attempt to abolish slavery. This movement grew strong and clamorous; it seemed to many people absurd

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Photo by Keystone-Underwood

Here is a familiar sight at harvest time where cotton is king. The scene would have been much the same if one could have visited the field in the 1850's—only then, of course, the laborers would have been slaves instead of free men. It was not because they were any less kindly than the Northerners that the Southerners wanted to keep the Negroes enslaved. They thought that the Negroes, once they were freed, would

not work in the cotton fields. All Southerners were sure that the very life of their greatest industry depended on slavery. One of them went so far as to say that the "alliance between the Negroes and cotton" was "the strongest power in the world," and that "the peace and welfare of Christendom" depended on it. So in the "black belt"—the far South where cotton fields were widest—the slave population grew rapidly.

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to talk about democracy while men and women were still being bought and sold.

Black Slaves of the South

Now all these changes brought with them, of course, both good and ill, as changes do. No doubt things would have gone on quietly enough if only the changes had been the same all over the country. But the South had changed much less than the North had, and some of the changes that had come to it were in the opposite direction from that taken by the North. This travel in the opposite directions, which was well under way even at the time of the Missouri Compromise, was by 1850 clearly to be seen by every thoughtful person.

For there were no factories in the South, few growing cities, comparatively few small farms. There were practically no immigrants—no quarrel between capital and labor—much less stirring of all these new ideas about democracy and education and people's rights. In the South cotton was still king. And the great plantations could be profitably worked only by slaves. So the South was still a land of wide plantations, of great manor houses ruled by booted squires and exquisite ladies, of white acres of cotton fed by black slaves to the cotton gin. In fact, the acres were becoming ever wider and the black slaves more numerous. In this way the house had become divided—the Union, half slave and half free.

It seems, when you first think of it, as though the house might have been able to stand in that way, the two

halves each as it was. To be sure, the abolitionists (ăb'ô-lî'-shŭn-ĭst) were very much in earnest. Some of them, like William Lloyd Garrison, were so much in earnest that neither prisons nor angry mobs nor threats of death could make them keep still. But they were never strong enough to carry an election. All that most Northerners wanted was that no new states should be let in with slavery permitted in them. This was partly because they disliked slavery, and partly because free farmers and laborers did not want to have to compete with slave owners and slave labor.

New slave states, however, were exactly what the South felt it must have.

Cotton growing wears out the soil rather fast, and the big planters needed more land in the West. Even more they needed senators and representatives in Congress. For as much as they hated restrictions against slavery, they

hated just as much the high tariffs which the manufacturers loved, and the free Western lands which the small farmers and mechanics wanted. In fact everything which brought prosper-

ity to the rest of the country was likely to bring hardship to them. No wonder that they hated and feared to see the free states piling up greater and greater majority in Congress.

The Southern planters were nearly all Democrats—for Jackson's party had been the party of farmers, and planters are after all farmers, though on a grand scale. The great strength of numbers in the Democratic party came

from the laborers and small farmers of the North and West. What happened in

The slave civilization of the South was on the whole humane, as such things go; but too often a careless master or a cruel overseer made life very hard for the slaves in his power. Then the bravest or most desperate would run away, as this old man has done. Perhaps he will be passed safely along the Underground Railroad to Canada; and perhaps he will be tracked down and sent back to his master.

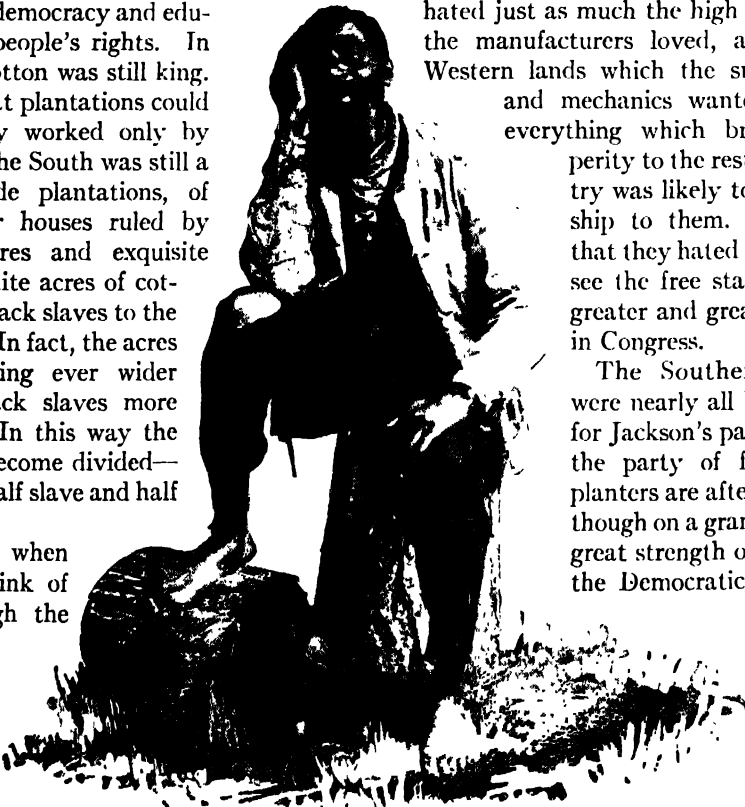


Photo by Keystone View Co.

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Photo by Charles L. Franck

In the great days of the Mississippi steamboats in the 1840's and 1850's—the docks at New Orleans presented many a busy scene such as this. For New

Orleans was the port toward which most of the river trade converged. It stood at the very entrance of the great river, connecting inland traffic with the sea.

the 1850's was that the Southern planters first got control of the Democratic party and tried to extend slavery by means of it, then in 1860 lost control of it and split off by themselves.

Clay, Calhoun, and Webster

The first of these party battles in Congress ended in another compromise. It was engineered by that veteran compromiser, Henry Clay, who had labored to keep the peace ever since the Missouri Compromise thirty years before. California was to be admitted as a free state; that would please the North. The rest of the land taken from Mexico was to be divided into the territories of Utah and New Mexico, and each was to decide for itself about slavery. The boundaries of the slave state Texas were to be cut down, to please the North; but the territory was to be paid for, to please the South. The slave trade, but not slavery itself, was to be forbidden in the District of Columbia. A new law was to be passed making it easier for Southern masters to get back runaway slaves; in this last the South gained an important point.

The aged Calhoun, who had so brilliantly led the Southern cause, was half dead with consumption; but the fire still smouldered in his eyes as his plea against the compromise was read by a colleague. Everyone was wondering what Webster, long Calhoun's great opponent from the North, would do. On the seventh of March (1850) he arose to speak. He had decided that the cause of the Union was so important that the North should accept the compromise. He said that there was no need of forbidding slavery in New Mexico, as the land was not suited to slave labor anyway. He even spoke for the fugitive slave law. It seemed to the abolitionists, even to those Northerners who believed only in "free soil"—that is, in keeping slavery out of all the territories—that he had betrayed them. The poet Whittier thought of him as of a fallen archangel: "So fallen, so lost!" But his speech saved Clay's compromise. And once more it looked as though the troublesome quarrel had been settled.

But it was not settled. The leaders of the South continued to look around for more territory. They wanted Cuba, and some



The last of the great political leaders of the years before the Civil War died in the early 1850's. Calhoun was the first to go, in March, 1850. Clay died on June

29, 1852, and Webster followed him in October of the same year. Our picture shows sorrowing friends gathered about the deathbed of Webster, the great Whig.

hot-heads among them almost managed to bring on a war with Spain to get it. Meanwhile in the North a vast system had developed for helping runaway slaves to get across the border into Canada. Along this "Underground Railroad" the fugitives were passed from station to station, from this man's house to that man's barn; guides were furnished them, wagons were ready to take them from one station to another, plans were made for them and carried through in their behalf. Nor did the new and stricter law stop the working of this illegal charity.

Then suddenly, in 1854, the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and the battle was on in dead earnest.

Stephen A. Douglas, a brilliant young Northern Democrat, introduced a measure called the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, providing that the territory west of Missouri should be divided into two parts, Kansas and Nebraska, and that each should decide for itself whether it would allow slavery. Now all this land lay north of the line of the Missouri Compromise. The bill meant, then, that slavery could go north of that line if the

people wanted it. It meant that the Southern Democrats were determined not to compromise any more, and that the Northern Democrats, like Douglas, were letting them have their way.

In Kansas there was actual civil war. Both sides were determined that the principle of "squatter sovereignty," or letting the settler decide, was going to mean what they wanted it to mean. In the North, Emigrant Aid Societies were formed to organize and finance groups of settlers. A prize would be given for the most stirring song about emigrating:

"Ho! brothers! come, brothers!

Hasten all with me,

We'll sing upon the Kansas plains

A song of liberty."

Bands of Missourians crossed the border to drive the Northerners out. The free-soil town of Lawrence was sacked and burned. Pro-slavery leaders were lynched at Pottawatomie Creek. Rival slavery and free-soil constitutions were set up. For years the country rang with the scandal of "bleeding

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Photo by the Artist, David C. Lathgow

John Brown was badly wounded at Harper's Ferry, and lay on a cot during his trial. Even his enemies admired his courage when he rose to deny that he was insane, and after the sentence to make a last speech.

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Kansas." The situation was growing tragic.

In 1856 the Democrats dared not renominate President Pierce, who had been able to do nothing with the Kansas situation, but chose James Buchanan instead. As for the old Whig party, which had elected Harrison and Tyler in 1840 and Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore in 1848, it had almost completely gone to pieces. The real contender for the election was the new Republican party, which nominated the Western explorer John C. Frémont on a free-soil platform. But Buchanan carried nearly all the slave states, with enough others to win the election. People thought that he was a "safe" man, and that perhaps now they could forget their troubles and enjoy in peace the great prosperity that was in the land.

It was the Supreme Court that made the next move. There had come before it the case of a Negro, Dred Scott, who claimed his freedom because he had been at one time taken into free territory. In giving his decision against Scott, Chief Justice Taney went out of his way to declare that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from any territory. Doubtless he did this with the praiseworthy design of settling the matter once and for all. But not even the great authority of the Supreme Court could convince the "free-soilers," and the famous Dred Scott Decision merely made the North more determined and more angry.

Exciting events came thick and fast. New trouble arose in Kansas, and led to a break between Douglas and President Buchanan. The next year (1858) the country was deeply stirred by a series of spirited debates between Douglas, as defender of "squatter sovereignty," and his rival for the senatorship from Illinois—Abraham Lincoln, the free-soil Republican who had accepted his nomination in the speech about the divided house. In 1859 violence broke out in another quarter than Kansas—at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, where a brave anti-slavery fanatic, John Brown, captured a United States arsenal. Brown was at once taken and executed for treason; but many of the more extreme anti-slavery people came to look on him as a sort of patron saint, and later the Union armies

went to battle singing of how "his soul goes marching on."

The Democrats tried twice to come to an agreement, but there was little left for the Northern and Southern wings of the party to agree on. So they split. The Southern extremists—"fire eaters," they were called--nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky; the Northerners and moderates nominated Douglas. Meanwhile the Republicans met at the still half-frontier town of Chicago, and, instead of splitting, managed to effect a combination of what was left of the Whigs with the free-soilers. They did this by declaring for a high tariff to please the Whigs and for free Western lands to please the farmers and poor people; they also declared against abolition, but for free soil in the territories. Amid wild scenes of excitement and enthusiasm they nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency.

The only one of the candidates who could possibly be thought of as standing for disunion was Breckinridge. None of them wanted to let the desire of doing away with slavery lead to disunion. One large party, in fact, came into being for the express purpose of furnishing a platform which said nothing about slavery at all, and merely declared its devotion to the Union. This Constitutional Union Party, which nominated John Bell of Tennessee, actually carried some of the border states.

Yet as a result of the election disunion came. None of the candidates received anywhere near a majority of the popular votes--there were too many of them in the field for that. But with the Democrats divided as they were, Lincoln gained a majority of the votes in the Electoral College, and became the president-elect.

This was too much for the "fire eaters." Before the fourth of March, 1861, when the new president took office, South Carolina had seceded, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and Texas had followed her, and Jefferson Davis had been elected president of the "Confederate States of America."

It looked as though nothing could now keep the divided house from falling.

The HISTORY of the UNITED STATES

Reading Unit

No. 15

WHEN BROTHER FOUGHT WITH BROTHER

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

Superior equipment, resources, and means of communication, a larger population and the daunt-

less spirit of a great leader brought victory to the North and the preservation of the Union.

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Photo by Keystone View Co.

When Grant and Lee faced each other at Petersburg in 1864-65 the armies dug themselves in somewhat as

did the soldiers on the western front during the World War. Here is a glimpse of the Union trenches.



Photo by Keystone View Co.

Another photograph showing the life of the common soldier. A wounded man has been found in a deserted camp.

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In these charging cavalrymen from the Grant Memorial at Washington we may see all the tragic heroism—North and South—of the years of the Civil War.



Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art

WHEN BROTHER FOUGHT *with* BROTHER

Of the Four Tragic Years of War between the North and the South, and of the Ending of It All

IN A certain story about the Civil War it is said of the border state Kentucky that in 1861 she drew with each hand a sword and prepared to plunge them both in her own breast. Those dark years were darkest of all perhaps for the border states, because they hardly knew which side they were fighting on, and many a brother said good-by to brother as they left home for opposing camps—praying only that they might not next meet on the field of battle. But in a larger sense the words about the two swords may very well stand for the whole of that tragic and unnatural war. For in it Americans turned fiercely upon each other—as it were upon themselves—and for four long years the land was full of hatred and misery and wounds and death.

But between the election of the "Black Republican" Lincoln in November, 1860, and his inauguration in March, 1861—while state after state was seceding from the

Union—there were four months more of frenzied talk. Most people in the North had long ago persuaded themselves that the Union was perpetual and that to try to withdraw was rebellion. Most people in the South had long ago persuaded themselves that a state had a perfect right to withdraw from the Union if it felt that it could do better outside. Now seven of the Southern states had acted on their theory. What was the North going to do about it?

The North did not know. Many Northerners felt that whether secession was legal or not, the only thing to do was to let the discontented states depart in peace. Others were determined that they should stay, even if it meant war. Others were still desperately hoping for more compromises.

But the matter was past compromise. It was suggested that the Missouri Compromise line be extended to the Pacific, but Lincoln had pledged himself to freedom in the terri-

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Photo by Underwood & Underwood

No president ever arrived for his inauguration facing a harder task than Lincoln's in 1861. As the years

drag on, his face will sadden under the famous tall hat, his shoulders stoop under the famous shawl.

stories and would not agree. On the other hand, the Republicans were willing to pass a Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution which should forbid the federal government to touch the South's "peculiar institution" in any state. This amendment had already

been ratified by two states when the war broke out. But when a Thirteenth Amendment was really adopted, after the war, it was not to legalize slavery but to forbid it forever.

Meanwhile the new President had at last

been inaugurated. Tall and gaunt, already careworn, he arose before the people to tell them how he would meet the terrible responsibility they had put upon him. He said clearly that he believed the Union to be perpetual and that he intended to hold federal property in all the states and to collect federal taxes. Yet he begged the South not to take this as a threat; he would do nothing beyond what he must do to carry out his oath of office. "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen," he added, "and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it." It was an offered hand of friendship and compromise; but it did not mean that the seceding states were to be allowed to depart in peace.

The President had said that he would not give up the federal forts and other property in the South. Now Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, was being held by Major Anderson of the United States Army. President Buchanan had tried to send food to him and his soldiers, but the ship had been stopped by fire from Confederate guns. Lincoln decided to try again to send food, and wrote to the governor of South Carolina that he was going to do so. The South Carolinians, however, were sure that he intended to send more soldiers, too, and demanded the surrender of the fort. This was refused. Then before dawn on April 12, 1861, a shell screamed across Charleston Harbor and burst above the fort. Two days later Fort Sumter lay in flaming ruins, and Major Anderson was saluting the

shot-riddled flag as he marched out to surrender his garrison. The war had begun.

The next day (April 15) President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to enforce the laws of the United States. The eight slave states which had not seceded had now to make the great decision. Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee threw in their lot with the Confederacy. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—on the border between the sections and pulled desperately both ways—wavered but did not formally secede. Certain counties in western Virginia, too, were so strongly Unionist that they broke away from the mother state and after a while became the new state of West Virginia. So the two sections faced each other squarely at last.

Lincoln had always hated slavery, and it is fitting that he should have been the one to earn the title of "the Great Emancipator." In this statue the kneeling Negro represents all the slaves whose freedom was proclaimed on January 1, 1863.

As for the North, the news of Sumter had run like wildfire from East to West. Gone, at least for the moment, was all

thought of letting the Union break up peacefully. As Artemus Ward put it with humorous earnestness, "the minute you fire a gun at the piece of drygoods called the Star-Spangled Banner the North gits up and rises en massy, in defense of that banner." Stephen A.

Douglas, the leader of the Northern Democrats, hurried to the White House to pledge support to the man who had defeated him for president. All the free states responded generously to the call for men.

And all over the land began the marching of armies. Raw country youths from Indiana and little clerks from New York, frontiersmen from Kansas and the educated sons of old Boston—they marched singing:

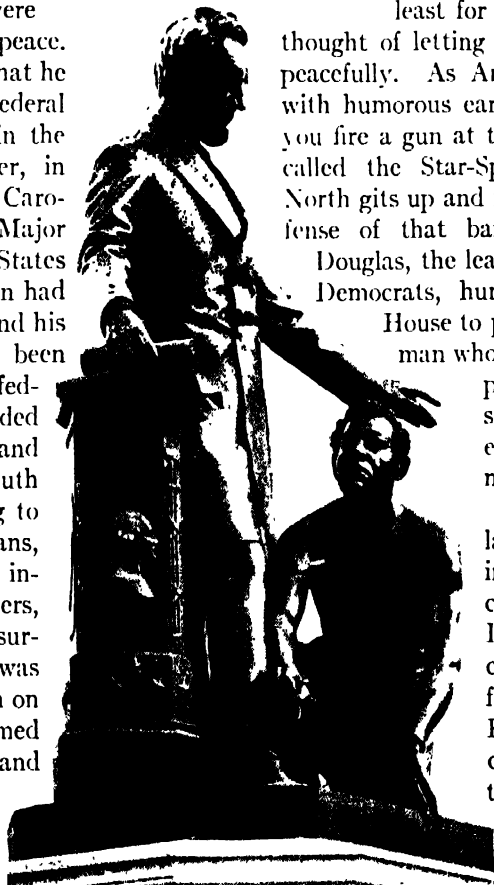


Photo by Leet Bros.

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Photo by Underwood & Underwood

All the sorry business of slavery and bitter quarrels and agonizing war dated back to this first shipload

of slaves landed at Jamestown in 1619. The wrong then begun brought its own punishment.

"We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more,
From Mississippi's winding stream and
from New England's shore."

And from the cotton plantations of Texas
and Mississippi, from the Tennessee and
Carolina hills, from the fair fields of the Old

Dominion, with their soft Southern drawl
and their terrible "rebel yell," they came
singing:

"For Dixie land we'll take our stand,
To live and die for Dixie!"

The armies of the North marched in dapper
blue under the Stars and Stripes. The armies

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Photo by Confederate Memorial Institute

This painting in the Confederate Memorial Institute at Richmond shows Lee and many of the Confederate generals who supported him. Lee is in the center, on

his war horse, Traveler. To the right are Longstreet, Johnston, Pickett, Beauregard, and Stuart. To the left of Lee are Hill, F. Lee, and "Stonewall" Jackson.

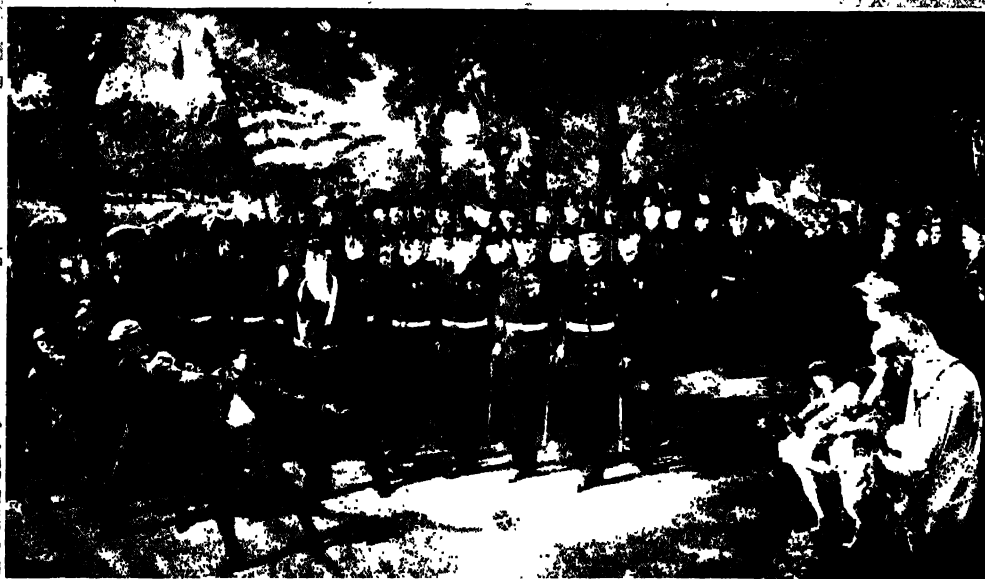


Photo by the National Museum

Many of the "boys in blue" were literally only boys when they marched to war, but when in after years they marched on Fourth of July or Memorial Day, they

were boys no longer. Gradually the ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic were thinned. To-day it marches only in the memories of those who once cheered it.

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of the South marched under the Stars and Bars in neutral gray.

From the first the odds were uneven. Somebody has said that the South was fighting against the census returns. There were about twenty-two million people in the North as compared with only about nine million in the South, and between a third and a half of the nine million were slaves. Besides, most of the things needed to live on and fight with—iron and steel for weapons, textiles for clothing—were centered in the North, and most of the foreign trade was there. The North was richer, and the Northern government was strong and old instead of new and untried. But the Southerners felt that their cotton would prove necessary to the world. Then, too, they were a more out-of-door people and took more naturally to fighting. After all, many of them were descended from the gallant Cavaliers of the days of Charles the First. Some of the best military men were on their side—including the great Virginian, Robert E. Lee, to whom President Lincoln had offered the command of the United States Army, and who proved to be the greatest military genius of the war. Most important of all, perhaps, was the fact that a war to force the South to return to the Union would be pretty sure to be fought mostly on Southern soil; and while that meant much more suffering for the South, it meant too that the Southern armies would be on familiar and friendly ground.

Europe's Hands-off Policy

The Confederacy hoped, too, to persuade European powers to recognize its independence and to send it aid. France and Great Britain were dependent on Southern cotton,

and the upper classes in both countries were sympathetic with the Southern aristocracy. But in the end neither France nor England quite came to the point of recognizing the Confederacy, since that would have meant war with the United States. Besides, there was strong sympathy with the Federal cause among the poorer people in England, even among those who were thrown out of work by the cutting off of the supply of cotton from the Confederacy, for they felt that the North stood for free labor as against slavery.

The reason for the cutting off of the supply of cotton was the Federal blockade. About the first thing the North did was to close all the ports of the Confederacy, and since the Confederacy had no navy except an occasional daring blockade runner, very little could get in or out. Bravely the Southern people set themselves to do without what they could not grow or make themselves. Aristocratic ladies learned to use the old-fashioned spinning wheel and

loom, and wore homespun like the poorest pioneers. They made coffee out of dried sweet potatoes and tore up fine household linen to make dressings for the soldiers' wounds. But long before the end there was not enough for either soldiers or civilians to wear or to eat. "Hey, Yank, give us those shoes," they would say to a prisoner; and many times an advancing Confederate army supplied itself with food or ammunition from captured stores.

Confederate agents managed to run the blockade to plead their cause at European courts. Once two of them almost brought on a war between the Federal government and England in a way they were not planning at all. These men, Mason and Slidell (slī-dēl'), were forcibly taken off the British boat "Trent" by a rash Federal Navy officer.



Photo by Keystone View Co

With the Civil War we begin to get into the days of photographs, and need no longer depend on imagination or a painter's skill to know what great men looked like. Here, for instance, is a photograph of President Lincoln visiting the headquarters of General McClellan when McClellan was commander of the Army of the Potomac.

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Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

Several important campaigns of the Civil War were fought up and down the Shenandoah Valley in northern Virginia, particularly around Winchester. An

especially fierce battle took place near Winchester in September, 1864. Sheridan's Union cavalry charged and literally rode over a Confederate battery.

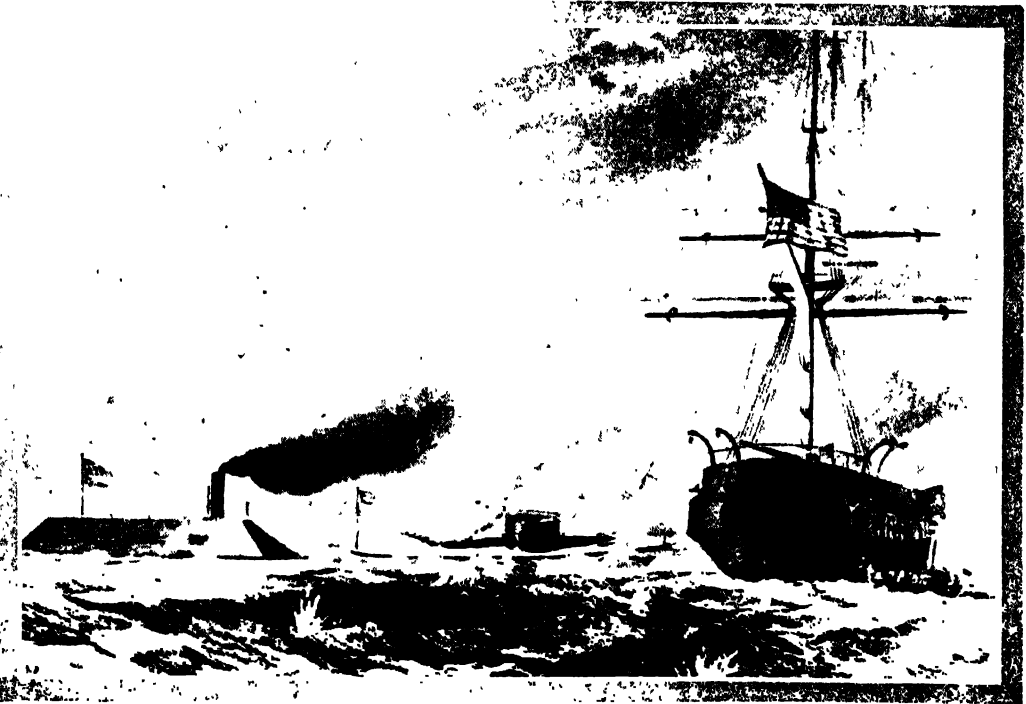


Photo by the National Museum

The Confederate "Merrimack" was a new kind of war vessel—with armor and a deadly ram for sinking frigates. The Union "Monitor" looked "like a cheese-

box on a raft," but its cheesebox was a gun turret, and its sides were heavily armored. The fight of these two in Chesapeake Bay (1862) is famous.

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Great Britain was of course furious—just as the United States had been furious at similar search and seizure by British boats before the War of 1812. But though the angry North was ready to cheer for the deed, President Lincoln saw that the only thing to do was to tell England that the government did not approve of it and to let the men go. This was in November, 1861.

Meanwhile the fighting had got well under way on land. There were three things which the Federal armies tried to do. They tried to march south to take Richmond, which had been made the Confederate capital; to clear the Confederates out of Kentucky and Tennessee and then strike at Georgia; and to cut the Confederacy in two by getting possession of the Mississippi River. The Confederates on their part tried to stop all these movements and to strike north toward Washington.

The Battle of Bull Run

Nothing much happened in the summer of 1861 except the Battle of Bull Run, in northern Virginia, not so very far from Washington. This battle, according to the North, was to end with "the rebellion crushed by a single blow"—but it actually did end with the defeated Union soldiers in full flight. Gone was the dream of a short and easy war, and both sides settled down for a hard struggle. At this battle the Confederate general, Jackson, won the nickname given him by his adoring countrymen. "Look at

Jackson standing there firm as a stone wall!" someone had cried; and ever after he was known as Stonewall Jackson.

During the summer of 1862 there was heavy fighting East and West, with the scales tipping slowly in favor of the Confederacy. General McClellan had built up

a great Federal army on the Potomac, and in early summer fought his way down toward Richmond. But he let himself be outgeneraled by Jackson and overawed by Lee, and withdrew when the city was almost in his grasp. He was removed for a time from command, but his successor could not stand against the brilliant generalship of Lee and his lieutenants, and in the East the Union cause looked rather dark.

In the West the Federal army and navy were cooper-

ating in an attempt to conquer the Mississippi River. General Ulysses S. Grant took Fort Henry and Fort Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and in a terrific two-day battle defeated the gallant Confederate General Johnston at Shiloh, in Tennessee. Other Union forces fought down the river as far as Vicksburg, in Mississippi. The Federal naval commander, Captain David G. Farragut, in a spectacular battle captured New Orleans and opened the river as far north as Port Hudson, in northern Louisiana. But there were still 150 miles of river country between Port Hudson and Vicksburg which the Southerners could use as a bridge be-

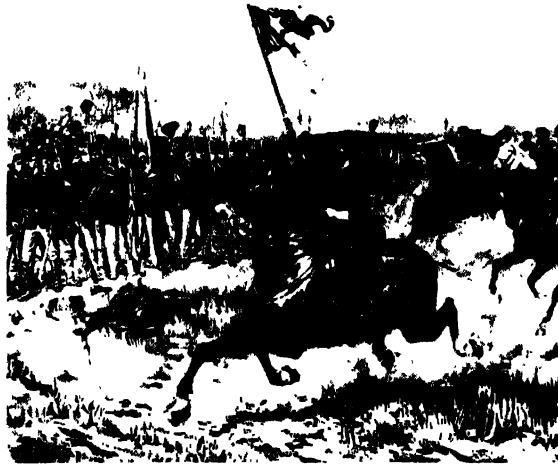


Photo by Visual Education Service

There is scarcely an incident of the Civil War more famous than General Sheridan's ride from Winchester to Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864—to save the day for the Union. It is a stirring tale:

"Up from the south at break of day,
The affrighted air with a shudder bore,
Like a herald in haste to the chieftain's door,
The terrible grumble, and rumble, and roar,
Telling the battle was on once more,
And Sheridan twenty miles away."

As he rode madly toward the battle, Sheridan met hundreds of his men fleeing in disordered defeat. But by sheer force of courage and personal power he turned them back—to victory.

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Photo by Keystone View Co.

In July, 1862, the Federal government decided that even though captured Confederate soldiers were theoretically "rebels," it would have to treat them as honorable prisoners of war. So a regular system of exchange was set up, though there was about a year

during which no exchanges were made. This picture shows Union prisoners and Confederate soldiers playing baseball in a Southern camp. In spite of the bitterness, there was many an incident of individual friendliness between the two sides.



Photo by Keystone View Co.

This photograph shows General Grant, seated at the left, with his staff about him. It was Grant's soldier-ship and stubborn determination to win which broke

the Confederate defense at last. First he took Vicksburg, and thus opened the Mississippi; then, transferred to the East, he fought his way to Richmond.

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Photo by Visual Education Service

One of the chief aims of the Federal forces was to get control of the Mississippi. Early in 1862 the Federals took Forts Henry and Donelson in the Tennessee Valley, won the battle of Shiloh, and were bombarding the fortifications of Island Number Ten in the Missis-

sippi. Here the stout, squat armored gunboats helped them, as shown above. Two of them ran the gauntlet of the batteries on the island and slipped by to the Southern side so that they could help transport the Federal soldiers across the river. Finally the fort fell.

tween the eastern and western parts of the Confederacy.

The hearts of the men in gray were full of hope. They launched a great triple offensive on all three fronts. It was checked, but not decisively. McClellan, again in command of the Army of the Potomac, won a costly victory against Lee on Antietam (ăn-tě'tăm) Creek, but as usual did not follow it up. And the rash General Burnside took over his command only to suffer a terrible defeat at Fredericksburg (December, 1862).

The Northern Copperheads

A deep discouragement had settled upon the North. Enlistments had fallen off and thousands were deserting from the Union armies. The Federal government had decided—as had the Confederate also—to fill out the ranks by conscription or draft. In July, 1863, the resistance to the draft in the North was so violent that in New York City there was rioting that lasted for three days

and cost a thousand lives. The “Copperheads,” or Southern sympathizers, talked louder and louder, and Lincoln was given powers almost like those of a czar to silence them and stop their activities. Even those who approved of the war began to ask whether all this spending of blood and treasure was worth while. “Defeat, debt, taxation, and sepulchers—these are your only trophies,” cried the leader of those who wanted peace.

Yet in one way the air had been cleared a little. This quarrel had first arisen out of slavery, and many a kindly mother in the North must have felt less grieved to send her son to war because she believed he would be fighting against that evil thing. On the other hand, there were still four slave states in the Union, and if the others were forced to come back, there was nothing to keep them from bringing slavery back with them. It made the whole issue seem badly confused.

President Lincoln loved the Union more

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than he hated slavery, but he had at last come to believe that the Union could be best served by freeing the slaves. The Southern armies used Negroes as helpers, and the Northerners had declared them contraband of war—that is, military supplies which may be seized by an enemy. Slaves so seized or escaping to the Union lines were set free. Finally the President determined to free all

wheat fields under a withering fire from boys in gray or blue. Figures in blue or gray still fell crumpled on the field or lay maimed or dying in the hospitals. In the White House, the President's gaunt figure became gaunter, the lines on his face deeper; but he would not give in.

In June, 1863, General Lee led a veteran army north on a second great Confederate



Photo by Gramstorff Bros.

Sherman's army is here shown marching "from Atlanta to the sea." The war had now been going on so long that people lived in an atmosphere of violence and bitter hate. The federal army left behind it a wide swath of ruin. This happened partly because the

troops got rather out of hand, and partly because it was Sherman's policy. For he believed it wiser and even kinder to destroy crops, railroads, bridges, and houses in order that the war might be soon over, rather than to spare the foe and let the sacrifice of lives go on.

the slaves in the Confederacy as a war measure. He announced, just after the dubious Union victory at Antietam, that slaves in all states which had not returned to the Union by January 1, 1863, should be free; and on New Year's Day he published the famous Proclamation of Emancipation. Even then, to be sure, slavery still stood in the loyal border states. Yet before long that would take care of itself.

The Famous Battle of Gettysburg

Meanwhile the war dragged on. Men still tramped wearily through the rain and slept by their rifles in the mud. Boys in blue or gray still stalked through woods or across

offensive. It was the high-water mark of Southern hopes. General Meade, now in command of the Army of the Potomac, met him in a terrific three-day battle (July 1-3) at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania. The war rose to a dramatic climax on the third day of this battle, when the gray lines of General Pickett's division swept heroically up Cemetery Ridge against the Union breastworks. It was one of the most gallant charges in history; but the Union guns were a wall of fire, and it failed.

It failed, and the invasion failed, and from then on the men in gray were fighting for a failing cause. Only two days after Pickett's charge, Vicksburg fell to Grant and Sherman

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Photo by the Wadsworth Athenaeum

Farragut went into the battle at Mobile (1864) lashed to the mainmast of the Federal frigate "Hartford." At the entrance of the bay the "Tecumseh" went down, struck by a Confederate mine. Undaunted, Farragut ordered the fleet to advance. The Confederate armored ram "Tennessee," under Buchanan—as gallant

a boat under as gallant a commander as the "Hartford"—tried to ram Farragut's boat, but the "Hartford" avoided her and the two boats lay side by side firing point-blank at each other, as shown above. This was only one incident in the dramatic fight by which the Confederacy lost its last fort on the Gulf of Mexico.

in the West. Grant had approached it through an almost impassable wilderness, bombarded it till the citizens were beginning to feel at home in the caves where they took refuge, and besieged it till there was nothing left to eat and the garrison surrendered. "The Father of Waters," cried Lincoln joyfully, "goes again unvexed to the sea." After that the Federal generals began a policy of pressing in upon the Confederacy from all sides at once; and in the end they strangled it.

Sherman's March to the Sea

But there were many more months of fighting before that happened. First Grant brought his victorious army to Tennessee to join General Thomas, called "the Rock of Chickamauga" because, like Stonewall Jackson, he had proved so difficult to move. Then Grant, now in command of the western armies, swept the Confederates beyond Chattanooga across the border into Georgia. The next year Sherman carried the movement forward, took Atlanta, and set off across the

rich heart of the Confederacy to Savannah, "marching through Georgia" with no army to oppose him. When a cry went up against the burning buildings and ruined crops, he said simply, "War is hell." He presented Savannah to the President as a Christmas present (1864).

Grant Is Made Commander in Chief

Meanwhile Grant, called East and made commander in chief, under the President, of the Federal armies, moved again against Richmond. Grant was a forthright and obstinate man. He knew that the North had three men to the South's two, and he deliberately started to wear the Confederate army down. During the summer of 1864 he fought doggedly through the Wilderness between the Rapidan (răp'i-dăn') and James Rivers. In forty days he lost 55,000 men, but not even that fearful slaughter could stop his advance. He had said, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." At least no one could accuse him,

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as McClellan had been accused, of being timid.

In the midst of this summer and autumn, heavy with the tidings of defeats and victories and heart-breaking losses, the North went through the excitement and bitterness of a presidential campaign. The Democrats ran McClellan on a platform which declared the war to be a failure, and they rolled up a popular vote within 400,000 of Lincoln's. But Sherman's victory at Atlanta, and the brilliant exploit of Farragut in capturing Mobile, Alabama, the last Confederate stronghold on the Gulf of Mexico, saved the day for the Republicans. The war would go on.

It would go on, but, mercifully, not much longer. In the month of Lincoln's second inauguration (March, 1865) Grant took up his advance against Richmond, and on April 2 the city fell. On April 7, Grant wrote to Lee, "General—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia." And Lee sorrowfully agreed to meet and discuss terms of surrender.

The wonder is that the South had held out so long. The paper money of the Confederacy had become so worthless that flour was selling in Richmond for \$1,000 a barrel and coffee for \$40 a pound. In spite of their homespun dresses and sweet-potato coffee, the women of the Confederacy could no longer feed or clothe themselves or their households. The army was half-starved and in rags. And while they knew that they had for many months been fighting with their backs against the wall, they knew also that behind the armies of the North were men and money and supplies still untouched. All Americans must cherish as a precious heritage the memory of the high-hearted courage and devotion of the South in those bitter days.

Now (April 9) their great and beloved leader was to meet the Union General at Appomattox (äp'ô-mät'ûks) Courthouse to discuss terms of surrender. And, to his everlasting honor and that of the Union cause, Grant proved as worthy in victory as Lee was in defeat. Clad as usual in a worn uni-

form, unbuttoned and splashed with mud, the Union commander sat at a table writing out the terms of surrender. The Confederate Army was to be disbanded and arms and supplies were to be given up. Grant looked up at Lee, sitting straight, white-haired, and dignified in his dapper gray. His eye lighted on Lee's handsome sword, and he added that the side arms of the officers need not be surrendered. The cavalymen were to keep their horses too—to help with the spring plowing. Lee thanked him. "It will be very gratifying and do much toward conciliating our people," he said. Then he rode back to the Confederate lines on his good gray horse, and many eyes were wet as he said good-by to his men.

But there was still to be a tragic ending to this tragic play. With President Lincoln more than with any other one man it lay to see that the generosity which had been shown by Grant the soldier should be matched by the government of the victorious Union. "With malice toward none, with charity to all," he had urged his countrymen in his second inaugural, "Let us . . . bind up the nation's wounds. . . ." He had already worked out a generous plan for the reunited country. But we shall never know how far he could have prevailed on Congress to carry it out. For on the night of April 14, 1865, less than a week after the surrender, he was shot by a half-crazed actor named Booth as he sat in a box at Ford's Theatre in Washington. As he lay dead it was said of him: "Now he belongs to the ages."

So even in the North the joy of victory and peace was turned to mourning. Three hundred and sixty thousand Union soldiers lay dead, and two hundred and fifty thousand Confederates. Something like five billion dollars had been spent on the war, North and South, and a great part of the land now lay in ruins. If all the slaves had been bought and paid for it would have cost far less than this, even in money alone. Now the two swords were sheathed at last, the Union was saved, and the slaves were free. But even yet not all the price in suffering and bitterness had been paid.

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Reading Unit No. 16

BINDING UP THE NATION'S WOUNDS

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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At Gettysburg is this memorial to Lincoln, the man who should have been the nation's chief physician in the dark days of her bitter sickness after the Civil War.

It was at Gettysburg that Lincoln uttered that lofty American ideal: "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."



Photo by Gettysburg G. of C.

BINDING UP *the* NATION'S WOUNDS

Of the Slow and Painful Process of Recovery after the Civil War

WHEN President Lincoln had spoken, in his Second Inaugural Address, of binding up the nation's wounds as soon as the guns should be silenced at last, he had supposed of course that he himself would have to be the nation's chief physician. Now the guns were silent. But the chief physician was dead. Humbly, realizing how hard a task lay before him, Vice President Andrew Johnson had taken the oath of office as president.

That was in April, 1865. Three years and a month later, President Johnson was on trial before an unfriendly Senate on a foolish charge of "high crimes and misdemeanors." What had happened was that Johnson and Congress had quarreled violently over the method of curing the wounds. In the meanwhile, unfortunately, the wounds had certainly not been getting any better.

President Johnson should have been in a good position to guide the process of reconstruction. For he was from Tennessee, one

of the states which had joined the Confederacy; yet he had been a warm Unionist, and—perhaps because he was once a poor self-educated tailor's apprentice—he hated slavery as much as any Northerner. His idea was to carry out Lincoln's "ten per cent plan," which was already in operation in Arkansas and Louisiana. According to this plan, as soon as ten per cent of the number of voters registered in a state just before the war should be ready to take an oath of loyalty to the United States, a loyal government could be set up and representatives sent to Congress. Both Lincoln and Johnson believed that the whole business of seceding had been illegal and that none of the states had ever been really out of the Union; hence they argued that Congress, which only admits new states, had nothing to do with the matter, and it was the President's business to pardon the former "rebels" and get things running smoothly again.

So Johnson did not call Congress together

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when he took office, but went ahead alone. He issued a proclamation of amnesty (ăm'-nēs-tl), or general pardon, and called conventions in the Southern states. These conventions adopted new state constitutions and held elections. When Congress met in December (1865), senators and representatives from nearly all the states of the old Confederacy were ready to take their seats as of old.

But Congress met in an ugly mood. Many were angry because the President had not called Congress together before he did anything. They talked about his "usurpation" of power, and soon were sneering at "King Andy," just as

Andrew Jackson's enemies had done. Most of them thought he was wrong in his theory of what had happened in the South. Some said the states which had seceded had "committed suicide" and were now territories again and had to be readmitted by Congress. Others even said that the South was a "conquered province" and lay completely at the mercy of the victorious North. The cry went up therefore that the new senators and representatives were not legally elected.

The Years That Followed the War

But of course it is very easy to discover that things you do not like are not according to the law. The truth was that congressmen did not want to let these Southerners in. They were not big enough to forgive and forget. They were angry because, naturally enough, the Southern states had sent to Congress their ablest men, who had most of them been prominent on the Confederate side in the war. The Northerners said that

this was not showing the spirit of humility proper to conquered rebels. As Republicans, the members of the majority were also dismayed at the idea of the admission of so many Democrats—for naturally the Southerners had not elected Republicans. They cried out that the work of the terrible years of war would be undone.

In this fear they were not wholly selfish and revengeful. It would of course have been a tragic thing if the old questions of union and slavery had been still unsettled after all the blood and agony. And many people, in and out of Congress, felt that to readmit these states thus easily might encourage them to continue to believe in secession. It was hard for Northerners to realize how thoroughly the people of the South had already been "punished," not only by the loss of

their slaves but also by four years of war fought all over their own towns and fields.

In particular there was strong feeling in the North against the "black codes" which most of the new Southern governments had passed for control of the ex-slaves. These laws provided that an idle Negro should be fined or set to work for some white man, often his former master. Negroes were not allowed to vote, and suffered under various restrictions. This looked to Northerners like an attempt to get around the Thirteenth Amendment and to make the freedmen slaves again. What Northerners did not realize was that the freedmen were as yet ignorant, unskilled, and rather helpless in the face of this sudden necessity of taking care of themselves. They were somewhat like little boys who run away from home for fun and then do not know what to do about it when dinner



Photo by Visual Education Service

President Andrew Johnson grew up as a poor lad in North Carolina. He had to learn to read and write as best he could outside the long hours he spent at labor as a tailor's apprentice. When he was eighteen he went to Tennessee and set up shop as a tailor at Greeneville, in the little house shown in our picture. When he married, his wife helped him to continue with his education. Very early he entered the road of politics—which led him at last to his unhappy adventure in the presidency.

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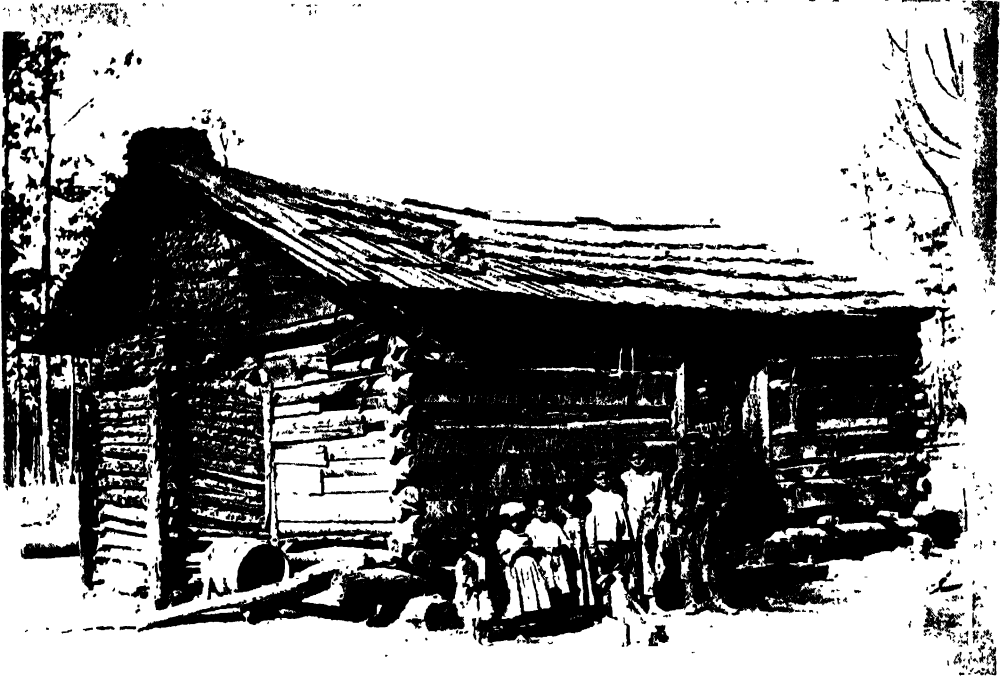


Photo by Asheville, E. C. Co.

Here is a typical family of plantation Negroes and their makeshift home. How helpless this mother must have felt when she suddenly realized that she and her hus-

band were supposed to earn money now to feed all these hungry mouths! Of course the white people, weary and poverty-stricken, could do little to help her.

time comes around. Time and patience would be needed for working out a new relationship between the races

But time Congress was not willing to allow, and patience was not a word known to its vocabulary. It was under the influence of headstrong leaders like Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, men fiery in their hatred of the old South and of the President, and uncompromisingly devoted to the cause of what seemed to them justice to the Negroes. The senators and representatives elected from the South were refused their seats. The President was unwise enough to show how angry he was, and in an address on Washington's Birthday (1866) he even denounced the Congressional leaders by name, and hinted that

they would not be sorry to see him martyred as Lincoln had been. Congress replied by passing over the President's veto two bills meant to prevent the sort of law found in the "black codes." The battle was fairly joined.

In June Congress passed a Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which was aimed directly at the "black codes." It declared that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" are citizens of the United States and of the state they live in, and that no laws may be passed by either the federal or the state government to take away any of their rights or discriminate against any of them. It did not require that Negroes should be given the vote, but did provide that any state denying the vote to any class of grown men should lose



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Here is one of the Negro politicians who crowded the legislative halls of the South during Reconstruction days.

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Photo by U. S. War Department

Row on row, these simple gravestones stand in the wide Fields of the Dead in the National Cemetery at Arlington. Arlington lies just across the Potomac from Washington. In 1861 it was still private property, and from the Lee Mansion here General Lee set out to head the armies of the Confederacy. The National

Cemetery was established here in 1864, and the first soldier buried was a Confederate prisoner who died in a hospital. The bones of 2,000 unknown Civil War dead are buried under one great monument. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, dedicated to the unknown dead of World War I, is also here.

some of its representatives in the House.

The amendment further made it unlawful, except by special permission, for anyone to hold any office, federal or state, if he had once held such office and later "engaged in insurrection or rebellion." This last provision seems rather spiteful and unnecessary, as naturally most of the best men in the South had been connected with the Confederate government or army.

The Revenge of the North

People will probably never agree as to whether it was too soon to do away with the "black codes," but on the whole the first part of this amendment does not seem very extreme or unreasonable. Congress, however, was rather unreasonable about getting the amendment adopted. It insisted that the seceded states could not come back into the Union until they had accepted the amendment. Unhappily, the South was by this time feeling unreasonable too, and only Tennessee was willing to accept the amendment. She was at once readmitted to full privileges in the Union.

Then the extremists lost their balance entirely. The Congressional elections in the autumn of 1866 went in their favor, and

when Congress came together again in December, 1866, its mood was uglier than ever. A Reconstruction Act was passed, which meant the end of all attempts to meet the situation with patience or any sort of cooperation. The South was to be treated frankly as a conquered enemy and allowed to come back into the Union only when it had learned to do exactly as it was told. Then ten states which had refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment were divided into five military districts, each under the command of a general of the Union army. Federal troops poured into the South, until in October they numbered almost twenty thousand. New Reconstruction governments were formed under the thumb of the army. In the formation of these governments the freedmen were allowed not only to vote but to hold office; vast numbers of the white men, on the other hand, were not allowed to do either, because of having taken part in the war. Of course under these circumstances the new governments were solidly Republican—as their creators had meant that they should be.

But Congress was still not satisfied. It had been able to pass all its measures over President Johnson's veto, and you would think it might have considered its triumph

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complete. But the extremists wanted more. They wanted to turn the President, who had dared to oppose their will, out of office in disgrace. On the same day on which they had passed the Reconstruction Act, they passed an act taking from the President his power of removing officials from office. Johnson tested the constitutionality of this act by removing Secretary of War Stanton, who had always opposed his policies. Then the House of Representatives determined to impeach the President; that is, to bring him before the Senate, as provided in the Constitution, to stand trial for "high crimes and misdemeanors."

It was an absurd charge, for all the President had been guilty of was an honest, if violent, disagreement with the policies of Congress. Yet so high did feeling run at that unhappy time, so full was the air of hate and prejudice, that the impeachment almost succeeded. The final vote in the Senate was only one short of the two-thirds necessary for conviction! Now that the war passions no longer run high, it is hard for Americans to understand how these things could have happened. We can only be thankful for that one vote which saved the nation from this crowning disgrace.

The Election of General Grant

But obviously Johnson would not be re-elected. In fact, at the very time when he was standing trial, a Republican convention was nominating his successor. It chose General Grant, the victor of Appomattox, and with the help of the new Reconstruction governments in the South he was elected.

But if Southerners, remembering the generosity of Grant's terms to Lee, hoped for relief from his leadership, they were disappointed. Grant was a soldier, not a statesman. He

was deceived and used on all sides by scheming politicians and business men, and his two administrations (1869-1877) were disgraced by some of the worst scandals of corruption in American history. Nor did he make any fight at all for moderation in the South. He did not even veto the violent measures passed by Congress, but seemed to have been won over to something very like its way of thinking.

The popular vote which elected Grant was very close, and the result had been determined by the Negro vote in the South. So the next move of the Republican Congress was to pass and force on the states the Fifteenth Amendment, which forbade any state to deny the vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Severe laws for the enforcement of this and the Fourteenth Amendment, and for the suppression of opposition in the South, were passed by Congress and signed by the President.

All this time conditions in the South were getting worse and worse. They had been bad enough in the first place. Four years of war had left the country exhausted and ruined. The armies had tramped back and forth over much of the land, government was disorganized, money was worthless or not available at all, thousands of the young men were dead, the rest were returning worn out and penniless and not knowing what to do next.

All this would have been true even if there had been no Proclamation of Emancipation. As it was, the great planters were ruined; and there was turned loose a vast body of ex-slaves—men and women who had been brought up in ignorance, who had never been taught to take care of themselves, who were usually without any money at all or any place to live. They could not shake off all at once their habit of looking to white men



We scarcely recognize Grant without his familiar uniform, but here he is in civilian garb, such as he wore when serving as president of the United States.

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for guidance and control; and the white men could not forget that these people had once been slaves, or get out of their heads the idea that Negroes still existed largely for the benefit of the whites. To them it was beyond endurance that this race which they had always thought so inferior to their own should be made equal to them in privilege and power—should actually be put in power over them with Federal bayonets to back them up.

Who Were the Carpetbaggers?

Yet that is just what happened under the Reconstruction governments. Unscrupulous politicians from the North had begun packing their carpetbags, or cheap valises, and scurrying South even before the Reconstruction Act was passed. These "carpetbaggers" and their Southern allies, the "scalawags," rode into power by winning the confidence of the Negro voters and managing them as they chose. For the freedmen had not had time to learn to be good citizens. It was not their fault. They had been snatched too suddenly from the depth of slavery to the dignity of voters in a democratic society. They had no notion what to do with their new powers. The result was an orgy of misgovernment the like of which has seldom been seen anywhere.

In 1873 a Northern journalist who visited South Carolina to see for himself how things were going reported that in the state House of Representatives there were thirty white men, of whom seven were "scalawags," and ninety-four Negroes. The Speaker, the Clerk, the doorkeepers, the pages, the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the chaplain, were all black. Nearly all the Negroes had

been slaves, and most of them could not even read and write. It was taken for granted by all that the main business of the government was to make the officials rich. "How did you get your money?" someone asked an important member of the legislature. "I stole it," he replied promptly and not at all abashed. It was said that the Governor spent between thirty or forty thousand dollars a year—on a salary of thirty-five hundred. The stationery bill of the legislature had risen from four hundred dollars before the war to something like sixteen thousand.

This was no way to win back the allegiance of the Southerners or to make them think more generously of their former slaves. If the North had really been trying to keep alive the war hate and the prejudice against the Negro, it could hardly have done the thing more effectively. As it was, neither constitutional amendments nor Federal bayonets could long keep such a state of affairs in force.

The Ku Klux Klan

What happened was that the Southern white men began to fight fire with fire—to meet fraud with fraud and violence with

violence. They organized great secret societies, of which the

m o s t

widespread was the Ku Klux Klan. This society—which has nothing to do with the society which borrowed its name in the 1920's—also bore the name of the "Invisible Empire." It was organized in "dens," each under a "Cyclops," and the whole owed allegiance to a Great Grand Cyclops in Tennessee. Its members were sworn to



Here is one of the sheeted horsemen of the Ku Klux Klan. The disguise served a double purpose. It terrified the more ignorant, and it protected the Klansmen from being recognized.

Photo by B. & O. Ry

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Photo by Gettysburg C. of C.

On the site where Lincoln made his Gettysburg Address has been erected this noble monument to peace.

The whole battlefield at Gettysburg has been made into a park and many of its landmarks preserved.

deep secrecy and the rules condemned them to death if they failed to keep their oaths.

At first the Klan planned only to frighten Negroes from voting and to run carpetbaggers out of the country. Garbed, horse and man, in their ghostly white robes, Klansmen would ride up to the cottage of some Negro and call on him for a drink of water. Trem-

bling, he would bring the specter horsemen a cup. But the leader would call for a bucket instead, and empty it at a draught—into a big rubber bag concealed beneath his disguise. Then he would solemnly warn the terrified black that if he ever again voted the Republican ticket the specters would come again and carry him off with them. The Negro usually

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decided after this that his new privilege of voting was not worth exercising.

But secret and lawless societies are almost certain to get into the hands of their more violent members. Too soon the Klan passed from terrifying Negroes to beating or even lynching them, and from warning carpet-baggers to shooting them. The unhappy South suffered from rival reigns of terror—that of the military occupation and that of the Klan. Yet the white people, forced to choose, preferred the latter, and not all the efforts of the Federal government could persuade juries to find Klansmen guilty of anything they might have done on the midnight raids of the sheeted horsemen.

Partly by methods such as these, partly by forgetting their old differences and uniting against the hated Republicans, partly by the coming of age of boys who had not been in the war, the South finally broke the grip of the Reconstruction governments. And when the white Southerners came back to power, they not unnaturally swung their states to the opposite extreme from the policies of the Republican reconstruction. They found ways to get around the Fifteenth Amendment and make it impossible for the Negroes to vote even when they were not terrified out of wanting to.

The Grandfather Clause

The best-known of these ways for avoiding the Constitution was the "grandfather clause," which made it necessary that a man should be able to show that his grandfather had been able to vote before he might vote himself. It was easy to manage registration so that these laws did not work against white men, but only against Negroes. In this way the Negro vote fell off sharply, and even now the Negroes are largely kept from voting in many parts of the South. Left in command of the situation, the white voters used their power always against the party which had humiliated them. It was not until after World War I that a Republican candidate for President received a single electoral vote from the "solid South."

Meanwhile the tide had turned to a certain extent in the North too, and even within

the Republican party there was discontent with the way things were being managed in the South. In the presidential campaign of 1872 the Republicans had been split, partly on that issue, and a group calling themselves Liberal-Republicans had nominated Horace Greeley, who was also endorsed by the Democrats. Grant was reelected. But in 1876 both candidates stood for moderation.

The Election of Rutherford B. Hayes

This election of 1876, in fact, seems in some ways like the closing of an epoch. The Republicans had nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio and the Democrats Samuel J. Tilden of New York. Both were honest and moderate men, and the result would not have been of much importance except that it involved a disputed election. The election was shot through and through with the fraud and dishonesty which make all this period so painful to think about, and some witty observer said that the truth was, probably, that the Democrats had stolen the election from Hayes and the Republicans stole it back again.

However that may be, there were two sets of returns from several Southern states—for the last of the seceded states had been readmitted in 1870—and until almost the day of inauguration no one knew who was to be the next president. Then a Congressional committee finally decided every question as to which returns were the right ones by a strict party vote, and Hayes was declared elected. Tilden had polled more votes, and probably a majority of the people felt that he should have been declared the winner. But there was no violence, no sign that anyone thought of refusing to accept the result. It looked as if the war were over at last.

As soon as he was inaugurated, President Hayes withdrew the last of the Federal troops from the South. Political reconstruction was over. But the curing of the nation's wounds had been so badly managed that the scars were long in disappearing—if indeed they may be said to have disappeared entirely even yet. If Lincoln had lived, would he have been able to manage Congress and to do a better job? We shall never know.

***The* HISTORY of the UNITED STATES**

Reading Unit No. 17

THE GILDED AGE OF AMERICA

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

The post-war period saw the rise of American plutocracy, of corrupt political machines, and

of labor organizations. It saw, too, the end of the frontier and of the Indian.



Photo by Weary & Alford Co.

"Pike's Peak or bust!" cried the adventuresome men headed for the gold fields of Colorado. Here are a few of these fifty-niners, who poured into the new gold and silver lands of Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and

Colorado just before and during the Civil War. This gold proved harder to mine than that found in California in '49, and most of the "boom towns" did not boom long. But Denver was founded, and other cities.

The GILDED AGE of AMERICA

How the United States Changed from a Nation of Farmers and Small Merchants to a Nation of Laborers and Capitalists

IT WAS Mark Twain who thought of the name "Gilded Age" to describe the eighteen sixties, seventies, and eighties in the United States. He was living right in the midst of it all, and should have known what he was talking about. The age was a little like one of those old Mississippi steamboats of Mark Twain's youth—swift and efficient and full of an exciting new power, but all gaudy and glittering with silly ornamentation, crowded with loud-talking adventurers, and likely to blow up and throw its passengers high as the sky in the midst of some too reckless race.

Even while the war was being fought, the new spirit was abroad in the North and West; and while the South was painfully trying to get on its feet again, the rest of the country was careering full tilt into the new age. The Civil War, in fact, has been called "the

Second American Revolution" because it so thoroughly upset the old ways of doing things.

It upset them politically. The aristocratic planters of the Old South definitely lost their power in the national government, and the Northern capitalists ruled in their stead. The federal government gained enormously in strength. Not only did the war decide once for all that the Union was a nation and not a mere confederacy, but during the war the federal government took over unusual powers which it never altogether gave up again. Gone were the old problems; the slaves were all free, the states had agreed to bow to the nation. A new set of problems arose. How was the federal government to use its new power? Who was to rule through it, the people at large or the great capitalists of the new age?

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But the passing of power from the South to the North meant an economic change quite as much as a political one. For the planters had been farmers, though of an unusual kind, and the capitalists lived by manufacture and finance. After the war the United States swiftly became an industrial nation. As early as 1880 nearly a quarter of the people were living in large towns or cities. It was the working out of the Industrial Revolution, the change from farm to factory life. This had started before the war, and it must have come some day anyway. But the war hurried it up.

The most breath-taking change of these decades was the passing of the frontier. It happened with unbelievable swiftness. At the opening of the war, the outskirts of settlement had been just a little west of the Mississippi—you remember the frontier warfare over slavery in "bleeding Kansas." California and Oregon, to be sure, were already states, but between them and the main body of settlement lay spreading miles of grassy plains and ranges of towering mountains.

On the eve of the war, in 1858 and 1859, gold was dis-

covered in Colorado and silver in Nevada. It was not long before gold, silver, and copper had been found here and there in the foothills of the mountains from Montana to Arizona. War or no war, men felt the call of buried treasure, and there was a rush like that to California in '49. Caravans wound across the desert, flaunting the motto, "Pike's Peak or Bust." "Boom towns" arose over night in Nevada or Montana, with their false storefronts built high above the roofs to give an impression of bigness, with their roaring saloons, their "hard-boiled" ad-

venturesses, their picturesque outlaws and prospectors. Many a dilapidated village in the foothills still nurses memories of those uproarious days.

In this way the farming frontier just west of the Mississippi and the mining frontier in the foothills of the Rockies were closing in on the great plains between them. Across these plains the buffalo still roamed in immense herds, shaggy and lumbering and stupid as of old. Across these plains

still roved the Indians—Indians of the plains, who had hunted on this land since time immemorial, and



by N. Y. Zoological

This is one of the last of the buffaloes, or bison, which once roamed the central plains in uncounted thousands. He looks rather forlorn, as though dreaming of the days when his fathers were "monarchs of the plains."

The plains Indians lived by hunting the buffaloes, but they killed the animals only for food or for the hides.



Photo by City Art Museum, St. Louis



This is part of the ceremony of completing the first transcontinental railway line, in Ogden, Utah, in May, 1869. The golden spike has been driven into the last

tie, the engines from East and West have met as if to greet each other. The two sections of the nation may now touch hands across the shrinking frontier.

Indians from beyond the great river, who had been driven westward by the advancing white men.

The Romance of the Plains

The first white men on the plains were the cattle rangers. Texas cattlemen, at the close of the war, began to drive their herds northward to graze the "open range" on the "long drive" to the markets. Soon immense cattle ranches sprang up on the prairies north of Kansas, where the grazing was good. Fabulous fortunes were made in the "cow country." Cattle kings and queens arose, whose vast herds wandered freely, bearing the owners' brands. To watch them on the range and round them up for market, there appeared the last of the frontier types, perhaps the most picturesque and appealing of them all—the cowboy. Countless "movie" actors of our own day still try to show us this romantic figure—with his long tough body, his wide sombrero and leather chaps, his slow speech and steady nerve, his incredible horsemanship.

The plains still belonged to the buffalo, the Indian, and the cowboy, when the first

transcontinental railroad nosed its way through to tie the East and the Far West together. Congress had granted a princely domain of public land—half of the land in a strip ten miles wide on both sides of the road—to the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and had given the company money and special privileges too. That was in 1862, in the midst of the war. There were eighteen hundred miles of mountain and desert to be built across, however, and at first even the rash capitalists of the Gilded Age hesitated. But in 1866 work was begun in earnest, and the two ends of the road approached each other steadily at the rate of about fifty miles a month.

The Last Spike

In May, 1869, at Ogden, Utah, they met. A crowd gathered in the desert, and amid great excitement the last tie, made of California laurel, was laid and fastened with spikes of gold and silver. An engine from the East and another from the West drew together until their noses touched, in symbol of the joining of East and West. No more struggling across the plains in covered

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Photo by Jorud Photo Shop

The Gilded Age was an age of tragedy for the Indians—a time when doom came striding toward them before the harvesters and the bayonets of the white men. Sometimes they tried to make peaceful terms and

sometimes they fought; but always they were driven back. Our picture shows only one of the uncounted skirmishes between Indians and whites on the last frontier. By about 1890 the struggle was over.

wagons—no more careening stagecoaches fleeing from prairie fires or the attacks of Indians! The “iron horse” had come to conquer the frontier.

“Vote Yourself a Farm”

Other railways were built, with the government recklessly granting more land and more privileges. Often the capitalists who ventured their money on the roads thought up schemes to encourage migration and build up their traffic. But it needed little urging, that great tidal wave of settlement which again arose after the Civil War, as it had after the Revolution, after the War of 1812, and again in the “fabulous forties.” One of the cries of the days just before war broke out was “Vote yourself a farm”; and in the same year in which the Union Pacific had been chartered, Congress had passed the Homestead Act, granting a farm of 160 acres almost free to any man or woman who would settle on it for five years. It was the signal for which the farmers had been waiting to start their advance upon the great plains—the last frontier.

Besides the elemental forces of nature—

hailstorms and droughts and fierce tornadoes—the plains farmer had to fight the buffalo and the Indian, and the cattlemen too. The cattle had had all outdoors to roam in, and naturally their owners did not like to see sheep herders and wheat growers putting up barbed-wire fences around the choicest grazing places. But gradually the advancing tide of wheat swept over the fields, and the cowboys took refuge in out-of-the-way bits of plain and foothill, and in our own day, forlornly, in “dude ranches” and “Wild West shows.”

America's Greatest Buffalo Hunter

Even more ruthlessly the tide of wheat swept over the buffalo and the Indian. In the seventies travelers sometimes rode for a hundred miles through the herds of buffalo; but by the middle of the eighties the herds were almost gone. That is how “Buffalo Bill,” whose real name was William F. Cody, got his nickname—by killing more than four thousand of the shaggy beasts in a year and a half. Now the forlorn remnants of the herds live mostly in government preserves, under the protection of the law.

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The Indians lived by hunting the bison, and they naturally resented this killing off of the herds, even more than they resented the creeping progress of settlements across the plains. The settlers cried out to Washington for protection against these red men from whom they were taking land and livelihood. There followed a long series of brutal Indian wars—quite as brutal and faithless on the part of the whites as on that of the “savages.” Some of the best generals of the Civil War fought in these campaigns; it was General Sheridan who set forth the disgraceful sentiment that “the only good Indian is a dead Indian.” General Pershing, leader of the American forces in World War I, got his early military training fighting Apaches and Sioux on this last frontier. The struggle came to a climax in the massacre of General George A. Custer and his 264 men by the Sioux on Little Big Horn River in Montana, in 1876.

Finally the last of the natives were forced to reservations, and the wild savage life of the continent was over. In 1886 the federal government at last offered citi-

zenship and a homestead to any Indian who would give allegiance to the United States instead of to his tribe. But even yet the treatment of the Indians is stained with cheating and injustice, and presents a bristling array of unsolved problems.

Meanwhile the plains were steadily being laid out in homesteads, and a great new wheat belt stretched from north to south between the Mississippi and the mountains. Sometimes immense tracts of land were cultivated as a single ranch or farm. This was made possible by the invention of farm machinery, especially the McCormick reapers and threshers, which did the work of many men and made the scant yields of the prairies profitable. The new railroads carried the harvest to Eastern markets. Thus barbed wire fences and harvesters and the iron horse crisscrossed the last frontier and finally wiped it out.

A dramatic climax came in 1889. The government had been persuaded to purchase from the Indians Oklahoma, the richest part of the remaining Indian Territory.



Photo by Jorud Photo Shop

This is General Custer, a brave and impetuous fighter, who, with his detachment, was surrounded by the Indians during the Sioux War of 1876. The white soldiers perished to a man. Most of the fighting in these wars was sickeningly brutal, with little mercy shown on either side.

More than anything else it was the new mechanical harvesters which made possible the swift settlement of the great wheat belt of the plains.

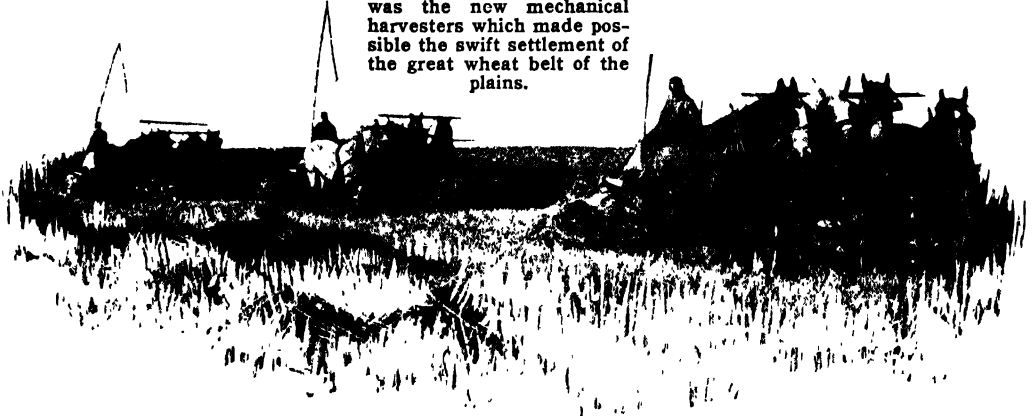


Photo by Canadian Pacific Railway

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Photo by Weary & Alford Co.

During the Gilded Age the caravans of covered wagons still wound westward. But now they did not all follow

the Oregon Trail to the Northwest; more and more of them stopped to put up new villages on the plains.

Fifty thousand settlers encamped on the borders of this last Land of Promise, waiting to go in and take possession. As the sound of a bugle gave the signal, there was a mad rush across the border. Ten days later frame villages rose here and there. By the next year (1890) Oklahoma was knocking at the gates of the Union, asking to be made a state. That same year the government officially announced that there was no longer any frontier at all.

A Century of Growth

There is no other such story in history as that of this swift westward thrust of a land-hungry people across three thousand miles of forest and plain and mountain, gathering strength as it moved till that last tremendous spurt in the generation after the Civil War. The country has scarcely yet quite steadied itself after the shock and suddenness of that climax.

No wonder then that Americans in the Gilded Age had a fever in their blood. Everybody was speculating in Western lands or Western railroads.

The war itself had stimulated Northern industry, because of the huge demands of

the armies for food, clothing, and ammunition. Bumper crops for several years had brought prosperity to farmers and merchants. With the coming of peace came a time of reckless spending and wild speculation. Money was cheap, and the federal government was granting lands and moneys right and left. It looked as though there were the whole world to conquer, and plenty of gold to go around.

And if there was enough for everybody, everybody intended to have enough—and to decide for himself how much “enough” meant! Washington was full of “lobbyists,” men and women spending time and energy and streams of money to push through Congress special favors for individuals or powerful corporations. The fever ran so high that almost all shreds of decency were forgotten, and votes and offices and government favors were freely bought and sold. Business deals that were worse than “shady” broke out, in Grant’s second administration, into scandals that almost reached the White House itself. In local politics affairs were just as bad. In New York City arose the worst ring of public thieves that Tammany Hall had yet produced in its long career of bossing politics in

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that city. The leader of the gang was "Boss" Tweed, who is supposed to have robbed the taxpayers of millions of dollars before he was finally put in jail. At home or in Washington, half the nation seemed bent, as the vivid phrase went, on "feeding at the public trough."

The glitter and excitement of post-war prosperity, part of it true and part of it mere glitter, headed the country, as boom times always do, straight for panic and depression. This time the panic broke in 1873, and the next five or six years are a dismal record of hard times, unemployment, and general suffering.

But the panic was only an incident. The economic revolution to which we have referred went right on. With its railroads and its harvesters it was speeding the settlement of the West. In the East it was transforming the whole life of the country.

The victors in the revolution were the capitalistic leaders of the new industrial order. Immense fortunes were made out of the opening up of the West, and more immense fortunes from the growing manufactures of the East. There arose lords of a new untitled nobility, barons of cattle and sheep and hogs and wheat, railroad barons, barons of coal and silver and steel and oil. In this period Jay Gould, William H. Vanderbilt, Edward H. Harriman, and James J. Hill made fabulous fortunes out of the railroads; John D. Rockefeller raised the Standard Oil Company to its monopoly of oil; Andrew Carnegie made a huge fortune out of steel;

Philip D. Armour's name became familiar on his hams and beef products; Jay Cooke and J. Pierpont Morgan were becoming the great powers in banking and finance. All these are giants of "Big Business," mighty pillars of the new aristocracy of wealth.

This was the time when people began to talk about "captains of industry." And in truth the methods of these powerful builders of the great "trusts" were often much like those of captains in war. They starved out their smaller rivals in ruthless price wars. They forced the railroads not only to carry their freight more cheaply than the freight of the little people, but even to turn over to *them* in "rebates" the extra money the little people had to pay. Once in a while it came to pitched battles between gangs of hired thugs. At the same time, you may be sure, they were the first to crowd, with their armies of lobbyists, to the "public trough." In fact, the most striking and ominous thing about their activities was the power they gained by their money and influence over the government. This power of Big Business in government has been the basis of most of the hardest political battles since the Gilded Age.

Under these lords of the "almighty dollar" worked increasing multitudes of industrial laborers, factory "hands," as they were called. The process that had begun long before the Civil War was speeded up, and more and more men and women and even



Photo by The National Gallery, London

With his heart beating high with hope, the young immigrant strained his eyes for the first glimpse of "the promised land." Would it bring him wealth and success, or only more of the hardships he was leaving behind him? Yet whatever his own particular lot might be, it was partly by the labor and vision of this lad and of thousands of his fellows that a great nation was to be built.

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children came from the country to work in factory and mill. If the native laborers asked more wages than the barons wished to pay, there was always a horde of aliens clamoring at the gates of the country to take their places. More than 300,000 immigrants landed from Europe in the one year 1866. Many of these went West to settle the land; the rest went to the factories.

When Labor Began to Organize

Among this mass of laborers, native and alien, there were already loud mutterings of revolt. A National Labor Union was organized in 1866, which fought, among other things, for the eight hour day. The union did not last long, but its work was taken up by the Knights of Labor, organized in 1869. They fought hard for higher wages, and later for more radical reforms; and before the panic of 1873 they had won many victories. Later they lost their influence to a more conservative organization, the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886.

The long battle with the employers during the Gilded Age was marked by a series of bitterly-fought strikes, in which the employers always managed to get the power of the government on their side. The greatest of these strikes took place in 1877, during the hard times following the panic of 1873. It was a railroad strike involving more than a hundred thousand workers, and it spread all over the country, even to the Pacific. Federal troops were called out to aid the state militia and police, and there were two weeks or so of pitched battles between strikers and soldiers before the strike was broken.

The conflicts between capital and labor in this period were made more bitter by the rather "high and mighty" attitude of the employers, who usually thought they were the only ones who should have anything to say about how they should run their business, or how much they should pay their employees, and flatly refused to have any dealings with trade unions. But the laborers were sure that the question as to whether they were paid enough money to live decently was as much their business as

their employers'; and the fight went on.

The Gilded Age was the great age of the new "plutocracy," or aristocracy of wealth. Get-rich-quick schemes were in the air. Every boy dreamed of growing up to make his millions; so many of the wealthiest men had started out "on a shoestring" that it seemed hardly too much to expect. Money became to most people the measure of all things. Neither the good things of the soil, nor quiet thinking, nor learning, nor art seemed as golden as the glitter of riches.

And how those riches did glitter! Newly-rich people who have little education and no tradition behind them rather often love gaudy color, flaring finery, extravagant display. So the plutocrats of the Gilded Age crowded together in the cities, especially in New York, and set out to show the admiring world how rich they were. They built palaces after Old World designs, and filled them with jumbled art from older civilizations. They ousted the old, cultivated families from control of social life. They gave entertainments so gorgeous that ordinary people gasped.

The Beginning of Our City Slums

Within a stone's throw of the mansions where these things went on, families were living ten in a room, and little children were starving or toiling all day and half the night at some factory task; there was developing the grim squalor of the city slums.

But as yet the country as a whole was not much worried about the slums. It was a boisterous, optimistic age. The poet Walt Whitman sang in the fifties and sixties his large and lusty hymns to democracy and to America; and he did not lose his faith in the great future of American democracy in the Gilded Age. Only a few sensitive Americans, like Henry James, fled from all this glittering, crude vitality to the Old World.

Yet probably to flee like Henry James was not very wise. To be sure, under the gilding of this fantastic age was a great deal of humbug and downright dishonesty, and more than a few false ideals. But at least the age was vividly alive. And things that are strongly alive can grow and change, and perhaps become wiser.

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Reading Unit No. 18

THE SEESAW OF OUR POLITICS

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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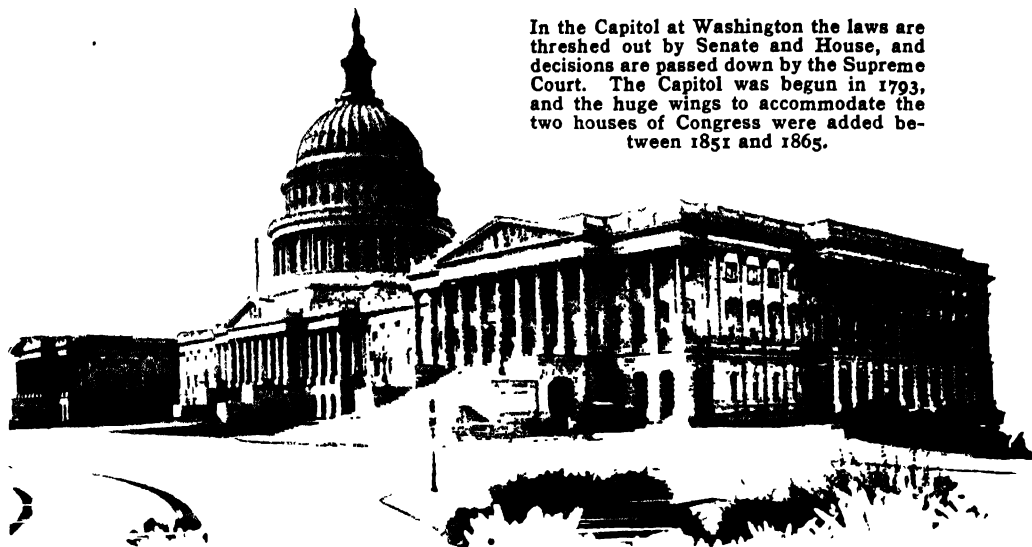
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In the Capitol at Washington the laws are threshed out by Senate and House, and decisions are passed down by the Supreme Court. The Capitol was begun in 1793, and the huge wings to accommodate the two houses of Congress were added between 1851 and 1865.

Photo by the National Museum

The SEESAW of OUR POLITICS

Of the Fortunes of Politics from Hayes to McKinley, and in Particular of the Revolt of the Farmers

BETWEEN 1861 and 1913 there was only one president—though that one was elected for two separate terms—who was not a Republican. That does not sound much like a seesaw, to be sure. But you can go far up or down on a seesaw without actually falling off; and the Republicans seldom had things all their own way. A large part of the time, especially in the middle section of this period, between 1877 and 1897, a president of one of the major parties was balancing precariously against a Senate or a House or both of the other party—with unruly members on each side half falling off the board, and a horde of third-party people trying to upset the seesaw altogether. So it was exciting enough for the politicians, although sometimes it was hard for anybody else to see just what it was all about.

There were several reasons why the Republicans were oftener up than down in the twenty years between Hayes and McKinley (1877-1897). Lincoln had been a Republican, and his party had fought the war, freed

the slaves, and saved the Union. It had passed the Homestead Act too, and many farmers remembered that they owed their homes to this act. Most important of all, it had been adopted, now that Lincoln was dead, by the capitalistic leaders, and had fallen heir to the traditions of the old Federalists of Hamilton's time and the Whigs of Henry Clay's. And now, when everyone longed for riches, business was more powerful than ever before.

The Democrats had lost their leaders by the war; there were no more great Southern planters like Jefferson or Calhoun to speak for them. Northern farmers had got out of the habit of voting for them, since they had been the party of the Confederacy. They tried to win over the capitalists, and in doing so ran the risk of losing the farmers that still remained to them.

It seemed to some people that there was really not much difference between the Republican party and the Democratic, except that sometimes the one was in and the other was out, and sometimes the other was in and

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the one was out. These people said that if the country wanted to save the government from being run by Big Business, it would have to do it through a third party. Though these little parties seldom managed to elect anybody to office, they often forced the big parties to do some of the things they wanted done. And by continually trying to upset the seesaw they kept things lively.

During the first super-gilded decade of the Gilded Age, before the panic of 1873, the Republicans had had control of the whole government, presidency, Senate, and House. But in 1874 they lost the House to the Democrats. After that, for twenty years and more, the president almost never had the support of both houses, and often had the support of neither. That meant that there was very little working together, and therefore very little done.

Everyone was afraid to do anything definite for fear of losing votes by it, and afraid to let the other fellow do anything definite for fear he might gain votes by it. In the years 1877-1885 especially, while the Republicans Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur held the presidency, it is difficult to see that either party was getting anywhere at all.

The Stalwarts and the Spoils

The Republicans were split among themselves, and that furnished the only really important issue of these years. President Hayes was determined to carry out the campaign promises to do away with the carpetbag governments in the South, and to reform the system of handing out government jobs to party workers. This determination scandalized the strict party men, who said that it was absurd to hand the Southern governments over to the Democrats and to give up the old habit of rewarding good party men with government "spoils." These strict party men came to be called "Stalwarts";

they dubbed Hayes and his reforming followers "Half-Breeds." The quarrel between Stalwarts and Half-Breeds, which was a continuation of the quarrel between regular Republicans and Liberal-Republicans during Grant's administration, continued for many years, and split the Republican party.



Photo by Grunastorff Bros

President Hayes is honored because he withdrew the last Federal troops from the South and did what he could to heal the wounds of war and Reconstruction.

President Hayes went right ahead with his reforms. He withdrew the last of the Federal troops from the South. He revived a law passed by the reformers during Grant's time to let the president appoint a commission that should work out rules for tak-

ing government appointments at least partly out of politics. Some rules of the sort were sorely needed. When a new party came in, it usually turned most of the office holders out, from the postmaster in Podunk to the highest expert in the Treasury Department, and put in people who had contributed

to the party funds—or would promise to do it now. President Hayes was not able to carry his civil-service reforms very far, but he made people think about the matter, and more came of it later.

But the Stalwarts saw to it that he was not renominated in 1880. They wanted Grant to run again. Grant, however, was opposed by the brilliant and popular James G. Blaine of Maine; and when neither of them could get enough of the other's votes in the convention, James A. Garfield was chosen. Garfield was what is called a "dark horse"—an unexpected candidate brought forward when a party cannot agree on any of the better-known leaders. Both Garfield and Winfield S. Hancock, the Democratic candidate, were ex-Union generals. In spite of the fact that Hancock was the Northern victor of the battle of Gettysburg, the South voted for him solidly; this was, in fact, the first of many elections to find the Solid South in the Democratic column. But Garfield was elected.

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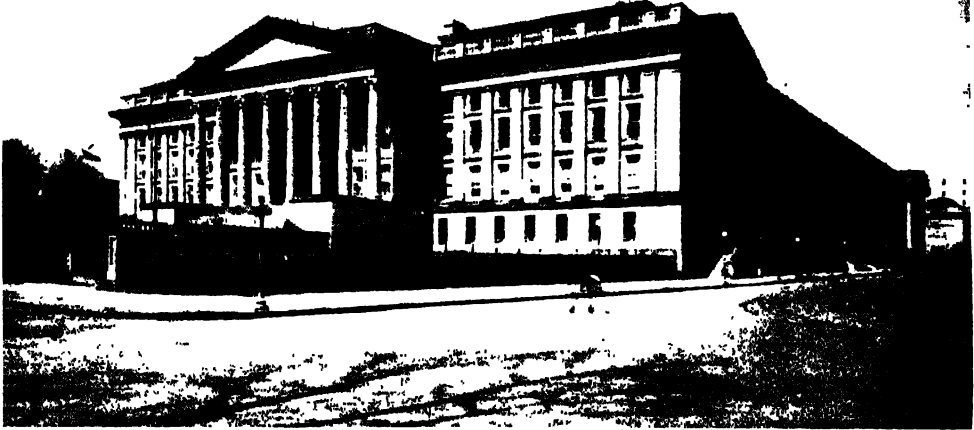


Photo by U. S. Treasury Dept.

The United States Treasury Building, shown in our picture, is the oldest of the buildings devoted to departments of the government. No money is coined

here; the metal coins come from the mint, the paper bills from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. In this building are the executive offices of the Treasury.

And now the bitterness within the Republican party came to a climax in a shameful deed. Garfield started out by offending some of the Stalwarts by his independence of them, with the result that two Stalwart senators resigned their seats. A few weeks later the President was shot in the back on his way to a college reunion. The assassin was a disappointed office seeker, and boasted that he wanted to see Chester A. Arthur, the vice president, take Garfield's place.

For Arthur was supposed to be a Stalwart. He had been removed from an office in New York State by President Hayes for passing government favors too freely to his friends. But either that experience or the revolting crime against President Garfield must have steadied him. For he too proved somewhat of a disappointment to the Stalwarts. It was during his administration that the Pendleton Act, a very important victory for the reformers, was passed. It provided that workers in the government service should be arranged in classes or grades, and that examinations open to anyone should be given to determine who was to be employed. The country did not want any more disappointed office seekers shooting its presidents.

But again a reforming president was kept from renomination by the old-line party men. This time they chose Blaine, who had made a good impression as secretary of state under Garfield, and who was now the idol of the party. The reformers—who were called “Mugwumps” or “big chiefs,” because they thought themselves better than the rest of the party—refused to vote for Blaine. They told the Democrats they would vote for their candidate, if he suited them.

A Man Who Defied the Bosses

The Democratic candidate did suit them. For Grover Cleveland, destined to be the first Democratic president since the Civil War, had behind him a solid record of independence and public service. He had been called the “veto mayor” of Buffalo, because he would not do as the machine politicians told him to do. He had been an honest and popular governor of New York State. He was not brilliant and dashing like Blaine, but there was a strength and honesty about him which were reassuring. The vote was close, but, with the help of the revolting Mugwumps, Cleveland won.

He found the presidency fairly bristling

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with problems. He had to fight a Republican Senate throughout his term, and the Republicans in general talked and acted as if they thought a Democratic president would want to start the Confederacy all over again. The Democrats, for their part, were so greedy for offices after being out for so long that the President found it very difficult to live up to his theories about civil-service reform. When he vetoed extravagant pension bills, the veterans thought he was insulting them. When he tried to lower the tariff he was stopped by Big Business. He could not even persuade Congress to form a national commission to help arbitrate the violent strikes which followed close on one another during these years.

One victory was won over the "interests," as the wealthy capitalistic groups were coming to be called, during this administration. There had long been much public clamor, especially among Western farmers, against the railroads, which had been charging some people more than

others, asking huge prices for hauling freight, and bribing state legislatures for favors. Some of the states had tried to stop these things by state laws; but the Supreme Court had decided (1886) that only Congress could make laws touching commerce between the states—and how many railroads manage not to cross a state line? Now an Interstate Commerce Act was passed (1887) forbidding most of the things

Dominating all the lower structures in our nation's capital, the tall granite shaft of the Washington Monument rises from the heart of the city. Its height and severe simplicity are a fine reminder of the stern and noble spirit of the first president, after whom the capital city is named.

which had been complained about, and creating an Interstate Commerce Commission to see that the roads did as they were supposed to do. This law was not always obeyed, but it was an excellent beginning.

The thing which President Cleveland was most exercised about was the tariff. The rates had become very high, and at that time the money was not needed, for the government actually had more money than it knew what to do with. The President asked Congress again and again to reduce the tariff, saying it was not right to tax the people when it was not necessary. "It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory," he said—meaning that Republicans need not go over to the Democratic belief in a really low tariff in order to vote just at this time for a somewhat lower one. But too many special interests wanted to be protected and

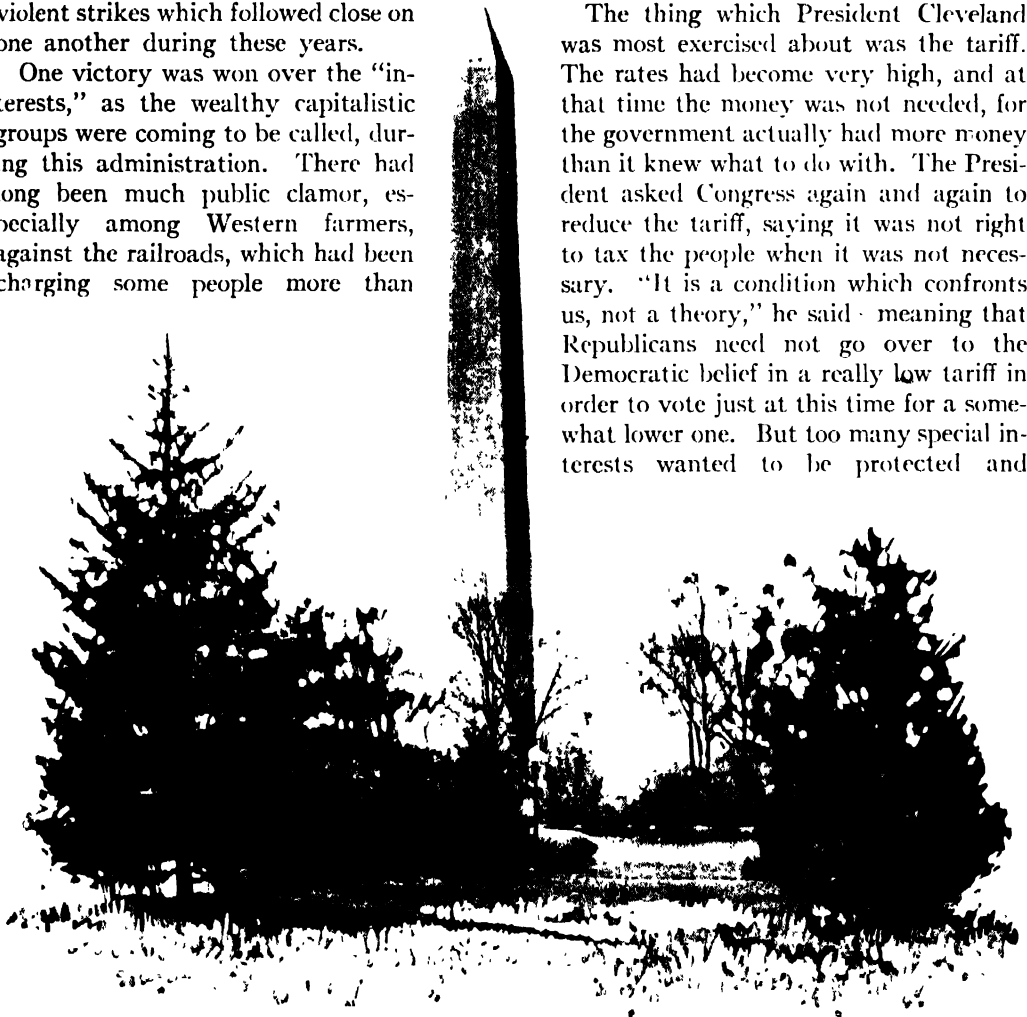


Photo by the National Museum

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election day was too near. The President's bill never got past the Senate.

In 1888 Cleveland was renominated and ran against General Benjamin Harrison, grandson of William Henry Harrison, who had won the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign for the Whigs in 1840. Cleveland, who had wished to be known as "the people's president," received over a hundred thousand votes more than Harrison did; but under our system of electing a president by states, Harrison was the winner. So the Republican end of the seesaw was up again.

The Republicans were not at all worried about what to do with the surplus money in the treasury. They paid back to the states something like fifteen million dollars of taxes levied in Civil War times. They built harbors and lighthouses and post offices and forts. They spent huge sums in building up the Navy, until it ranked fifth instead of twelfth among the navies of the world. Harrison's first Congress spent over a billion dollars, and justified it by saying that the United States was "a billion-dollar country."

The Close of the Gilded Age

It was true. The census of 1890 showed that as the Gilded Age drew to a close the country was immensely rich. There was a population of sixty-two and a half million people, and wealth of something like sixty-five billion dollars. The frontier was gone, and the Industrial Revolution had concentrated these millions of people and billions of wealth largely in cities and factories. That the wealth was concentrated in too few of the millions of hands was a fact to which the people were slowly waking up.

This awakening of public opinion forced Congress in 1890 to pass the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which was supposed to curb the

activities of Big Business. A good many ugly facts about the rise of the great trusts had just come to light. But the bill did not work very well, and the trusts seemed to thrive as lustily as ever.

The United States had several disputes with foreign nations during this administration.

There was one with Germany over the joint occupation of the far-off tropical islands of Samoa (sā-mō'ā); this brought the country for the first time into a general European conference. There was one with Great Britain about how the seal fishing in the Bering Sea should be managed. This was settled by arbitration, as the claims the United States had against England for her aid to the Confederate

fleet during the Civil War had been (1872). The earlier case had been decided on the whole in favor of the United States;

this later one was decided for England. There were also disputes with Italy over the murder of some Italians in New Orleans, and with Chile over trouble arising out of a revolution there. Blaine, who had been made secretary of state again, was vigorous almost to the point of being warlike; but it did not quite come to war—and the people liked the feeling of power which Blaine's vigor gave them.

As for the tariff, instead of being revised downward as Cleveland had hoped, it was revised upward, as the Republicans had promised. The McKinley Tariff (1890) was the highest yet.

Then at the end of Harrison's four years, the seesaw tipped again, and Cleveland came back. He is the only president who has ever taken his eight years in two sections.

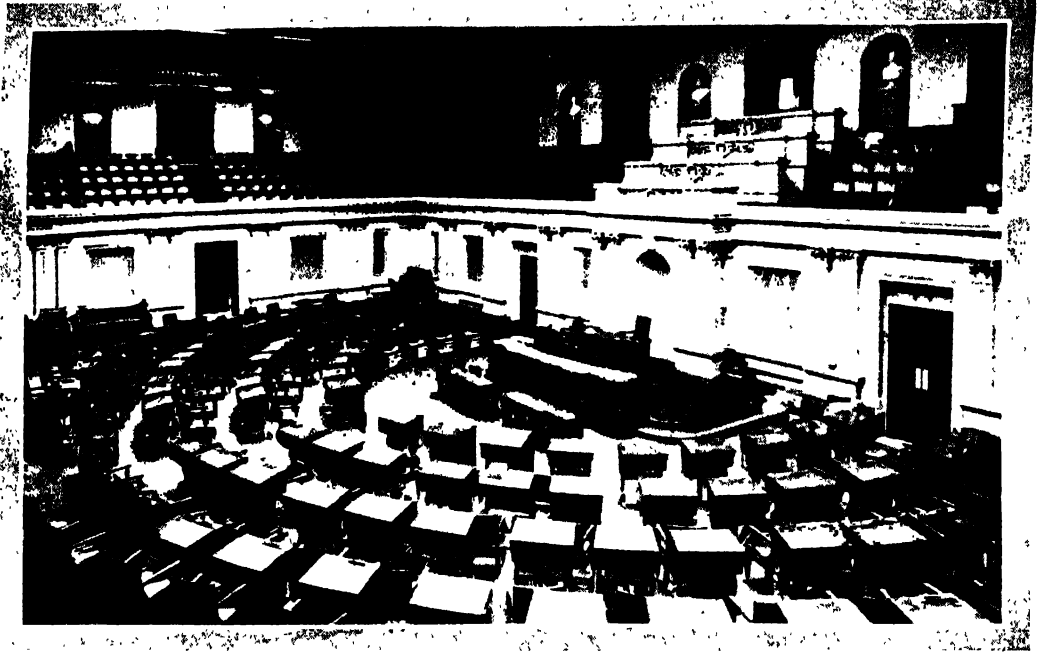
Later, he called these his "luckless years." Everything went wrong. Instead of a surplus in the treasury, he found a shortage of gold, the metal in which debts were supposed to



Photo by Granstaff Bros

This is President Cleveland, who has been called "a man four-square" because of his steady honesty and courage.

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In this dignified chamber the Senate of the United States meets to debate laws, pass on the president's

appointments, act on treaties with foreign nations, and discharge all the other duties that rest upon it.

be paid. Finally he sent for J. Pierpont Morgan, the great financier, and made an arrangement with him which should keep the government from running out of gold. The great banker drove a hard bargain, and naturally Cleveland was criticized for appealing to "Wall Street," which had become the financial center of the country.

The Famous Pullman Strike

There had been another panic (1893), and labor conditions were worse than ever. In 1894 a terrible strike broke out against the Pullman Company, and the company refused to arbitrate. The President sent federal troops to see that trains carrying United States mail were not kept from running. At the same time, a federal court issued an injunction against the strikers, ordering them not to interfere with the mail trains. That meant that strikers disobeying the court ruling could be punished without trial. Of course this move angered the strikers, and, in spite of the pleadings of their leader, Eugene V. Debs, violence broke out. Federal troops fired on the mob, and Debs and his associates were imprisoned. This action of President Cleveland in breaking the strike

made those who sympathized with labor bitter against him.

The President, however, won a victory in foreign relations. There had been for some years a dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain about the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. According to the Monroe Doctrine, the United States was concerned in any dispute which threatened to take land from a South American republic and turn it over to a European power. After long efforts, ending in what amounted to a threat of war, England was persuaded to settle the matter by arbitration.

The Campaign of Ninety-six

Meanwhile the seesaw was getting ready to tip again. And this was going to be the most exciting campaign since the Civil War—a campaign in which there was much more at issue than whether the ins would be out or the outs in. But to understand what the campaign of 1896 was all about, we shall have to go back a good way and speak of things that have been left out of the story in order that they might be seen all together.

We have seen how by various strikes the laborers had let it be known that they re-

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sented not getting their share of the spoils of the Gilded Age. Almost at the same moment when the Knights of Labor were organizing, the farmers of the "Middle Border"—the prairies between the Western mountains and the Mississippi—were awakening to the fact that they had been cheated too. After the panic of 1873 they began to turn their "granges," or social clubs, into political societies, and to fight the railroads, among other things, through state governments. But the Grangers were no match for Big Business with its money and its clever lawyers, and by the later eighties they were losing their influence.

The Discontented Farmers

But in the 1880's the farmers of the Middle Border were discontented and unhappy. Life on the Border was very hard. It meant loneliness and poverty and backbreaking toil from dawn to dark under the broiling sun in the corn rows or over a hot stove in the kitchen. It meant battling drought and hail and chinch bugs. Then when the harvest was finally ready for market, the railroads and storage companies charged so much for disposing of it that there was little left.

But the crowning hardship was the fall of prices after the panic of 1873. Most of the farmers had had to borrow money to start their farms, and now the dollar they had to pay back was worth much more than the dollar they had borrowed. At the same time, they could not get as much for their wheat and corn, their cattle and hogs. "There's too much hog in a dollar," one of

them said. So while the bankers, railroads, and factory owners were getting rich, the farmers were getting poor enough to be desperate. At one time they were burning their corn because it was worth less than any regular fuel!

Out of this desperate poverty arose the Populist party of the 1890's. Saying that both the old parties were mere tools of Big Business, its leaders stumped the prairies and the Southern cotton fields, with a political philosophy coming straight from the experience of the people. Let the prairies "raise less corn and more hell," cried Mary Ellen Lease of Kansas. In the presidential struggle of 1892 the Populist excitement ran so high that the farmers' candidate, James B. Weaver of Iowa, captured twenty-two electoral votes—and really had the two old parties frightened.

Redeeming Civil War Greenbacks

Now the farmers had become convinced that the root of their trouble was in the management of the currency. Money that is "easy" or "cheap" is always a boon to people who are in debt, because then it is easier to get hold of the money to pay the debt. Therefore—just as had happened after the Revolutionary War long ago—the farmers, having fallen into debt when money was easy, naturally did not like to see money becoming hard to get again. So they objected to the plan of the financial interests to do away with the paper money which had been issued during the Civil War. Against their protest, the government

It was men like these, laboriously working their farms along the frontier, who banded together to form the Populist party of the 1890's.



had resumed specie payment in 1870—that is, had promised to give metal money for any of the “greenbacks,” or paper bills, put out in wartime. For several years there had been a Greenback party (1876–1884), but it had not accomplished anything. Its aim had been to increase the number of “greenbacks,” and to use them to pay government bonds.

The Popular Cry for Silver

Then the farmers turned to silver instead of paper to supplement the gold money in circulation. The government had stopped coining silver dollars in 1873, but since then much silver had been mined in the West, and now the Westerners hoped to keep more money in circulation by having silver coined again at the old ratio to gold—that is, sixteen parts of silver equaling one of gold. The trouble was that silver became so plentiful as to be worth less than one-sixteenth of the value of gold. So, when the owners of silver mines and the farmers had persuaded the government to coin a certain amount of it at the old rate, there arose a cry against it from the people who wanted what they called “sound money.” The “silverites,” on the other hand, said that the government should coin freely all the silver that was brought to it and thus put enough money into circulation to make business move more easily. The bankers, they said, were cornering and hoarding the gold.

On this issue the campaign of 1896 was fought out. The Republicans nominated William McKinley on a platform of “sound money”—meaning the gold standard and no silver to be coined at all. The Populists and “free-silver” people, instead of running a candidate of their own, triumphantly walked in and captured the Democratic party. Cleveland was put aside, and William Jennings Bryan, a free-silver orator from Nebraska, was nominated.

It was very dramatic. Both Bryan and Marcus A. Hanna, who brought about McKinley’s nomination, had stumped the country even before the conventions met—Bryan

crying that the root of all evil was Wall Street, Hanna asserting that only the prosperity of Big Business could bring prosperity to the people at large. In the Democratic convention Bryan had made a famous speech, full of moving eloquence: “We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer, we entreat no more, we petition no more. We defy them!” Then, borrowing an image from the story of the crucifixion, he arose to his climax of emotion: “You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!” The orator was hailed as a “new Lincoln” and nominated amid scenes of wild enthusiasm.

East against West

The campaign was almost as much a matter of sections as had been the fateful one in which Lincoln was elected—only this time it was East against West, capitalistic industry against the farm. Bryan’s fiery eloquence converted thousands to his way of thinking, as he swung around the country making speeches. The Republicans poured money into the campaign like water—and of course, having Big Business back of them, they had more money to pour than the Democrats and Populists did. The Bryanites tried to arouse terror of the power of Wall Street and the trusts. The followers of McKinley terrified the hesitant by saying that free silver would ruin the national credit and pull business down around the country’s ears in ruin. In the end the latter fear triumphed. McKinley won the election by 600,000 votes.

It had been the greatest uprising of farmers since Jackson’s day. But the new industrial order was too strong. For the time, at least, business commanded the field. But high as the excitement had run, there was no thought of violence or of secession. However the seesaw might go up or down, Americans intended to stay on it together.

***The* HISTORY of the UNITED STATES**

Reading Unit No. 19

WHEN WE WENT TO WAR FOR CUBA

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

The close of the century found us at the cross roads. Should we follow Europe along the path of imperialism or remain self-suffi-

cient? We made our choice when we engaged in the war with Spain. America thus became an imperial nation.

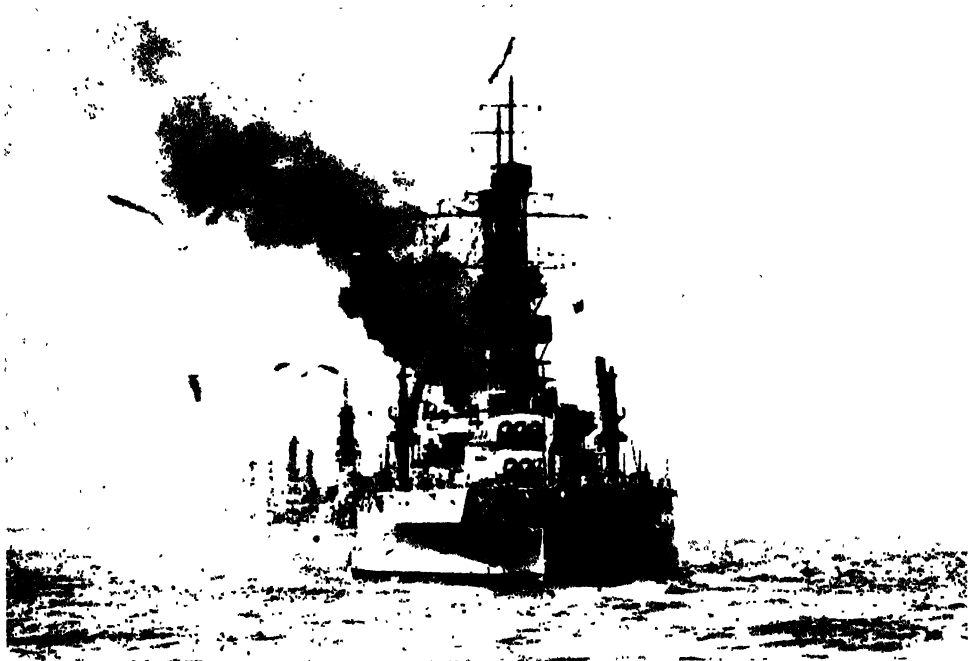


Photo by United States Navy

More than any other war in which the United States has ever fought, the Spanish-American War (1898) was decided on the sea. Far off across the Pacific, Admiral Dewey won sudden fame by his victory at

Manila Bay, and Sampson and Schley completely destroyed the Spanish fleet at Santiago. By this time the sailing frigates of earlier days were gone, and the navies of the world were steam-driven and armored.

WHEN WE WENT *to* WAR *for* CUBA

How the American People Followed "Manifest Destiny" into "Untried Paths"

THE island of Cuba lies not far off the southern shore of the United States, its towns bright in the semitropical sunshine, its broad acres of sugar and tobacco lovely to the eye and inviting to the purse of the investor. To the American people—politicians, business men, and lovers of humanity alike—it has always mattered what was going on in Cuba.

Spain had held the island since the time of Columbus. At first the main thing that troubled American statesmen was the danger that some stronger power, such as England or France, might get possession of it. Jefferson was worried about this, and later Clay was too, and so was Webster. But early some Americans began to want the island as

part of the United States. The slaveholders before the Civil War wanted to annex it as more slave territory. President Polk had tried to purchase it, and in the 1850's the matter nearly brought a war with Spain. Again just after the Civil War, President Grant had been on the verge of intervening in a long-drawn-out quarrel between Spain and her Cuban subjects.

So it was no new problem to which President McKinley fell heir when he took office in 1897. But by that time things had come to such a pass in Cuba that the problem was more serious and difficult than ever before. Spain had been in the habit of ruling with a heavy hand, and the Cubans were always rebelling. In 1895 rebellion had broken out

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more fiercely than ever, and cruelly severe measures had been taken to stop it. The old men, women, and children had been forced to come together in "reconcentration camps," where life was made so wretched for them that, in the district around Havana, more than half of them died of hunger and disease. Meanwhile, many Cubans were in the United States industriously spreading the news of these things, and gathering arms and ammunition and volunteers to help the Cuban cause. The United States government tried to stop these expeditions, as it was in duty bound to do; but the people sympathized with them and the government did not always succeed.

All over the United States there was indignant talk against Spain. Nor was this indignation all on account of the wretched suffering of the Cubans, although of course much of it was. Some Americans had also solid business reasons for wanting to get Spain out of Cuba. For before the war had begun there, trade with the island had amounted to about a hundred million dollars a year, and Americans had in Cuba some fifty million dollars in property, which the war was fast bringing to ruin. So stirred did the people become that shortly before President McKinley came into office both houses of Congress had voted to recognize the independence of Cuba, though President Cleveland had not been willing to break with Spain by following the Congressional advice.

The Sinking of the "Maine"

President McKinley carried on a long argument with the Spanish government, trying hard to win more self-government for Cuba and more protection for American citizens there. And in truth, a new ministry in Spain

did recall the man who had herded the people so cruelly into prison pens, and promised to try a plan giving the Cubans more freedom. But the compromise did not suit anyone very well, and seemed to have come too late.

Meanwhile two things happened which sent the excitement in the United States to

fever heat. A New York paper got hold of a private letter written by the Spanish minister at Washington, in which he said most uncomplimentary things about President McKinley. And before the indignation over that had cooled down, the American battleship "Maine," on a visit in the harbor of Havana, blew up in one terrible explosion and sank, with the loss of 260 lives.

No one knows to this day who or what

blew up the "Maine." It is not at all probable that the Spanish government had anything to do with it. But when a commission appointed to look into the matter reported that the explosion seemed to have come from without rather than within, the war spirit seized upon the disaster and made of it an insult and a watchword. The sensational "yellow" newspapers from coast to coast flaunted tall red headlines and shouted for blood. Flags fluttered from windows and flagstaves, and all over the country the cry went up, "Remember the 'Maine'!"

When the President's war message was already written, Spain made last-minute concessions which might very well have put off the fighting even if they had not succeeded in preventing it. Perhaps the President was convinced that the Spanish government was only trying to gain time; perhaps he had decided to give in to the popular clamor for war. At all events, the situation was a very trying one; and Congress, which had long felt that the war was necessary,



Photo by Visual Edu

President McKinley has called together his cabinet to discuss with them what is to be done about the unhappy island of Cuba.

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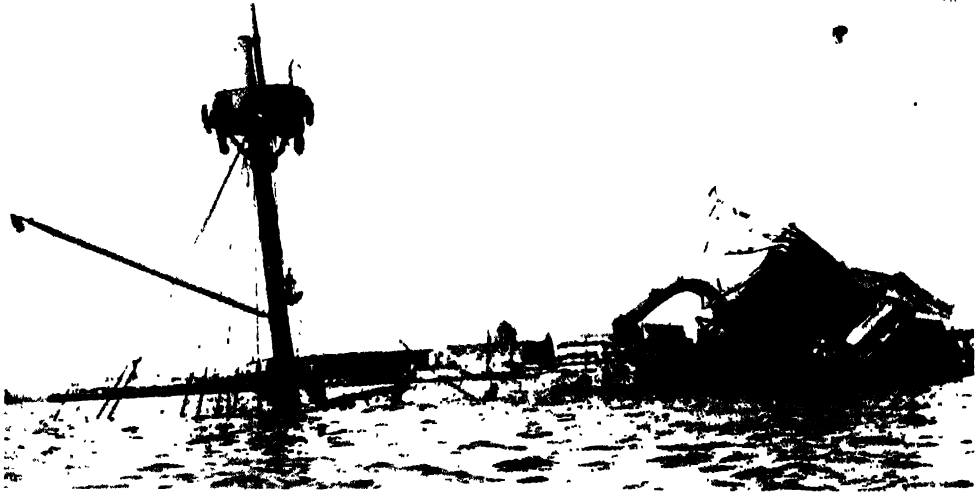


Photo by United States War Dept.

Here is the U.S.S. "Maine" sunk beneath the waters of Havana harbor. What or who sank her nobody knows. But when one is angry anyway, it is easy to

believe the worst. So the people of the United States were sure that Spain had sunk her, and went into the war shouting "Remember the 'Maine'!"

voted the declaration three to one in the Senate and seventeen to one in the House. This was in April, 1898.

A War Fought and Won on the Sea

The Spanish-American War was fought and won primarily on the sea. The Navy Department, supposing that it would come to war, had everything ready. Commodore George Dewey had been stationed at Hong-kong with five fighting cruisers, and when the war came he was soon steaming away toward the Philippines, which belonged to Spain, to attack the Spanish fleet there. The Spanish warships lay in Manila Bay. Boldly Dewey's fleet ran the gauntlet of fire from the forts along the straits, and attacked the Spaniards off Cavite (kā-vē'tā), in the bay. The American gunners had been at strenuous target practice for months, and their fire was fearfully accurate. When the battle was over, the Spaniards had lost over six hundred men, and the Spanish fleet was utterly destroyed. But Dewey was able to report that on the American side not a ship was lost, and not one sailor killed.

Meanwhile another Spanish squadron, under Admiral Cervera (thēr-vā'rā), was racing across the Atlantic toward the West Indies. The rest of the American fleet, under

Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, was trying to catch it on its way. But it slipped past and reached the harbor of Santiago (sān'tē-ä'gō), Cuba. Presently Sampson found out where it was, and "bottled it up" by anchoring at the mouth of the harbor to keep it from coming out.

Roosevelt and His Rough Riders

On the hills overlooking Santiago was encamped a small American army. Some sixteen thousand troops, largely volunteers, had come over from the camps in Florida, and had broken through the jungles and stormed up the heights of San Juan (sān hwān) and El Caney (ēl kā-nā') above the city. The supply service of the expedition had been wretchedly managed; the men were given warm woolen clothing for that tropical climate, and were half starved and almost without medical supplies while food and medicine lay useless in the rear. Fever had broken out, and was killing many more than fell by Spanish bullets. But the men seem to have taken it all as part of the fortunes of war, and to have kept up their spirits and enthusiasm.

One regiment in particular remained light-hearted and zestful to the end. This was the famous "Rough Riders," made up of

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cowboys and Indians and Harvard graduates in charming confusion—a “whimsical, gallant regiment,” as an English observer described them, given to cheering in season and out, and to laughing at everything. They were the enthusiastic devotees of their lieutenant colonel, Theodore Roosevelt, who had given up his energetic labors as assistant secretary of the navy to lead them.

The American army, ill-supplied and weakened by tropical diseases, was in a rather critical position. But Admiral Cervera knew only that he was between the fire of the American artillery on land and the American fleet at the mouth

of the harbor. He decided to try to get out to the open sea. But as his ships steamed forward, the Americans fell upon them with the same deadly fire that had won the Battle of Manila Bay. One after another the Spanish warships were shot to pieces or burst into flames. Another six hundred Spanish sailors were killed in the action or drowned, and only gallant rescue work on the part of the Americans saved seventeen hundred more from going down with the last of the Spanish fleet.

The Surrender of Santiago

Santiago now lay at the mercy of the besiegers on land and sea. On July 17, the city and all the Spanish army were surrendered to General Shafter, the American commander. With two fleets and an army gone, Spain sued for peace, and it was agreed that on August 12 the fighting should cease. The whole war had lasted less than four months.

But on August 13, before the news of the peace reached the far-off Philippines, Dewey had taken the city of Manila. This encouraged the United States to demand that Spain give up not only Cuba and Porto Rico in the West Indies, but also the Philippines in the far Pacific; though since Dewey's victory

had come after the peace, twenty million dollars was given to Spain in payment for the islands. The treaty was signed at Paris in December, 1898.

So the United States found her hands suddenly filled with the problems of empire. Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines—what was to be done with them?

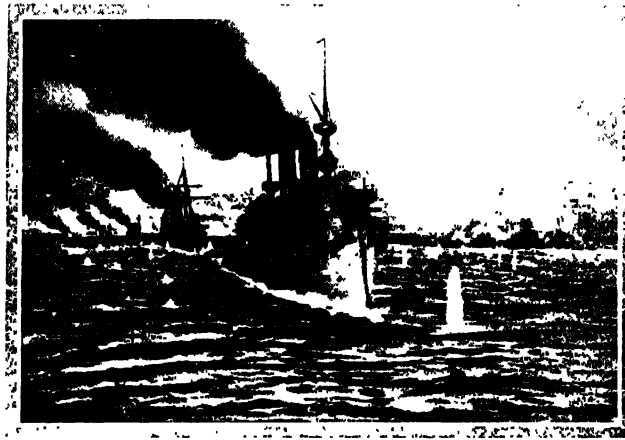


Photo by Visual Edu

Six American battleships were engaged in the Battle of Manila Bay, and seven Spanish. There was no lack of gallant courage in the Spanish fleet, but the American guns were much more accurate and destructive. Dewey's squadron steamed in column slowly past the enemy five times, firing each time at closer range. Then the smoke was so thick that no one could see what was happening, and Dewey was told—though it was a mistake—that his ammunition was getting low. So he drew off, telling the men to eat their breakfast. When the smoke cleared, only one Spanish ship was found which could still return the Americans' fire.

Even as to Cuba, the problem was delicate. President McKinley had distinctly told the Spanish government, in the course of the long negotiations before the war, that the United States did not want Cuba. When the declaration of war was passed, Congress had added a “self-denying” resolution, promising “to leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its own people.” On the other hand, the island was in turmoil, and no one could tell what would happen either to the Cubans themselves or to American interests in the island if the United States withdrew at once and completely. First, therefore, the little republic was efficiently reorganized by General Leonard Wood (1899–1902). Then, when the matter came to be finally settled, Congress passed the Platt Amendment to the Army and Navy Bill of 1901. This Amendment provided for a sort of protectorate in Cuba, giving the Cubans independence with certain condi-

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tions, the most important one being the right of the United States to intervene if necessary for the protection of life and property. The right was actually exercised in 1906, and again in 1912 and in 1917, although each time, when things had been straightened out, the Americans withdrew again. Europe was somewhat amazed that the promise of independence was kept, even with conditions.

Both Porto Rico and the Philippines were annexed outright. But this was not without misgiving on the part of many thoughtful Americans, and here and there in the halls of the Congress and throughout the land there arose the cry, "But this is empire!"

Of course annexing new territory was nothing new in the history of the Republic. There had been the Louisiana Purchase and the Texas annexation and the conquests of the Mexican War. But all of this territory had been at once filled up with American citizens and shortly taken on equal terms into the Union. Just after the Civil War, too, Secretary of State Seward had negotiated the purchase from Russia of the vast region of Alaska, far in the frozen north on the tip of the American continent. But the Philippines lay far across the broad Pacific, and were chiefly populated by brown-skinned natives of another race, some of whom, to be sure, were civilized enough, but others of whom were still savage head-hunters of the jungles. The Philippines must be taken as imperial colonies or not at all.

Our Problem in Porto Rico

Even Porto Rico, though it lay near the mainland and had a population more than half white, could not, for a while at least, be made a regular territory. For the whites themselves were of a different race and language, and only seventeen per cent of the whole population had enough education to

read and write. Porto Rico, however, did not object to the American rule. The government was made as nearly like that of a regular territory as practicable. To-day some Porto Ricans are in favor of independence, and others wish rather the status of a territory, with the hope of some day coming into the Union as a state. The advance of education on the island and the general process of "Americanization" makes either suggestion practicable now.

Meanwhile there was the problem of the Philippines. President McKinley had confessed that taking over the Philippines was venturing into "untried paths." Opponents of the treaty had talked sarcastically about buying Malays "at \$2.00 a head." They had pointed out that our country had gone into the war to free Cuba from Spanish imperial rule, not to gain imperial rule for itself. The Senate had argued a month before accepting the treaty. But it had accepted.

Then rebellion broke out in the islands. The native leader, Aguinaldo (á'gê-nál'dô), had in some way got the idea that the Americans were promising independence, and, on that understanding, had helped Dewey to take Manila. Now he turned fiercely on the new overlords. It took years of fighting in the tangled jungles to bring the insurgents to terms. Not until 1902 were the islands officially declared "pacified."

You may be sure that the anti-imperialists, the people who had not approved of annexing the islands in the first place, stormed indignantly against keeping them against their will. "Our imperialistic friends seem to have forgotten the use of the vocabulary of liberty," one of them said, and remarked that none of them had yet quite dared to say he would not do exactly as the Filipinos were doing if he were in the same situation. He added that his opponents' thoughts were all



President William McKinley, to whose lot it fell to steer the United States out into the uncharted waters of imperial power and responsibility.

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Photo by An of Natural History

Life in the Philippine Islands was rather primitive in the old days before the coming of the Americans. Here are a few girls and children, in their quaint

native costumes, hard at work on one of the plantations. Yet, even before the American occupation, many Filipinos had become educated.



Photo by Philippine Bureau of Science

The United States government did its best to spread education and progress throughout the Philippines. Here, for instance, is as modern-looking a group of

girls as one could hope to find. The government has been teaching them how to preserve fruit and vegetables; and they are justly proud of the result.

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for the commercial interests they had in the islands.

On the other hand, the expansionists pointed to the very real benefits of stable government and orderly development which the American rule was bringing and still might bring to the islands. They said that to "scuttle" the Philippines would only leave them a prey to some other power. They spoke of "the white man's burden," a phrase recently coined by the English poet Kipling; he meant by it that the white man, being advanced in civilization, should bring its blessings to such people as the Malays, whom McKinley called "our little brown brothers." The expansionists spoke also, as their grandfathers had when Texas and California were annexed, of Manifest Destiny. It was impossible, they argued, that America should fail to take her rightful place among the great powers of the world.

As a matter of fact, America had been in the Pacific longer than most Americans realized. A growing oriental trade had long caused American merchants to rub shoulders with those from England and Germany in China, Japan, and the islands of the sea. There was an American naval base in Samoa. American settlers and traders in Hawaii (hā-wī'ē) had nearly managed to get the Hawaiian (hā-wī'-yān) Islands annexed during Cleveland's time. And in the midst of the Spanish-

American War, Congress had finally annexed them. Although much of the population was Malay, Chinese, and Japanese, Hawaii was organized as a territory.

Uncle Sam in the Philippines

As for the Philippines, the President was given large powers to make what arrangements he thought best for governing them. As soon as a degree of peace had been restored, he appointed a civil governor (1901). At various times more of the government was turned over to the Filipinos. But the agitation for independence never stopped, either among the Filipinos themselves or among the anti-imperialists. Meanwhile the islands made great progress in education, and in trade and agriculture and general well-being. Thousands of American teachers went to the Philippines, and a great university grew up at Manila. During a debate in the House of Representatives over a bill for the speedy granting of Philippine independence, a gracious Filipino delegate said that he wished to thank the Americans for all they had done for the Philippines before thanking them for doing the last and greatest thing of all—granting the long-standing plea for independence. In 1934 the Tydings-McDuffie Act was at last passed, providing for entire independence in 1946. Before then, in World War II, Americans went to

help beat back the Japanese. And on July 4, 1946, the islands became independent.

But it had come about, as

Here is an American Red Cross nurse visiting a native hut in the Philippines, to give the Filipino mother the most modern instruction as to how to take care of her baby.

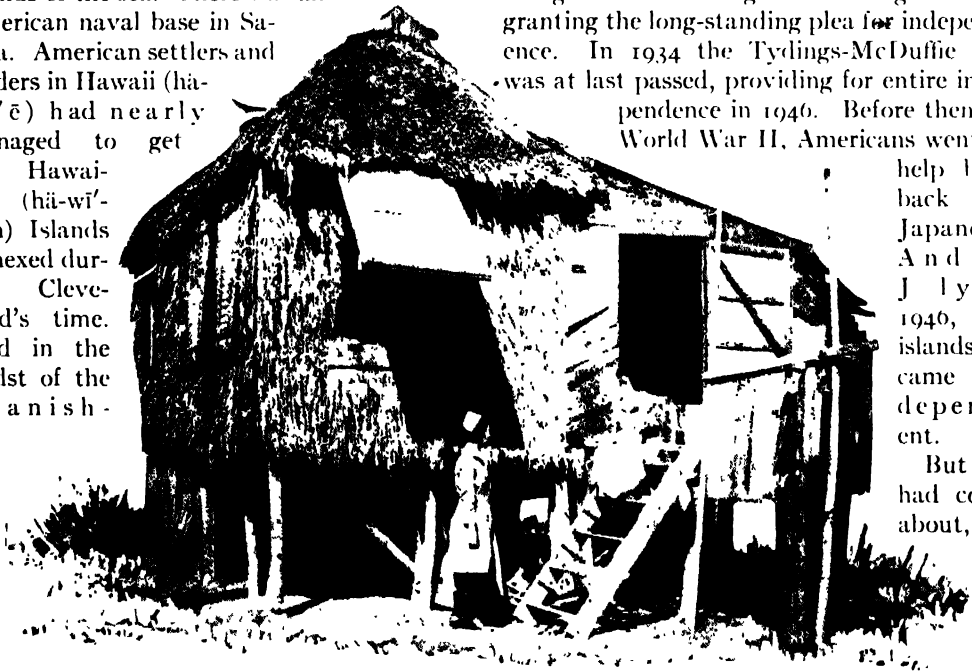


Photo by American Red Cross

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the nineteenth century faded into the twentieth, that the United States had definitely come to be one of the great powers among the nations of the world, not only by virtue of her strength and wealth at home but also by virtue of colonial possessions and commercial interests both in the Caribbean and in the Orient. Two other events of McKinley's administration helped to make this even clearer.

The first was the meeting of a great conference of the powers at The Hague, in Holland (1899), to discuss matters of international law and try to find a way to limit the huge armies and navies which were making all the countries poor. It is not likely that the United States would have taken any part in such a conference earlier in history; she would have argued that she had nothing to do with Europe's problems, even as she expected Europe to have nothing to do with America's. But now things were different. Not only was a delegation sent to The Hague, but its members took a leading part. It was through their efforts that the Hague Tribunal, a permanent arrangement for arbitrating quarrels between nations, was established. And the United States was the first nation to bring a quarrel to the tribunal for settlement.

The second of the events referred to was really a series of happenings. For some time the stronger powers had been engaged in what amounted to a carving up of China. Chinese territory had been seized, "spheres of influence" had been set up, and all sorts of special privileges had been gained by the various countries. This made matters very difficult, not only for the Chinese, but for

American merchants, too, since the United States had taken no part in the carving, and now found herself with so many rivals having special advantages. The air was cleared by the tact and cleverness of John Hay, the American secretary of state. He persuaded all the powers concerned to promise to allow China to remain a nation and to treat all foreigners alike. This was the policy of "the open door" in China.

Just at this point the Chinese themselves rose in revolt against the foreigners of all nations who had been overrunning their land. Secret patriot societies of "Boxers," or "fists of righteous harmony," sprang up, and trouble began to brew. The brew boiled over in 1900. The German minister was killed in the streets of Peking, as the Chinese capital was then called, and the rioting and violence that followed drove all the

foreign residents to barricading themselves in the British legation and sending out frantic cries for rescue. An international army, including Americans, marched to their assistance, and soon quieted the trouble. It had the weak Chinese

government at its mercy. In this crisis, Secretary Hay showed that the United States was really a friend of China; he prevented the powers from splitting the country among themselves. Instead, a huge payment of

money was demanded to cover the damage and expense of the affair. When the United States found that she had received more than she had lost, Secretary Hay made another friendly gesture; nearly half the money was returned, to be used in the education of Chinese students in the United States. This whole affair immensely increased American prestige in the Far East.

Meanwhile, at home, business was booming, and the country was entering the new century in a mood of pride and optimism.



Photo by United States War Dept

This is a Chinese Boxer, one of those who hated the foreigners in China so much as to rebel against them. Great honor is due to Secretary Hay, who managed to make America's part in putting down the Boxer Rebellion a basis, not of hatred, but of friendship between the United States and China.



Photos by Visual Education Service

Above are two significant scenes in the political career of William McKinley. The picture at the left shows him, while still a member of the House of Representatives, presenting his Tariff Bill to Congress. This bill, which was passed in 1890, while Harrison was president, made the tariff duties higher; a high tariff was one of the main policies of the Republican party,

Whatever else the Spanish War had done, it had certainly made the country aggressively patriotic. It had drawn the East and West, the South and North, together. Ex-Confederate officers had asked for commands in the army—and had got them. The easy victory and the new feeling of being a power among the nations tickled the national vanity, in spite of protests.

The Return of Prosperity

The hard times of the early nineties had gone, and it was high tide of prosperity again. You may be sure that when it came to the presidential campaign of 1900, the Republicans did not fail to remind the country of that fact. The Democrats, who were running Bryan again, talked mostly of anti-imperialism, with side remarks on the old issue of free silver. But the Republicans talked of Manifest Destiny—and of “McKinley prosperity.” Hanna, the Republican campaign manager, made a catchword and a slogan of “the full dinner pail,” and won many a labor vote by it. Because this slogan catches so neatly the exuberant spirit of the time, you will sometimes hear people now refer to the years around 1900 as the Era of the Full Dinner Pail.



and of McKinley in particular. The picture at the right shows McKinley, now president, signing the Protocol of Peace which stopped the fighting in the war with Spain. This protocol, or temporary agreement, was signed August 12, 1898; it fixed all the terms of the later treaty of peace except the question of just what was to be done about the Philippines.

McKinley won the election by a large margin. But he had scarcely taken the oath for his second term when he was hit by the bullet of an assassin (1901), while attending the Pan-American Exhibition at Buffalo. He was the third American president to be assassinated.

The man who then came suddenly to the presidency was one of the most vigorous and picturesque figures in all American history—Theodore Roosevelt. As a reform governor of New York he had already worried the politicians so much that they had put him into the vice presidency in the hope of getting rid of him. He had not wanted the office—for the vice president is usually a good deal of a figurehead, and it is hard to imagine Roosevelt as a figurehead. But he had made himself too popular by his dashing leadership of the Rough Riders in the war, and he was nominated on the first ballot, receiving every vote but his own! And now, by an ironic twist of fate, having been elected vice president, he was to serve as president.

For a nation setting out on “untried paths,” here was a guide who would never be at a loss as to which turn he wanted to take, and would fairly revel in the dangers of the journey.

The HISTORY of the UNITED STATES

Reading Unit No. 20

OUR COUNTRY ASKS FOR "NEW FREEDOM"

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

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Summary Statement

The opening of the twentieth century ushered in a new type of liberalism in government. Reform was again in the saddle, but

it now attacked the invisible government of machine politicians and of the moneyed interests directed by a few wealthy men.

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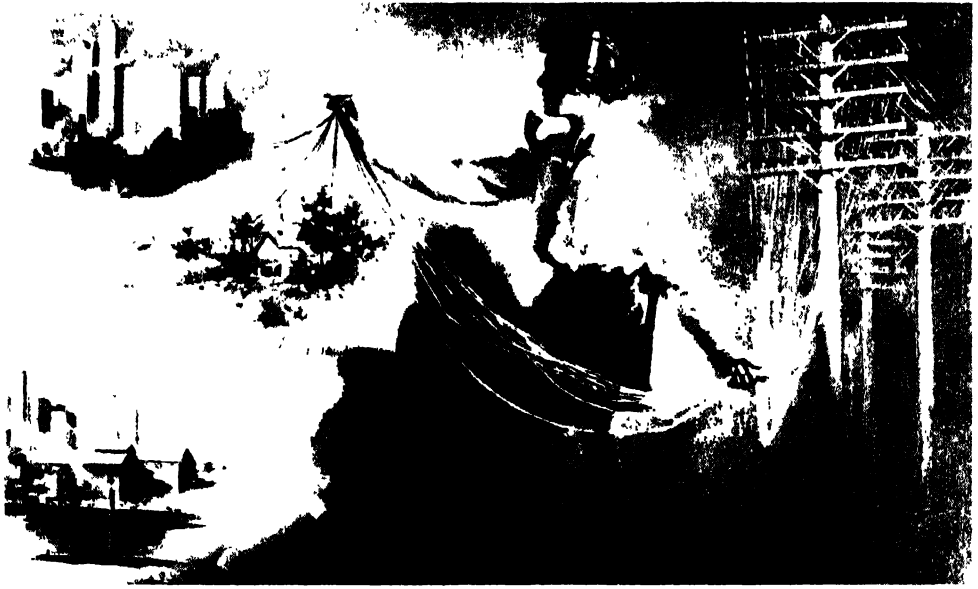


Photo by American Tel. & Tel. Co.

In the early years of our own century the wide distances of America were drawing together until the whole United States was for practical purposes much smaller than had been the thirteen original states in their narrow strip along the Atlantic. The railroads

had spread a net of speed over the whole continent, and the automobile was beginning to tempt restless Americans to explore their country. And even for those who stayed at home the telegraph and telephone had come, linking cities, villages, and lonely farms.

OUR COUNTRY ASKS *for* "NEW FREEDOM"

How the People of America, in the Early Years of This Century, Tried to Solve Some of the Problems of the New Day

IN SOME ways the first fourteen years of the twentieth century--before the World War broke out in Europe--are as thrilling a time as any in American history. It is no longer the romance of the frontier that thrills us, for the frontier was gone. There was no excitement of battle, for it was, happily, a time of peace. There was not even, for most Americans, the feverish dream of wealth they had known in the Gilded Age. But the time is thrilling just the same; for all sorts of things were happening to make life more worth living for everyday people, and never before or since has hope run so high that a way would surely be found to solve all the knotty problems of government *by* the people and *for* the people, and so to bring peace and prosperity to all men.

Most of the modern inventions and dis-

coveries which make our lives different from the lives of our grandfathers were becoming important in these years. There were more than eight times as many telephones in the United States in 1915 as in 1900, and already one took it for granted that one's new friend had a telephone number. In the 1890's there had been a great craze for riding bicycles, but in the 1900's the "younger generation" was already dashing about the country in automobiles. The first successful airplane flight was made by Orville Wright in 1903. Boston built her first subway in 1898 and New York her first in 1900. Trolley cars were fast weaving a network of "interurban" tracks from town to town. Besides running the subways and trolleys, electricity was lighting more and more homes and office buildings, doing half the well-to-do house-

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wife's work for her, standing like the genie of Aladdin's lamp at everybody's beck and call for the mere pushing of a button. Radio was not yet, nor the "talkies," but during these years the silent "movies" were quietly taking over more and more of our nickels and dimes and quarters, more and more of our spare time. Skyscrapers were already pricking the clouds in New York and Chicago, and news stands were disappearing under a load of cheap, bright-colored magazines. Children were being fed "cereals" for breakfast and learning that they must eat lettuce and spinach. Life, you see, was really quite "modern" in those days "before the war."

But while most of these things helped make life easier for the ordinary person, Americans about 1900 were becoming most uncomfortably aware that, with the good things of life being piled up in glittering profusion, and with science tossing off new marvels every day, Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen and their family were not getting anywhere near their share of these things. And for the very poor—the immigrant, the factory worker, the shopgirl, the little child toiling ten or twelve hours a day in mill or tenement room—life was so hard that many people shuddered to think of it. A fifth of the people owned about four-fifths of the wealth; millions did not have enough to live on decently. And the great moneyed "interests" which had gathered in the wealth had got hold of the government too, and ruled it through reckless politicians till there was not much left of the democracy that Jackson had led to victory. It was a sad awakening from the dreams of the Gilded Age, just past.

Leaders of Democracy

But these problems were now manfully attacked. Great progress was made toward solving them, though of course many of them are still far from solved. And in the brave

and hopeful fight which was made to bring America a truer democracy lies the thrill of these years. It was a campaign of peace as exciting as any battle.

In the Gilded Age after the Civil War the most vivid personalities had been the great captains of industry. But now there arose leaders of the people, who, in office or out of it, were loved and hated in life and remembered in death, just as the elder statesmen of Civil War days had

been. Bryan, famous less as a statesman than as an orator, had already appeared to lead the farmers' revolt in the 1890's; his spell was still on the Democratic party, and he campaigned against Roosevelt and nominated Wilson. Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin was the greatest of the reformers of state governments, and leader of the liberals in Congress. Eugene Debs, labor leader and apostle of humanity, headed the more radical group, the Socialists, in five presidential campaigns. Greater leaders even than these were the two



Brown B.
This is William Jennings Bryan, as truly democratic a leader as ever arose in American history.

who won the presidency: Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

Roosevelt (rō'zē-vēlt), made president in the autumn of 1901 by the assassination of McKinley, swiftly became the most popular president since Washington. The country liked his independence and vigor, his ability to make quick decisions, to get things done even if he had to cut through miles of "red tape" to do them. It liked his wide flashing smile and hearty handshake—"Delighted to meet you," he would say, and everyone believed he meant it. The country liked, too, his ability to toss off catchy phrases, his democratic informality, his delight in strenuous outdoor sports like hunting. When he had finished McKinley's term of office, he was renominated by acclamation, and overwhelmed the Democratic candidate, Alton B. Parker, at the polls with the greatest plurality any president had ever won. Then as "president in his own right" he went right

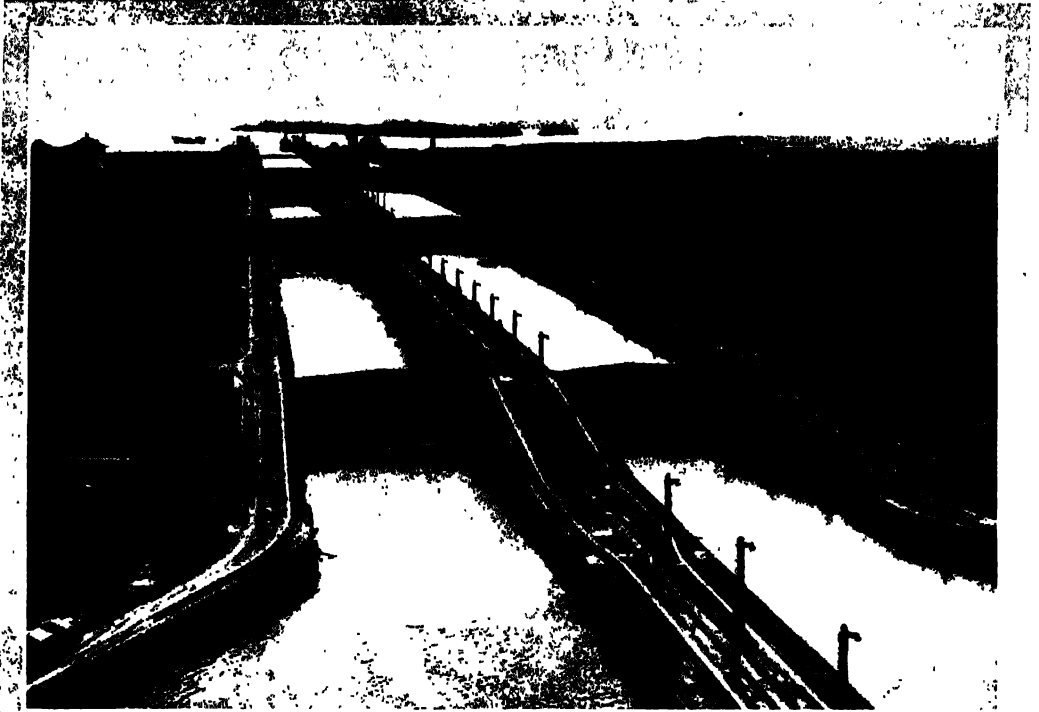


Photo by Panama Canal

This view shows the Gatun Locks, through which ships pass in going through the Panama Canal. These locks, which are only six of the twelve in the canal, lift the ships 85 feet into Gatun Lake, which we can see in the distance. The picture is taken looking

ahead even more vigorously on his way, until he became probably the best-known person in the whole world. "The two things in America which seem to me most extraordinary," an eminent English visitor is reported to have said, "are Niagara Falls and President Roosevelt."

Building the Panama Canal

The most spectacular event in President Roosevelt's administration, and one of the most important, was the beginning of work on the Panama Canal. As long ago as 1878 a French company had tried to build such a canal, but had failed. Now at last, after long haggling, this company was ready to sell its rights for a reasonable sum to the United States. An old treaty with England stood in the way, but England was willing to do away with it. So in 1902 a treaty was drawn up arranging with Colombia, of which Panama was a province, for rights to build the canal for certain money payments. But,

south. For oddly enough, the canal does not run west from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as one might expect, but goes south from the Atlantic entrance to Gatun Lake, then southeast to the Pacific. That comes, of course, from the twist in the Isthmus of Panama.

unexpectedly, Colombia refused to ratify the treaty, demanding more money—more, the American government thought, than the land was worth. Things seemed to have come to a sudden standstill.

At this point there was a revolution in Panama. The authority of Colombia was thrown off, the new republic was at once recognized by the United States, and a treaty signed with it for building the canal. This all happened so fast that people are still arguing as to just how it came about. Later, in an unguarded moment, President Roosevelt spoke of how he had "taken" Panama. But he always insisted that he had not started the revolution. Apparently what he had done was to let it be known that if someone else started it the United States would see that Colombia had no chance to put it down. It was not until much later that Colombia's friendship was re-won by a treaty providing for the payment of twenty-five million dollars for her rights in the Canal Zone.

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Meanwhile, at Panama, the "dirt had begun to fly" in one of the greatest pieces of engineering ever undertaken on the American continent. Before the canal was opened, in 1914, mountains had literally been moved, a new lake built, and a mighty system of locks and deep-cut channel had joined at last the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific. First honors for the engineering triumph go to George W. Goethals (gō'thālz), head of the Federal Canal Commission which brought the work to completion.

Fully as marvelous as the canal itself was another victory won at Panama—a victory without which the canal could never have been built. The region of the Canal Zone had been a death trap for white men because of the terrible tropical diseases, particularly malaria and yellow fever, which had lain in wait there. But Dr. William C. Gorgas, as head of the sanitary work of the Commission, turned this deadly place into a spot as healthful as any in the United States. Dr. Gorgas, who was an army surgeon, had been chief sanitary officer in Cuba during the American occupation, and had actually stamped out yellow fever there. This he had been able to do because of the heroic work of a group of American doctors and their assistants, who had risked their lives to prove that it was the bite of a certain mosquito which carried yellow fever.

The Battle against Disease

Nor were these the only triumphs which came to the science of medicine in these years. A great campaign was waged against the hookworm, which was making the people of Porto Rico and the "poor whites" of the South weak and anemic. The armies of health advanced against typhoid fever and tuberculosis, and it came about that the average person lived several years longer at the end of the period than at the beginning. You see that, along with their more dubious

results, America's adventures into the untried paths of "imperialism" brought chances for wonderful achievements in science and engineering.

They brought, too, a new feeling of power among the nations, and this could be turned at times to good account. President Roosevelt

was not slow to see the fact.

Many people felt that his power had been turned to *bad* account in the affair of Panama. Many people felt the same way about the setting up of a protectorate over the tiny republic of Santo Domingo (1905) when she failed to pay her debts. These same people disliked the President's

whole idea that in moving among the little Latin-American nations we should, as he put it, "speak softly and carry a big stick."

Nevertheless, several presidents after Roosevelt, Republican and Democratic, used much the same tactics in Central America and among the little republics on the islands. Not only Santo Domingo but Haiti also has been entered and controlled

by United States marines, for years at a time. In 1917 the United States bought the Virgin Islands outright. By the outbreak of World War I, without the American people's quite realizing how it had happened, the Caribbean Sea had become an American lake.

But while in carrying on the policy started by the Spanish-American War, Roosevelt used the new American power in ways more imperialistic than some of his countrymen approved, all agreed that he did several real services to the cause of peace in the world at large. He persuaded Russia and Japan, who had flown at each others' throats over Manchuria, to send delegates to a conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; this conference led to a treaty of peace (1905). The next year he persuaded France and Germany to settle a quarrel about Morocco without war. So he richly deserved the Nobel prize for helping international peace, which was

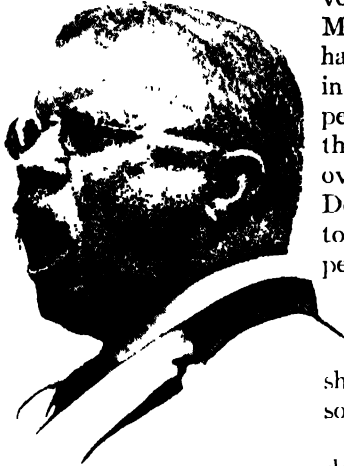


Photo by Keystone View Co.

President Theodore Roosevelt was at his best when in vigorous action—announcing a lightning decision or stirring an audience to wild enthusiasm by a vigorous speech.

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Photo by Wheeling Steel Corp.

In the "Roosevelt Era" there was not the slightest doubt left that the United States had become one of the great industrial nations. Thousands of factories belched their smoke into the sky and stood at night outlined sharply by the light of their own roaring

furnaces. In the factories labored huge numbers of workers, who were now raising determined voices for their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Out of the factories the "trusts" and the "interests" drew vast power.

given to him for these services. In 1907, also, the United States took honorable part in the Second International Conference at The Hague.

The Cry against Trusts

But peace was only one of the reforms which this reforming age was bent upon. At home, President Roosevelt had shown the same vigor and won even more applause—as well as a good deal of enmity, too—by his attacks on the "trusts," the powerful groups of capitalists which had been getting stronger and stronger and bigger and bigger all through the past decades. While McKinley was president, the biggest combination so far in history had been formed—the United States Steel Corporation, with J. P. Morgan at its head, having a working capital of over a billion dollars. Many people had come to think that this was too much money to be controlled by any one man or small group of men, and a great cry had arisen against the "trusts," the "interests," "Wall Street," "monopolies," and the "invisible government."

There was a flood of articles appearing in

the new popular magazines, articles telling a great many evil facts about how the country was run by these great trusts, about terrible working conditions, about "dirty" politics, about all sorts of abuses, usually coming back in the end to the sins of the money interests. Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Ray Stannard Baker led the attack in the magazines. The novelists—Upton Sinclair, Robert Herrick, Frank Norris—took up the cry and began to turn out "problem novels," picturing the same conditions and sometimes suggesting remedies. All this excited grubbing up of unpleasant facts came to be called "muckraking" that is, raking up the mud—a vivid phrase borrowed from the old story of "Pilgrim's Progress."

The Rich Man's Panic

The president's "trust-busting" activities were partly the cause and partly the result of this popular outcry. Roosevelt made an energetic attempt to enforce the anti-trust laws, which McKinley had not bothered to pay any attention to. He astonished Morgan by refusing to "fix up a deal" allowing a huge railroad merger between Morgan and



Photo by American Lumberman

Theodore Roosevelt is remembered above all else for his rescue of the natural resources of the nation, which were fast running to waste. Logging such as this is all very well—is necessary if we are to have timber to build with; but there had been so much careless logging that at the rate we were going we

the railroad king James J. Hill. He followed this up by pushing through Congress a series of acts designed to make the old Sherman Anti-Trust Law work better, and by acting through these laws against several giant corporations. Big Business protested loudly against this interference, and blamed it for a “rich man’s panic” which occurred on Wall Street in 1907. But the truth appears to be that by clever reorganization the great trusts managed to make more money after they had been “busted” than before.

Roosevelt’s Way of Doing Things

In the war between capital and labor, it was neither capital nor labor, but rather the public at large, that Roosevelt sought to protect. One of the most famous examples of how he could get things done, no matter whether or not the way he did them was at

should some day have had to quit logging altogether—for lack of trees. Roosevelt provided for replanting the forests, and set aside timber land in government reservations until the national parks numbered 149 and covered an area larger than France and Great Britain combined. It was done just in the nick of time.

all usual or even altogether legal, is the way in which he handled the great coal strike in 1902. The employers refused to arbitrate, and the strike dragged on—with no coal being mined against the coming winter. The President took matters into his own hands, threatened to work the mines with federal troops if necessary, and kept after the operators until they consented to accept the report of a commission of inquiry.

The Advance of Organized Labor

Among the things this commission required the operators to do was to recognize the union of the miners. During the years of which we are speaking, great advances were made by organized labor both in getting new members and in persuading or forcing employers to recognize and treat with the unions. The American Federation of Labor

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continued to be the strong, conservative backbone of the movement. The more radical laborers were building an organization of their own, the Industrial Workers of the World, or "I. W. W.," which frankly believed that laborers had nothing in common with employers and should vigorously unite in "one big union" against them.

President Roosevelt, as we have seen, did not very clearly take sides in the quarrel between capital and labor. The greatest service he did for his country was not in this field, but in his campaign for the "conservation of natural resources." Now that the frontier was gone, the country, with Roosevelt's help, suddenly woke up to the fact that at the rate things were then going, it would soon have left no public land, no forests, and—because felling forests dries up streams—little waterpower. Building on and adding to laws passed years before, the President attacked the problem with his usual energy.

He set aside over 140,000,000 more acres of forests in the national preserves. With the able help of his Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, he started scientific replanting of the forests as they were cut, and provided for protection against the terrible fires which sweep through forest lands. That is why, when you go camping in a National Park, you see signs telling you to put out your campfire before moving on; and that is why there are National Parks to camp in. At the same time that he was conserving the forests, Roosevelt encouraged a movement for improving river and canal navigation, which had fallen into neglect with the rise of the railroads. He also withdrew from sale large tracts of government land containing

mineral deposits, in order to prevent reckless waste.

Besides this, thousands of acres of land too dry for farming were opened up to settlers by government aid in irrigation. Now, on innumerable farms or "ranches" of the great Inland Empire beyond the Mississippi, you may see the water trickling in tiny streams between the rows of pota-

toes or apple trees—water which has been stored in mountain lakes made by huge dams, and has been brought to field and orchard through great conduits or flumes.

In 1908, Roosevelt refused to run for what would have been to all intents and purposes a third term, and suggested that the Republicans nominate William Howard Taft, who had been his secretary of war. The Democrats ran Bryan for the third time, and the Socialists for the third time—nominated Debs. But Roosevelt had bequeathed his popularity to Taft, and Taft was easily elected.

Now President Taft was ready to follow at least some

of Roosevelt's popular policies, but he was a slow and cautious man where Roosevelt had been bold and dashing; and he let the leadership of the Republican party slip back to the more conservative party politicians, the "stand-patters" as they came to be called. He signed the new Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill, which raised tariff rates still higher in the face of a promise in the Republican platform that they would be lowered. That simply fanned the fires of revolt that were already burning within and without the party; the insurgents were now sure that the President was a mere tool of the "interests."

There was a Democratic landslide in the



Great areas of the West, from Washington to Arizona, do not have enough rain to grow crops. But since the federal government has stepped in to help irrigation, the life-giving water trickles in tiny runnels over millions of acres, and some of our biggest apples and potatoes come from what was once a desert.

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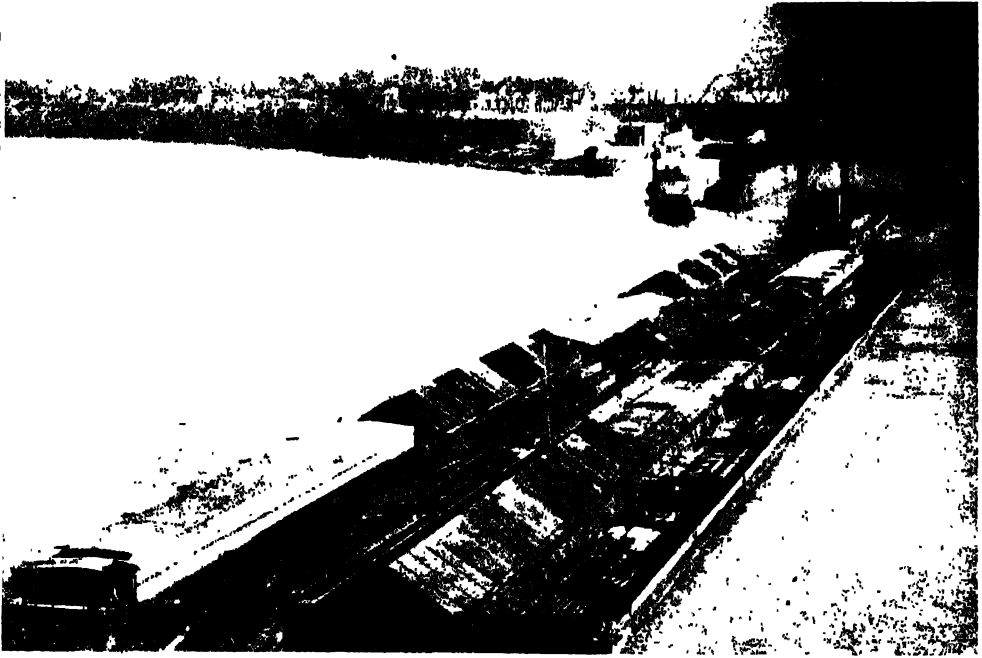


Photo by U. S. Engineers Corps

This steamboat is leaving a lock at Louisville. President Roosevelt's conservation policy aimed to build up the inland waterways. River and canal traffic had

fallen off since the coming of the railroads, and the waterways had been neglected till they were falling into decay. Much was done to rescue them.

mid-term elections of 1910, and the Progressive Republicans decided it was time to rescue their party. So under the leadership of Senator La Follette, they formed a National Republican Progressive League, and La Follette was widely talked of for president. But Roosevelt, who had come back from hunting lions in Africa in a blaze of world-wide glory, now threw in his lot with the Progressives. His followers in hordes began urging him to run again. For a long time he thought he ought not to do it, but finally, at almost the last minute, he announced with his old picturesque fervor that his "hat was in the ring."

The Birth of Bull Moosers

But when the Republican convention met at Chicago, the "steam roller" of the party machine steamed right ahead—and renominated Taft. Now Roosevelt was not the man to be stopped by a steam roller! If he could not run as a Republican, he would run as a Progressive. So later in the summer of 1912, amid scenes of fervid enthusiasm like those

of a religious revival, he was nominated by the new Progressive party—on a platform which to many of his liberal admirers read like "a dream come true." Once Roosevelt had remarked at the beginning of a campaign that he felt "as strong as a bull moose." The new party took this animal for its emblem, and sometimes you will hear its members called Bull-Moosers even yet.

The Crest of the Wave of Reform

At the same time the Democrats, seeing that the country was eager for reform and that the Republicans were split in two, seized their opportunity. Bryan did not intend to run again, but it was through his influence that the nomination went to another of the great liberal leaders of this generation—Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey.

In the campaign that followed, Debs, running for the fourth time on the Socialist ticket, polled the most Socialist votes ever cast before or since. And of the three main candidates, both Roosevelt and Wilson claimed to be decidedly liberal or progressive

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in their ideas. You will not find any other presidential campaign quite like this in American history.

It was the crest of that wave of political and social reform which, as we started out by saying, swept over the country in the years just before World War I. It had begun in various experiments in the government of states and cities. There were two main kinds of reform: laws making it harder for politicians and party "bosses," acting often for the "interests," to keep the people from having their way in the government; and laws to protect people from injury and injustice, and to make life more worth living for everybody, especially the poor. They were all meant to make the United States more truly a democracy.

The Oregon Plan

For the first purpose—to let the people rule through their votes—various states had worked out several new plans. By the "direct primary" members of political parties can nominate candidates by a sort of preliminary party election, instead of leaving all that to the politicians at conventions. By the "initiative" a certain number of voters, through signing a petition, can force the legislature to consider a law. By the "referendum," such a group can force the government to let the people vote on a law directly. By the "recall," a certain number of voters can force an official to allow the people to vote all over again on whether they want to keep him in office or not.

Along with these reforms, which are often called the "Oregon plan" because the state of Oregon led the way in adopting them, went others. At the very time of this campaign of 1912 there was at last before the states an amendment to the Constitution providing that the people themselves instead of the state legislatures should elect United States senators; the amendment went into effect in 1913. All through this period, too, there was a growing interest in woman suffrage. Wyoming had come into the Union with woman suffrage in 1890, and by 1912 enough other states, mostly in the West, had followed Wyoming's lead to make the

presidential candidates take account of the women's votes.

For the other purpose—to make the conditions of life happier—states were passing laws against child labor, cutting down the hours that women and sometimes men could work, saying that workmen must be given money if they were injured at work, setting a lower limit for the wages that might be paid a man, letting a little air and sunshine into the terrible slums of the great cities—working at all these tasks and more, none of which is yet completed. Meanwhile federal laws had been passed on such things as the purity of the foods sold to the people.

This was the new liberal notion: that government, the state governments and the national government too, ought not only to be controlled by the common people, but ought to do all sorts of things for them—from building dams in Nevada to protecting babies' milk in New York City. It was a new sort of democracy, which believed in as strong a government as Hamilton had wanted, and yet was as interested in the common man as Jefferson had been. For the moment, in 1912, it had made itself heard both in the party of Hamilton—the Republican—and in the party of Jefferson—the Democratic.

Since the Republicans had been split wide open by this new democracy, it was only to be expected that the Democrats would win. Yet Wilson did not manage to win a majority of the people's votes, although he received about four-fifths of the electoral votes. There was the immense popularity of Roosevelt to consider; with no party machine behind him, he had two-thirds as many votes as the winner, and actually carried six states. As for Taft, he was a poor third, and in spite of doubling their vote, the Socialists were out of the running. Wilson took office with the backing of Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress.

The new President had said much during the campaign of what he called the "New Freedom." How he tried to bring this New Freedom to the country, what progress he made, and how tragically he was interrupted, is, as Fipling used to say, another story.

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Reading Unit No. 21

AMERICA IN WORLD WAR I

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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The artillery played a large part in World War I. No fortification could stand against the great guns. They battered down the villages, laid walls of fire

before advancing troops, and bombarded the trenches with appalling destruction of life. This gun can shoot a fourteen-inch shell over eighteen and a half miles.



Photos by United States Signal Corps

The business of getting supplies to the front was as necessary and sometimes nearly as perilous as the actual fighting. Shells had to be fed to the guns and

bullets to rifles and machine guns. The men had to have equipment and above all food. This picture shows American supply wagons dashing for the front.



Photo by United States Signal Corp

Once again, in 1917, the United States trained her guns on an enemy and fought in a great war. And this time the guns—of all the nations—were so deadly

that people asked if civilization could survive another such war. The great lesson of the World Wars is that men must learn to keep the peace.

AMERICA in the FIRST WORLD WAR

How the United States Was Called from Reforms at Home to Take Part in the Great War Raging Overseas

PRESIDENT Wilson had only about a year and a half of normal times in which to put through all the reforms he felt were called for by the New Freedom he had preached when he was campaigning. Of course he did not know how short a time he had, but one might have thought he did from the energy with which he went at the work. His was as strong a hand on the helm as Roosevelt's had been, although this calm and scholarly man, reserved and deliberate and aloof, was about as different from the impetuous and popular "Teddy" as anyone well could be. From the first it was clear that this was going to be a notable administration.

The new President had scarcely been inaugurated when he called Congress together in extra session, and he kept it in almost continuous session for something like a year and eight months. He got more work out of it than any other peace-time Congress had ever been able to get done.

It passed several very important financial measures. The Underwood Tariff actually lowered duties for the first time since the Civil War. To make up for the loss of revenue, Congress levied an income tax; a Constitutional Amendment had been passed to make such a tax legal. Most important of all, Congress devised a new banking system, called the Federal Reserve System. Under it the whole country is divided into twelve districts, each with its Federal Reserve Bank; these banks, working under the Federal Reserve Board of directors, try to steady credit, so that it will not be sometimes so hard to borrow money and at other times so easy.

This Congress also passed important laws concerning the problems of capital and labor. It formed a Federal Trade Commission to keep track of the doings of Big Business and help it to obey the laws. It passed another anti-trust law, too, with the idea of making the old Sherman Act clearer and putting

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"teeth" in it. This Clayton Act carried several provisions meant to protect labor—for example, a statement that labor unions were not "trusts" and should not be declared, like trusts, to be "in restraint of trade." Another law set up a Board of Mediation and Conciliation, which settled a great many strikes.

To help the farmers, Congress made large gifts of money to the agricultural colleges. The Department of Agriculture began sending out all sorts of bulletins to tell the farmers how to do everything from killing aphids to building roads, and experiment stations and extension courses in the most improved farming methods were scattered all over the land. In 1917 a Federal Board of Vocational Education was set up. The year before, there had been a Farm Loan Act, to make it possible for the farmers to borrow money on easier terms, so that they would not get again into the state of misery and discontent that had nearly elected Bryan in 1896.

All of these laws except the last two were passed in 1913 and 1914, by that Sixty-third Congress which President Wilson kept pegging away from month to month. If, as some complained, he stood over Congress as if he were its schoolmaster, no one could deny that he got things done!

"Watchful Waiting"

But outside the borders of the United States things were not going so smoothly. As in the old days of the 1840's, trouble had broken out in Mexico. President Wilson refused to recognize Victoriano Huerta (vē'r-tā)—who had seized the supreme power in 1913—because Huerta had murdered the lawful president. For a while the United States

tried what Wilson called "watchful waiting," but in April, 1914, marines seized the Mexican city of Vera Cruz (vē'rū krōōs) in retaliation for certain affronts on Huerta's part, and it looked as though there were going to be another Mexican-American war. But finally the marines left Vera Cruz, and

Huerta left Mexico; then the United States started her watchful waiting again. There was another war scare in the

spring of 1916, when the

Mexican bandit Villa (vēl'yä) dashed across the border and raided a town in New Mexico. General John J. Pershing headed a "punitive expedition" into Mexico in pursuit of him, but the wily outlaw escaped. By this time hot-heads were calling for war; but calmer counsels prevailed than in 1846, and there was

no more fighting with the Mexicans, though it was

long before relations were quite easy with them again.

Meanwhile a horror had fallen

upon the world which made the little troubles in Mexico seem of small account. It was this which

put a stop, also, to the working out of the New Freedom, and turned the eyes of the nation more and more from reforms in America to the tragedy being acted out in Europe.

For generations the countries of Europe had been arming against each other, eying each other with suspicion and hatred, tying themselves up with secret treaties, openly lining up in two hostile alliances—Germany, Austria, and Italy in a "Triple Alliance"; Russia, England, and France in a "Triple Entente" (ōN'tōNt'). But there had been, too, the Hague Conferences, the frequent arbitrations of quarrels, and the widespread talk of peace; and, besides, the people did not know about the secret treaties. So Americans especially had come to think that



Photo by Keystone View Co.

This is Woodrow Wilson, the man who led the nation during World War I.

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Photo by United States Signal Corps

All through the unnappy lands over which the armies fought, towns lay in ruins, grain fields and orchards were trampled or torn with shells, and thousands upon

thousands of people were left homeless and starving. Here are homeless children of a French village watching American soldiers on their way to the front.



Photo by United States Signal Corps

The great guns showed no mercy either to human beings or to the most cherished treasures of art and history. These soldiers from the A.E.F. are looking

sadly at all that is left of a beautiful old cathedral in Belgium. Perhaps as they gaze at the crucifix, they are wondering what Jesus would have said to all this.

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perhaps war, that old enemy of man, was by way of being conquered at last.

Then, on June 28, 1914, the heir to the throne of Austria was shot by a Serbian revolutionary at Serajevo (sĕ-rā'yā-vò) in Bosnia.

It was as if the assassin had dropped a lighted match into a barrel of gunpowder. Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia—Russia massed her troops on the German-Austrian border and declared war on Austria—Germany declared war on Russia—France declared war on Germany—the German army invaded Belgium on its way to France—England, which had been hesitating, plunged in on the side of Belgium and her Allies. Within five weeks the continent of Europe was aflame with war. As America watched, a great wave of sick horror swept from coast to coast. It was the end of one of the fairest hopes men have ever cherished.

The first reaction of the people was a fervent thankfulness that this ghastly thing was none of America's affair. As a matter of course, President Wilson proclaimed neutrality, urging the people to be neutral in fact as well as in name. Certainly that was what almost everybody hoped might happen.

Events That Led to War

But it proved to be impossible. All the warring nations fairly deluged the United States with "propaganda," stories and arguments meant to show that the country in question was in the right and her enemies very much in the wrong. American newspapers were crowded with the details of the struggle. The people could not help taking sides.

The drift of sympathy was unmistakably toward the "Allies"; that is, the nations lined

up against Germany and Austria. It looked as if the Central Powers—Germany and Austria—had started the war; whether they were really so much more to blame than the other nations is a thing there is still hot argument about, but at that time most people believed that they were. The shocking

invasion of neutral Belgium and the cynical remark of the German Chancellor that the treaty by which Germany promised to protect Belgium was nothing but "a scrap of paper," outraged people's feelings. Horrible stories were afloat—most of them, happily, since proved to have been false—of cruel things that had happened in conquered Belgium. Perhaps most powerful of all was the fact that

England and France were democracies like the United States, while the Central Powers were despotisms. Canadians and Australians, people very much like ourselves, were fighting on the side of the Allies. The pull was strong in that direction. Most Americans were glad that it was the Allies to whom almost all of the American ammunition and food was go-

ing, although the only reason that less of it was going to the Central Powers was that the English blockade stood in the way.

Yet no matter which side Americans had come to favor, they would never have gone to actual war if the lives and rights of American citizens could have been kept out of it. But they could not.

The British, as we just hinted, had blockaded Germany, and were making every effort to keep all sorts of supplies from slipping through to her. This led to complications and protests, much as had a similar situation during the Napoleonic Wars a hundred years before. But no American lives were lost, and the people were in no mood for another

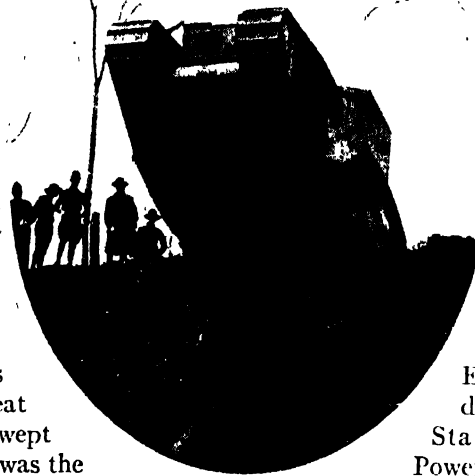


Photo by United States Signal Corps

The submarines were not the only destructive new weapon first used in this war. One of the others was the tank. A giant tank, like this one, can crawl like some terrible steel monster over barbed-wire entanglements, trenches, dugouts, and any unfortunate human beings that are in its way.

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Photo by United States Signal Corps

Here are American "doughboys" setting out in motor trucks for the front. This odd nickname for American infantrymen is a corruption of "dough ball," and was

given them in the regular army because the cavalry thought the round buttons on the uniforms of the infantry looked like balls of dough! The name stuck.



Photo by United States Signal Corps

This is a glimpse of the actual front—an advance with rifles and machine guns against entrenched positions

of the enemy. The dead, twisted trees bear witness to the withering fire which these men must brave.

War of 1812. So this quarrel never got beyond protests.

It was otherwise with the quarrel which arose with Germany. Germany's fleet had been driven from the seas, and the only way she could fight the blockade was with her submarines—those terrible undersea craft which made their first appearance in this war. In parts of the sea around the warring lands these submarines slipped up upon any vessel, belligerent or neutral, which was suspected of carrying supplies to the Allies. Of course a submarine is too frail to capture a great liner or merchant vessel and take it to port; and it is too small to take passengers from another ship and carry them to safety. So what happened was that, contrary to all the laws of previous wars, the ship was simply sunk by the submarine's torpedo, and the people on it left to their fate. And since American ships were again carrying much of the world's trade in those days, and since American citizens could not all keep off the seas, not only American property but American lives were bound sooner or later to be lost in such attacks.

President Wilson, anxious, as most of the people were, to keep out of the war, bent every effort to persuade Germany to promise protection for American rights on the seas. One American ship had already been sunk and relations were already strained when, in May, 1915, the huge British liner "Lusitania" was torpedoed off the Irish coast. She sank quickly, and 1,153 men, women, and children, passengers and crew, were drowned; of these 114 were Americans.

America's Ultimatum

The news was received in the United States with a great burst of anger. In the East perhaps a majority of the people were ready

for war. But in other parts of the country the feeling was still strong that going into the war would be merely answering a great evil with a greater one; and the President himself believed that war could still be averted. He tried a combination of patience and threats. By May, 1916—following what

amounted to an American ultimatum (ül'ti-mā'tüm), or notice,

issued after the sinking of the "Sussex"—he had extracted a promise that thereafter merchant vessels would not be sunk without warning given and rescue provided for the passengers and crew. So the Democrats could go into the 1916 campaign with the slogan "He kept us out of war."

The election was very close. Roosevelt, who thought that Wilson was not warlike enough and ought at all costs to be defeated, dealt a death blow to the young Progressive party by refusing to head its ticket, and threw his strength to Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican nominee. Everyone, including President Wilson, thought on going to bed on the night after election day that Hughes had won.

But the slower returns from the more remote parts of the country swung the result about, and three days later the President discovered that he was to shoulder his great responsibility for four years more. They were to be most momentous years.

For he had never promised that he would or could continue to "keep us out of war." And before he was even inaugurated for his second term the American ambassador had been called home from Berlin, and a month after the inauguration the country was at war.

The break in diplomatic relations followed a reopening of the old submarine warfare, in despite of the "Sussex" pledge, in February, 1917. After that, events came thick and



Photo by United States Signal Corps

General John J. Pershing, commander of the A.E.F., carried the vast responsibility of building up a huge and effective army 3,000 miles from its nearest home base.

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Photos by United States Signal Corps

As if tanks and poison gas and bayonets and the ceaseless slaughter of the great guns were not enough to try men's nerves, the armies endeavored to protect

their entrenchments by entanglements of barbed wire. These American soldiers are advancing, inch by difficult inch, through such an entanglement.



Here are German prisoners being brought in from the front. When a German soldier wished to surrender,

he would throw up his hands and cry "Kamerad!"—which, if literally translated, means "comrade."

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fast. Eight American vessels were sunk and forty-eight lives lost. A German plot was discovered to unite Japan and Mexico against the United States in event of war. The Russian Czar was overthrown, and thus the third of the great powers fighting Germany became a democracy, and therefore much more welcome as a possible ally. There was a sort of breathless suspense in the air, as if the nation were in the grip of a mighty current sweeping it toward the rapids of war.

On April 2, 1917, the President came before Congress and read his war message. "We have no quarrel with the German people," he said, "but only with the military despotism of Germany. The world must be made safe for democracy. . . ." He added that the United States sought no conquests or prizes from this war.

At three o'clock in the morning on April 6, after a fiery sixteen-hour debate, the war resolution passed the House. At one that day the President affixed his signature. After a hundred years, America's guns were turned once more toward Europe. She had been drawn into the war.

We can never know, now, how large a proportion of the American people really wanted to go into the World War in 1917. They had had two years and a half of education in its unspeakable horrors. The love of peace was strong, and to most of the country Europe seemed very far away. A good many people, like the Socialist leader, Eugene Debs, went to prison rather than uphold the war. This was probably the first war in which large numbers of people held back because they were convinced "pacifists"—that is, people who think war wrong under any circumstances.

Yet when war had actually been declared,

most of the people, even those who had hoped it would not come, rallied enthusiastically to the support of the government. Every drive for funds "went over the top," in the phrase borrowed from the warfare in the trenches. Flags fluttered from every roof and every automobile radiator. Every front window

was plastered thick with stickers to show that something had been joined or subscribed to—Red Cross stickers, Y.M.C.A. stickers, Liberty Bond stickers, and perhaps a service flag with its one or two or three stars to show that someone from the house was in the army. Girls even began to take their army knitting to classes or to church!

For this war, beyond all wars before it, was a war of peoples, not just of armies. Its mere size would have made it necessary for everybody to help if it was to be won. And with characteristic energy and thoroughness the President, supported by Republican and Democratic Congressmen alike, began to organize the whole nation for its task.

General John J. Pershing, at that time in charge of the troops

which had been massed on the Mexican border, was put in command of the American army in France, and a small American Expeditionary Force—the "A.E.F."—was sent at once overseas as a pledge of more to come. Profiting by the experience of the other nations in the war, Congress passed a Selective Service Act, providing for the raising of an immense army by conscription. On June 5 all men between twenty-one and thirty were registered, and those who were to serve first were chosen from among them by lot. Later the ages registered were from eighteen to forty-five, and of course more and more men were called to the colors all the time. Thirty-two training camps had



Photo by United States Signal Corps

Many young women went to France to serve as nurses or to work with the various organizations that tried to help the soldiers. This is a Salvation Army "lassie" making pies near the front. Like a soldier, she carries a gas mask and wears a steel helmet—or "tin derby"—for protection from shell fire.

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by United States Signal Corps

"Parlez-vous français?" Our doughboys do not need to know French to understand the warmth of these

smiles and the friendliness of the peasants who are giving them a lesson in French conversation.



At the front the weary soldiers had to learn to sleep in spite of bursting shells and machine-gun fire.

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risen like mushrooms here and there over the land, and in them the raw recruits were swiftly initiated into the mysteries of digging trenches and handling bayonets. Rapidly the stream of khaki-clad Americans flowing into France grew to a flood. By the end of the war there were nearly two million American soldiers in the A.E.F. It was a remarkable feat, this training of so vast an army, transporting it over thousands of miles of water strewn with mines and submarines, and keeping it supplied over "the longest line of communication in the history of warfare."

To support the army, industry back at home was "mobilized." A War Industries Board, headed by the financier Bernard M. Baruch, had the immense task of managing the gathering and distribution of all supplies. About Baruch were gathered various "dollar-a-year men," wealthy industrial leaders serving literally at a dollar a year as heads of committees handling all sorts of business. The federal government took over the railroads for the duration of the war, so that they might be operated without

wasteful competition. Herbert Hoover, well known for his able handling of the Relief Commission which had kept war-torn Belgium from starvation, was made Federal Food Administrator. He started a great campaign against wasting the precious food which might well win the war. Everyone began "Hooverizing," heaping no more plates with food that would be only half finished eating dark bread to save

wheat, keeping "meatless days" to save meat.

Unheard-of sums of money had to be raised to finance this most gigantic of wars. Billions of dollars were lent to the Allies. Billions more were needed, of course, for American activities. Huge income and excess-profit taxes were levied, aimed particularly at the

swollen fortunes which had been made out of selling supplies to the Allies before America entered the war; in 1918 the surtaxes on incomes of one million dollars or over climbed to sixty-five per cent. Yet even so, about two-thirds of the cost of the war was paid for by bond issues; that is, by borrowing money from the people. For the first time in history these bonds were made in small amounts, fifty dollars and up, and offered to the people at large instead of the bankers--another way, you see, of making everyone feel that it was his own war. Four of these "Liberty Loans" were floated, and a fifth, called the Victory Loan, came just after the Armistice. Every one of them was oversubscribed, and in the Fourth Liberty Loan drive, bonds were bought by twenty-one

million different persons! Besides paying taxes on their theater tickets and their incomes, buying three-cent postage stamps, and investing in Liberty Bonds, the people also gave something like four billion dollars to voluntary organizations for war activities or relief--the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, the Y.M.C.A., and others.

Yet even with the streets filled with march-



Photo by Manuel, Paris

It is a question whether the Allies could ever have won the war if they had not decided, after long hesitation, to appoint a single commander over all their armies. That commander was Marshal Ferdinand Foch, whose picture we see here. Under him the British, French, and American armies could act promptly and together.

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The army engineers have gone ahead to clear a path by blowing up barbed-wire entanglements, and now

the infantry is advancing at a trot to attack the enemy in their trenches at the point of the bayonet.



Photos by United States Signal Corps

These German prisoners are being escorted to the rear by their captors. They are probably hungry, for

food was scarce in Germany toward the end of the war. Now at least they will get a square meal.



Photo by Deutsches Museum

If we could have cut a slice down through the ocean where mines had been laid to blow up passing vessels, this is about what we should have seen. The mines were anchored to the bottom, and exploded when a

ship's hull brushed against them. Special boats called mine sweepers went about hunting for mines and sweeping them up. Submarines did not lay mines, but launched deadly torpedoes at a particular ship.

ing men, and four-minute orators urging everyone to "give till it hurts," thoughtful Americans knew that the war had scarcely touched them in comparison with the peoples who had been bearing the suffering and the burden for years overseas.

Our Part in World War I

Meanwhile, "over there," the great tragedy was playing itself out. In March, 1918, the Germans began their last great drive on the western front. The Allied lines fell back and back, almost to Paris. America waited and listened, until in those ominous hours it seemed as if the terrible guns could be heard, across all the wastes of land and water, in far-off Richmond or Kansas City or Seattle. Very few Americans were in that fighting; but Pershing put his army at the disposal of the Allied commander in chief, Ferdinand Foch (fōsh); American troops acquitted themselves well at Cantigny (kōN'tē'nyē'), and American marines fought gallantly in Belleau (bēl'lō') Wood. When the German drive was finally halted, the flow of American

troops was hastened for the coming counter-offensive, the drive by the Allies in the other direction.

When this counter-offensive opened in midsummer, the Americans were able to take a major part in it, and soon had over a million troops in the line. Their most famous exploit was a terrible six-weeks' battle through the almost impenetrable Argonne (ār'gōn') Forest, full of shell craters and barbed-wire entanglements and machine-gun nests, to their objective on the banks of the River Meuse (mūz). Through the weeks of summer and autumn in 1918 the casualty lists began to lengthen and lengthen in the newspapers at home, and America had a taste of war much harder to bear than meatless days or heavy taxes. Altogether, about fifty thousand American soldiers fell in battle, and about fifty thousand others died of disease.

But Germany had put her last strength into those terrible spring drives. She had lost a million and a half men killed in battle. Her ranks were filled with old men and boys.

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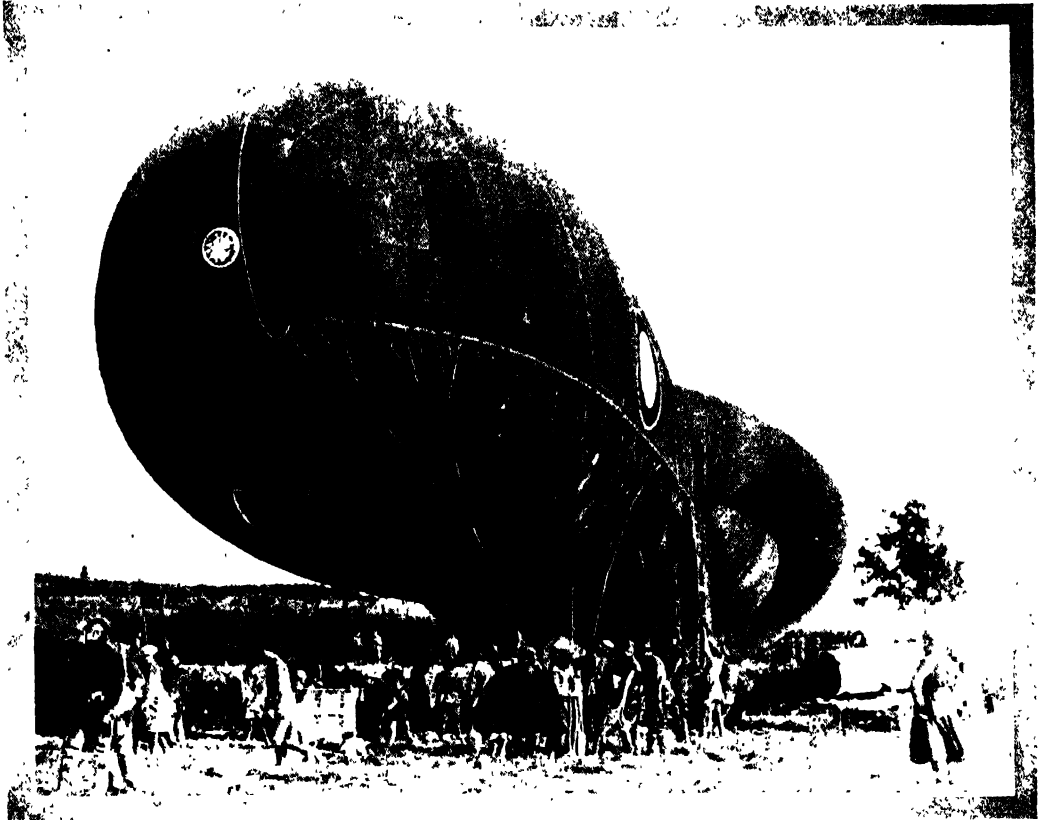


Photo by United States Signal Corps

This was the first war to be fought partly in the air. Besides the fighting airplanes and the planes and dir-

igibles used to drop bombs, there were balloons, such as this one, sent up to observe enemy positions.

Her people at home were living on potatoes and turnips. Revolution was brewing. Her allies were falling away. This last drive, with the shadow behind it of the immense, almost untouched resources in men and money which America could still bring to the aid of the Allies, was too much. The German government asked for peace.

The End of the Great War

On November 11, 1918, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the guns ceased to boom. The Armistice, or agreement to stop fighting and discuss terms of peace, had been signed; and the war was over. On the part of the Central Powers it was practically unconditional surrender.

This was President Wilson's great hour. He had been insisting with all his persuasive eloquence that this was a "war to make the world safe for democracy," a "war to end

war." He had set forth Fourteen Points on which a just peace might be based. Now as the bells peaked and the wild crowds threw confetti and danced on the streets in joy at the Armistice, he must have felt sure that his great aims could be realized. The German Kaiser was in flight and a republic had been set up in Germany. The peoples of the world were utterly weary of war, disgusted with the scheming governments that make it, longing for a leader, a savior, to show them the way to a saner and happier future.

Wilson's Plan to End Wars

As President Wilson stepped off the boat on his way to represent the United States at the Peace Conference at Versailles (vēr'-sā'y'), the crowds surged about him cheering, with a note of almost terrifying enthusiasm in their cheers. There is no doubt that for the moment he was the best-loved, the most-

trusted, the most powerful man in all the world. He moved to Paris with the eyes and the hopes of all the simple people of the world focused upon him. There was a fraction of time, perhaps a week, one of his biographers has ventured to guess, in which he might have made his dream of democracy and peace prevail.

But the chance slipped away. He soon found himself all wound up in secret treaties of which he had known nothing, in prejudices and demands for prizes and for revenge—in all the coils of the old-style diplomacy he had hoped to cut through. The Treaty of Versailles, when the delegates of the Central Powers at length signed on the dotted line, was not much of a pattern with the Fourteen Points.

One thing, however, which might turn out to be a great victory, President Wilson

did win. A covenant of a League of Nations, his darling scheme, was made a part of the Treaty. The purpose of this League was to provide machinery through which the member nations may cooperate one with another, particularly in event of a threat of war. Having saved this at least from his Fourteen Points, the President returned to lay the Treaty before the Senate of the United States.

But at home the tide of reaction had already set in. The mid-term elections had gone against the Democrats, and the Senate was full of buzzing voices of discontent. The

country did not want to stay in Europe—it wanted to come home and go once more about its own affairs. It began to talk again of Washington's warning against "entangling alliances." The trouble was not that it wanted anything from the money and land that Germany was to turn over to her

conquerors: its appetite for empire had been satisfied by the expansion growing out of the Spanish-American War. So it was not the lack of prizes for the United States which made the treaty unpopular. It was the League of Nations. Let Europe attend to its own troubles, said the "irreconcilables" in the Senate. We will not promise to take measures against a country which offends the League, they said, for that would tie us hand and foot to Europe's quarrels. In spite of the President's



Photo by U. S. Signal Co.

This is what a trench looked like—when the frequent rains had not filled its floor with mud and the enemy's guns had not battered and broken it. These soldiers are about to "go over the top" in a major offensive. They are waiting with weapons ready and nerves strung taut for the "zero hour" when the command to advance will be given.

earnest and even desperate endeavors, the Treaty could not be passed through the Senate. The strain and disappointment broke his health, and for the rest of his administration he was a sick and almost powerless man.

In this way the United States turned from her own pressing affairs to take sides for the first time in a war in Europe, and then, having fought, decided to withdraw again within her own shores. But there is no way of undoing a thing when it is once done, and the First World War was not easily forgotten, as we shall see.

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Reading Unit No. 22

A TIME OF TESTING

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

World War I was over, but peace did not come. The after-effects of the war were of many kinds—"red" scares, labor un-

rest, inflation and depression. And then came a new war, with its aftermath of political, financial, and industrial unrest.

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Photo by Keystone View Co.

Here is a delegation of the "Bonus Expeditionary Force" on the steps of the Capitol at Washington.

They did not get their bonus, for the government felt that its first duty was to all the unemployed.



Photo by Keystone View Co.

Here are anxious crowds gathered outside the doors of a branch of one of the large banks that failed in De-

cember, 1930. The many bank failures during the depression led to the passage of stricter banking laws.

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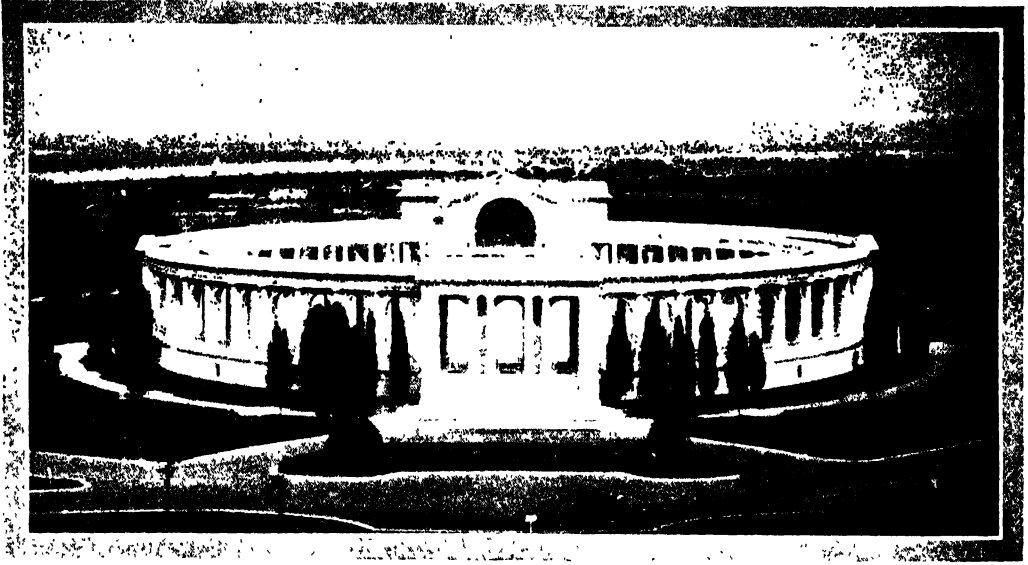


Photo by B. & O. Railway

This white marble amphitheater, with its dignified and gracious lines, was built as a memorial for the dead of our country's wars. It stands in Arlington National Cemetery, just outside Washington. It has seats for

several thousand people, who may come here for services on Memorial Day. Under its colonnade is space for the burial of distinguished military dead, and near it stands the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

A TIME of TESTING

How, after World War I, the United States Found New Problems on Its Hands

WHEN President Wilson retired to private life in March, 1921, the United States was still theoretically at war with Germany, although there had been no fighting since November, 1918. This odd situation had arisen because the Senate and the country at large could not make up their minds to accept the Treaty of Versailles with the covenant of the League of Nations in it. In May, 1920, to be sure, a resolution had been passed stating merely that the war was over; but Wilson, feeling such a back-door peace to be a "stain on the gallantry and honor of the United States," had left it for his successor to sign.

Nevertheless the work of getting back to a peace footing had been going on just as fast as if the Treaty had been accepted at once. In fact, before it had even been drawn up and signed at Versailles, two-thirds of the American army had come home again. The rest followed swiftly, except for a small Army

of Occupation, which was stationed for a time in the region around Coblenz on the Rhine. Meanwhile the million and a half men in the training camps at home were filtering back into civil life. As each departed, he was given a bonus of sixty dollars; each had the opportunity of taking out government insurance at a very low rate. Pensions were assured to those who had been injured or to the families of those who had been killed. The pay of the American "doughboy" had been higher than that of the soldier of any other nation, and in general the Republic treated him generously and got him back into civil life as quickly as possible.

And as quickly as possible, too, the powerful commissions which had kept the whole country working together like a great machine were disbanded and most of the government's extraordinary powers were returned to the people. The War Industries

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Board, the Food and Fuel Administrations, the War Labor Board quietly ceased to exist, and the thousands of men and women who had manned them drifted back into ordinary life along with the returning soldiers.

The only real difficulties in this smooth dismantling of the war machine came in the matters of railroads and ships. The chance of doing something toward government control of the railroads seemed too good to be missed, and many plans were presented by the owners, by the employees, by the public, proposing everything from immediate return to the owners to permanent government ownership. Finally the Transportation Act was passed (1920); it was a compromise which returned the roads to the owners with more government control than there had been before the war.

As to the ships, the government stood to lose a great deal of money on them. A United States Shipping Board had been formed during the war, and thousands of men had been busily at work building ships; the work had seemed so important that people volunteered for it as if it were actual soldiering, and huge numbers of ships had been built or started in record time. But now that the war was over, they were not making any money and no one would buy them. In the end rows of wooden ships rotted forlornly at their anchors, and steel vessels were sold as junk.

"Back to Normalcy!"

But on the whole this military and industrial "demobilization" was managed quickly and well. Meanwhile the nation was engaged in a desperate attempt to demobilize mentally—to begin thinking again like a nation at peace instead of like a nation at war. This was much harder. The people had been

keyed up to a very high pitch, and letting down was bound to mean a violent reaction.

The political reaction swung the Republicans back into power and kept them there. Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, the Republicans' "dark horse" candidate for president in 1920, used the word "normalcy"

to mean the general situation before the war—a situation which looked very alluring to a nation tired of strain and confusion. On the slogan "Back to normalcy," he was elected with a clear majority of nearly seven million votes over James M. Cox, the Democratic nominee. During this administration, as during that of Grant just after the

Civil War, there were shocking scandals of corruption, due, probably, to the reaction from the great effort to act together during the war. One cabinet officer was actually sent to the penitentiary and another barely escaped. The President himself, again like Grant, seems to have been personally honest but unable to manage the politicians around him. As for the country

at large, it was too much absorbed in its search for "normalcy" to be as shocked by these scandals as one might expect it to have been.

When President Harding died suddenly in the summer of 1923, the Vice President, Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, succeeded him. There were no great scandals in this administration, but otherwise the new President carried on the policies of his predecessor. He was easily reelected in 1924, over the Democratic candidate, John W. Davis, and the Progressive third-party candidate, Senator La Follette.

In 1928 the Democrats nominated much their strongest candidate since Wilson, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, a man who drew much of the "protest" vote that had gone to La Follette in 1924. But even

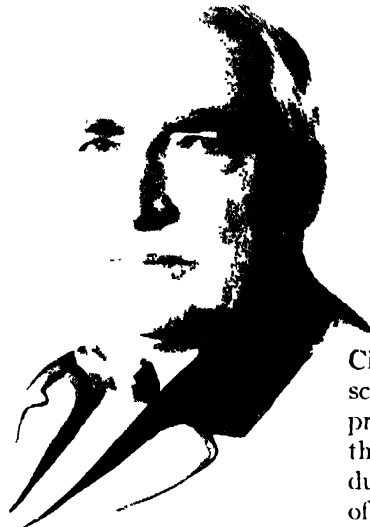


Photo by the National M

This is Warren Gamaliel Harding, of Ohio, who was swept into the presidency in 1921 on the crest of the wave of reaction against everything connected with the war.



Photo by Keystone View Co.

Labor conditions in the coal mines were especially disturbed after the war. At times the coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Kentucky were

almost in a state of civil war. Here is a troop of National Guardsmen on its way to restore order in certain coal districts in Pennsylvania.

"Al" Smith's popularity could not turn the tide, and the Republican candidate, Herbert C. Hoover—food administrator during the war and an able engineer and organizer of relief work—was overwhelmingly elected. The popular vote was enormous. As the defeated candidate himself said whimsically, he had received more votes than any other presidential candidate in history—except Hoover. Thus the Republicans regained and kept their political power all through the period from 1921 to 1933.

The Conflict of Capital and Labor

The reaction in industry had begun while the Democrats were still in power, and had, in fact, helped to defeat them. Capital and labor had worked under a sort of patriotic truce during the war, but the fighting was no sooner over than they flew at each others' throats more fiercely than ever. Capital did not want to give up the huge profits of war time; neither did labor want to give up its high war-time wages. To complicate matters, prices were steadily climbing skyward,

and it was a hard matter to decide how "real wages"—the amount of goods that could actually be bought with the money earned—compared with those in the times of "normalcy" before the war. The result was an epidemic of strikes in 1919 and later during Harding's administration. Everybody, from garment workers to policemen, was going out on strike, often without any authority from the labor unions. Wilson had forced the end of a coal strike in 1919, and Harding used federal troops and the hated injunction to quiet industrial violence in the coal regions in 1921–22 and on the railroads in 1922.

What made it hard for people in general to do any straight thinking about these labor troubles was the fact that they were always mixing up what they thought about labor with what they thought about the Russian Revolution. That way of putting it sounds rather far-fetched, but it is not really so. In November, 1917, only a few months after the United States had welcomed the overthrow of the Russian Czar with such enthusiasm, another revolution had occurred in

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Russia, under the party called the Bolsheviks (*ból'shě-vě'kě*); the result of it had been the U.S.S.R., the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a communist government in which the workers in industry are frankly the supreme rulers of the land. The United States government had refused to recognize this new government in Russia, and in the troubled and revolutionary atmosphere of the world just after the war the American public had come to have a great fear and deep hatred of the influence of the new Russian doctrines. They began calling any radical a "Bolshevik" or, since the official color of the communists is red, a "Red."

Now American labor in general is far from having any revolutionary notions. But the Russian Revolution had undoubtedly given hope to the more radical groups among laborers, and to others also. The Industrial Workers of the World, in particular, grew strong for a while at the close of the war. This organization, made up largely of unskilled and exploited workers, preached a certain amount of violence—sabotage (*să'bō'tāzh*), for instance, or the willful crippling of machines during industrial quarrels. On the "wobblies," as the members of the I.W.W. were called, the country turned with a furious hatred carried over from war-time emotions. State after state passed "Criminal Syndicalism Laws" which made it unlawful even to belong to this or any similar organization or to argue for their doctrines; and severe sentences, running up to twenty-one years, were given to people convicted under these laws. One lawyer pointed out that the Connecticut law, which forbade saying anything which might "injuriously affect" the government, actually would have made it illegal to read aloud the constitution of the neighboring state of New Hampshire, which recognizes the right of revolution in so many words! In such an atmosphere of alarm it was hard for people to think straight about

either labor or any other social problem.

The Criminal Syndicalism Laws were only one expression of the panicky state of mind the people were in. It looked for a time as though the country had forgotten all about the liberties it had written into the first ten amendments to the Constitution: its Bill of

Rights, promising that everyone may say and write what he pleases so long as he does not actually try to overthrow the government by violence. The panic and intolerance came partly from an honest fear of revolution, and partly from habits formed during the war. People had willingly given up many of their liberties in 1917 and 1918, in order that all might work together to win the war.

But at the same time they had got into the habit of thinking of anyone who did not agree with the government as being unpatriotic; they had got into the habit of hating and suspecting people, not only the enemy abroad but what seemed to be

the enemy at home. Then when peace came so suddenly, America had just got into her war stride, and she did not know how to change her ways of thinking and acting all at once. So now she "took it out" on the Reds—and on all the shades of that outlaw color down to the palest pink.

But at the same time, and more and more as the years slipped by, the country was doing a deal of thinking. For the world was by no means the same as it had been before the war. It had been turned quite upside down by the greatest war in history and the various kinds of revolutions which had followed, in Russia and Germany and Italy and elsewhere. America was not the same, either. No longer the youngest among the great nations, she was growing up. She began to realize that she had a past—to hunt up early American furniture, to write lives and more lives of all her great men, to write over all the old history books from a more modern point of view. Novelists like Theo-



Photo by Seibelman Syndicate

Calvin Coolidge was a popular president. Many liked his New England thrift and simplicity and his cautious New England speech. Besides, during his administration the country was enjoying "boom times" such as had never been known before.

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Photo by Keystone View Co.

The federal government spent many millions of dollars trying to enforce prohibition. But it did not have very much help or sympathy from the people in many

of the "wet" states. Here are federal officials dumping into a New York City sewer some \$50,000 worth of liquor which they have seized.

dore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, James Branch Cabell, Edith Wharton, and Willa Cather were writing about America and life in general with thoughtful art. Poets like Edwin Arlington Robinson, Robert Frost, and Edna St. Vincent Millay were writing poetry of which Americans were proud. New York had become one of the great world centers of drama and art and literature and general culture.

In the realm of politics, the changes were not easy to follow, because the Republican and Democratic parties remained about the same. But people fell into the habit of using general words instead of party labels to indicate what men really stood for; a person was "reactionary" if he wished to go back to the way things used to be, "conservative" if he wanted to stay about where he was, "liberal" if he wished moderate changes, "radical" if



Photo by Keystone View Co.

This is Samuel Gompers, who was president of the American Federation of Labor most of the time from 1882 till his death in 1924. He, more than any other man, defeated the more radical ideas of the earlier Knights of Labor and kept the A. F. of L. rather conservative in its policies.

he wished to change things "from the root," as the word indicates. The European terms "right" and "left" came into wide use. The right is the side of a European parliament house on which the most conservative delegates sit, the left the side of the most radical. Congressmen are not seated in this way, but it is very convenient to speak of a man's "moving to the left," for instance, when you mean that he has grown more radical.

Meanwhile the country had launched on several new policies only incidentally connected with the war. The first of these, national prohibition of the "manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors" was the climax of a long campaign, though its final passage came on the wave of legislation meant to win the war. For a long time there had even been a national Prohibition party,



Photo by Keystone View Co.

Above is a section of one of the innumerable bread lines that had already become necessary by the autumn of 1930. As the depression dragged its weary length from month to month and from year to year,

more and more money was required for unemployment relief. Private charity, local funds, even state funds, were insufficient, and finally Congress had to appropriate huge sums to keep people from starving.

with candidates for president. Many communities and states actually had prohibition before the war broke. In 1917 Congress forbade the use of grain for making liquor during the war. Meanwhile the states were passing the Eighteenth Amendment; it became a law in 1919. To enforce it, Congress passed the Volstead Act over President Wilson's veto; this Act defined intoxicating liquor as any having as much as one-half of one per cent of alcohol.

The Problem of the Eighteenth Amendment

From the first there was most bitter argument over this Amendment. It was always very hard to enforce, especially in parts of the country where it was unpopular. A huge "bootlegging" industry soon grew up which furnished the forbidden liquors—often of very bad quality and always at tremendous profits—to innumerable private buyers and "speakeasies," or illegal drinking places. "Wets" and "drys" fought over whether, on the whole, the "noble experiment," as President Hoover called it, had been an advantage or

a disadvantage to the country. The issue elbowed itself into every political campaign, with both major parties often trying to dodge it and so please everybody. Finally, in 1932, the elections showed unmistakably that the "wet" sentiment was growing very fast, and in January of the next year Congress voted to submit to the states a Twenty-first Amendment. This was adopted before the end of the year. It repealed the Eighteenth Amendment and returned the control of liquor to the states.

Another constitutional amendment was passed the year in which the Eighteenth went into effect (1920). This Nineteenth Amendment provides that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Woman suffrage, too, had been a long time coming, but when it came it did not, like Prohibition, become more of an issue than ever. On the other hand, it was soon taken as a matter of course. Women began to be elected more often to Congress or to the governorship

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of states. In 1933 President Roosevelt appointed Frances Perkins secretary of labor—the first woman to serve in the cabinet. He also appointed a woman as head of the United States mint, and another as minister to Denmark.

The “Lame Duck Amendment”

The Twentieth Amendment was proclaimed in the same month which saw the proposed Twenty-first submitted to the states (February, 1933). This is humorously called the “Lame Duck Amendment.” The “lame ducks” were the members of the Congress which met between the elections in November and the inauguration of a new administration in March, and their “lame-ness” was due to the fact that those of them who had been defeated for reelection were still serving in place of their newly-elected successors. This long period between election and the taking of office was necessary in the old days when it took a long time for news to travel about the country and for officials to journey to Washington, but it had become absurd in the days of railroads, telegraphs, and radio. The amendment provided that new administrations should take office on January 20 instead of on March 4.

No constitutional amendments were being passed about immigration, but these years saw a complete change in policy there, too. Ever since about 1890, the immigrants had been coming more and more from Southern and Eastern Europe and less and less from the northern and western lands. Now the ideas and ways of living of the people who

came in earlier days from England, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries were not nearly so different from the American as were the ideas and ways of the Poles and Lithuanians and Italians and Russians who had come pouring in later. America had always prided herself on being a “melting pot” for all races. But now it began to look as though the pot were getting too full. What if it should boil over and put out the fire!

So in 1921 and 1924 Congress passed laws providing that only a certain number of immigrants might come in each year. Each country had a “quota” of three per cent of the number here in 1890. This old census was chosen with the idea of favoring the northern races, which had been the most numerous in arrivals before that year. After 1927 no more than 150,000 immigrants were to be admitted each year.

The United States and World Affairs

But though she might refuse to join the League of Nations, and might follow a policy of “America for the Americans” at home the United States could not keep out of world affairs altogether, even if she had wanted to. All through the years 1919-1933 there was more and more close coöperation with the League. “Observers” sat with League committees on health, control of the opium trade, and other such unpolitical matters. During the attempts to halt the fighting between Japan and China in 1932, America coöperated closely with the League, although that was a matter which distinctly *was* political. Meanwhile there were also



In 1932 thousands of unemployed World War veterans set out for Washington to demand the immediate payment of the “bonus,” a money grant which had been promised them for payment some years later. They called themselves the “Bonus Expeditionary Force.”

Photo by Keystone View Co.



Photo by U. S. Dept. of Labor

This was once a typical scene at Ellis Island, in New York harbor. In the day when every ship from Europe brought hundreds of immigrants, the new arrivals were detained for several days at Ellis Island. There they

were checked for physical and mental fitness. Relatives might come to see them but had to talk to them through a grating. Our picture shows a group of future citizens waiting to be admitted.

several attempts to get the United States to become a member of the World Court of International Justice. Distinguished American jurists had been connected with this Court, but until World War II, the Senate blocked all efforts to join by voting reservations which would have crippled the court. Finally, the United States became a member of a new court set up under the United Nations.

There were more conferences to discuss limiting armies and navies, and treaties meant to keep not only the United States but everyone out of war. At the suggestion of the Senate, President Harding in 1921 invited Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, and other powers with interests in the Far East, to a conference at Washington. Out of this came a whole series of treaties--a Five-Power Treaty which limited the number of warships each nation might build, treaties promising not to carve up China, promising to arbitrate disputes over rights in the Pacific, and other things.

The "Stimson Doctrine"

In 1928 an important set of treaties was signed among the nations, renouncing war "as an instrument of national policy." If

this set of treaties, called by the names of the American and French framers, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, had been lived up to, there could not have been more war. It was by virtue of both the Five-Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact that the United States took an active interest in the Japanese invasion of China in 1931-33. When Japan set up a new state in Manchuria, Secretary Stimson announced that the United States would not recognize it or any other political changes brought about by actions contrary to these treaties. This "Stimson Doctrine" was approved by the European powers.

Dizzy Heights

Before the time of the Kellogg treaties, by the late 1920's, it looked at home as though "normalcy" had been more than regained. The worst of the labor troubles were over, and the country was fairly rolling in wealth and glittering with optimism. Business was booming as it had never boomed before. There was one automobile in the country for every five persons. All the girls were wearing silk stockings, all the young men and women were learning to be "high-powered" salesmen, everyone was buying stock in Wall Street.

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People were climbing to dizzy and dizzy heights of prosperity, as if they were going up the grade in a scenic railway at an amusement park.

The Age of Speed

Faster and faster they climbed! Machines whirled on every side of them, radios blared, airplanes roared overhead, an orchestra pounded out a jazz tune. It was the "machine age," the "jazz age," the age of prosperity and speed. The upward impulse swept Europe's troubles out of people's minds, made it seem that at last the war could be forgotten. It elected Hoover in 1928 by a huge majority on a platform of "Coolidge prosperity," as we have said.

You have been on one of these scenic railways or "cyclones," or whatever they are called, have you not? You know how you climb up and up with the wind in your teeth, and then after a moment of mad hanging on the edge of nothing, plunge practically straight down nearly to earth again? It was somewhat like that when the great panic struck Wall Street and the whole country in October, 1929. Only, sad to say, there was no shooting right up to the sky again as there is in a well-regulated scenic railway.

It was the old "business cycle" swinging full circle again with a terrible jolt. Month after month went by and things only got worse. Prices fell and fell, until people began to amuse themselves wondering how soon they would be paid for taking goods away! Banks failed, factories closed their doors, bankruptcy sales offered mournful bargains. Long bread lines shivered in the winter winds. No money could be borrowed, no work was to be had. By the summer of 1933 the num-

ber of people out of work was estimated at anywhere from thirteen to seventeen millions.

All this had happened before, of course—in 1837 and 1873 for example—although never, to be sure, on quite so huge a scale. The new thing about this depression was that it seemed to be a problem of the whole world. For things were even worse in Europe

than in America, and so much depended on trade among the nations and on the debts they owed each other that it began to look as though they would have to tackle it together. If they failed, people were saying that the whole financial system would break down completely.

So there was a great deal of talk about debts and reparations; that is, the money still owed to the United States in payment of her loans to the Allies during the war, and the money

Germany was required to pay to the Allies as "reparation," or repair for the damage done by the war. Twice already, with the coöperation of the United States, the reparation payments

had been cut down or spread out thinner over more years, because Germany was too poor to pay. Special arrangements for partial payment of the debts had been made, too. But now no one had any money to pay anything, and the talk of canceling both debts and reparations became serious, though Congress was firmly set against giving up the debts. These troubles were the direct result of the war. Did we not say it would not be easily forgotten?

Trying to Bring Back Prosperity

In spite of the lesson we should all have learned from the war, and in spite of the Kellogg treaties, most of the world was still armed to the teeth. If something cannot



Photo by Underwood & Underwood

Herbert Clark Hoover, who was president from 1929 to 1933, was so unfortunate as to be in office when the country was in the midst of the worst depression in its history.

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be done about that, how shall we keep out of another war? was a question many people were asking. And how can the world afford so many battleships if the people are starving?

And at home, how shall we keep our people from starvation? Shall the cities and the rich citizens do it, or shall the federal government help? Is there anything we can do to bring back prosperity—to give work to the unemployed, to set the wheels humming again, and keep them humming? Can we prove that we know how to manage a country after all?

All these questions were being asked more and more insistently as the difficult months passed and the depression grew deeper and deeper. The government set up a Reconstruction Finance Corporation to do what it could to strengthen credit and make industry and banking more secure; but it did not seem to help much. President Hoover announced a year's moratorium on all the war debts—that is, told the debtor countries that they need not pay anything for a year. But when the year was up, in December, 1932, both Great Britain and France asked that the moratorium be extended, and when this was refused France defaulted, or simply did not pay. In England things got so bad that the government went off the gold standard, that is, stopped


paying its debts in gold. This of course shook the foundations of world trade. The financial situation in the United States was getting worse and worse, with more and more banks closing their doors.

A New President and a "New Deal"

Meanwhile, in an atmosphere of something very like despair, the country entered the presidential campaign of the autumn of 1932. The Republicans renominated Hoover as a matter of course. The Democrats found a strong candidate in Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, a fifth cousin of Theodore Roosevelt. Governor Roosevelt campaigned on a distinctly liberal platform, and won thousands of votes by his promise of a "New Deal" for the "forgotten man"—by whom he meant the common people who were suffering so cruelly from the hard times. He made an especial appeal to the farmers, who were desperate to the verge of revolt because they often got less for their crops than it took to grow them and because they were being turned out of their homes by the thousand when they could not pay the installments on their mortgages.

Photo by International News

4



One plan worked out by the federal government in 1933 for helping the unemployed was the Civilian Conservation Corps. Unemployed young men were recruited in a "civilian army," given non-military training by the Regular Army, and sent to help plant new forests for the government. Here is a group of new arrivals under inspection.

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Governor Roosevelt had something of the infectious smile and reassuring presence that had made the earlier Roosevelt so popular, and the country turned to him with a great upsurging of hope. The Socialists too had a strong candidate, Norman Thomas, also of New York—Debs had died in 1926—and they made a good showing. But most of the independent and “protest” vote went to Roosevelt—and he was elected by such a landslide as the country has seldom if ever seen. The popular vote stood Roosevelt 22,521,525, Hoover 15,957,537, Thomas 728,860; in the electoral college Hoover had 59 votes to Roosevelt’s 472. The country had declared in no uncertain tones that it was now ready for that New Deal!

Four months later, on March 4, 1933, the new president was inaugurated in an atmosphere of tense foreboding which made people compare this “dark inaugural” with that of Lincoln at the outbreak of the Civil War. For things had kept right on getting worse all this time, and that very day there broke a banking crisis like nothing else in American history. In nearly every state of the Union it had been necessary for the governors to close all the banks to prevent all the gold from being withdrawn and the whole system of money from crashing about our ears. It was a solemn moment in which President Roosevelt took the oath of office.

March 4 fell on a Saturday, and Sunday night the new President took the first of those bold and dramatic steps which were to sweep him into a position of power and popularity which it would be hard to match. He addressed the whole nation over the

radio—the first of several such addresses to all the people—announcing that every bank in the country would be closed for a few days, and that none would be allowed to reopen until the federal government had made sure that it was sound.

The people took this “bank holiday” with surprising calm and good humor, and Congress rushed through an emergency banking bill giving the President large powers

to keep control of the situation. It was only one of the bills granting all sorts of powers to the President to meet the emergency. Democrats and Republicans worked together in a mighty effort to wage this war on the depression as effectively as if it were a war on a foreign enemy. Messages came from the White House thick and fast, and Congress was in a mood to do almost anything the President asked. The air of Washington—and of the whole country—was electric with sudden activity and hopeful excitement.

This war was waged on so many fronts that we have not space to tell of them all. There was a bill giving the President power to save millions by cuts in government expenses. There was a bill legalizing the sale of liquor (1933), and thus bringing money to the federal treasury in taxes. There was a large grant of money to the states to help them feed their unemployed. There was a complicated bill giving the secretary of agriculture power to do certain things that, it was hoped, would help the farmers. A “civilian army” was recruited from unemployed young men and sent to the national forest lands to help on the work of replanting the forests. An enormous engineering project, under the control of

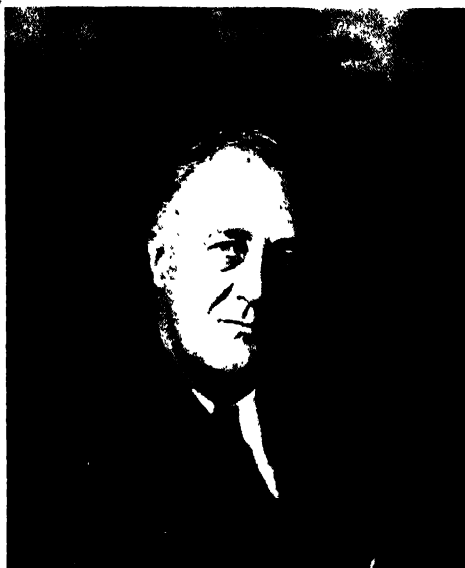


Photo by Seibelman Syndicate

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who became president in March, 1933, was at once given by Congress more power than any other president has ever held in time of peace. He was to use these emergency powers in an attempt to steer the country back to prosperity.

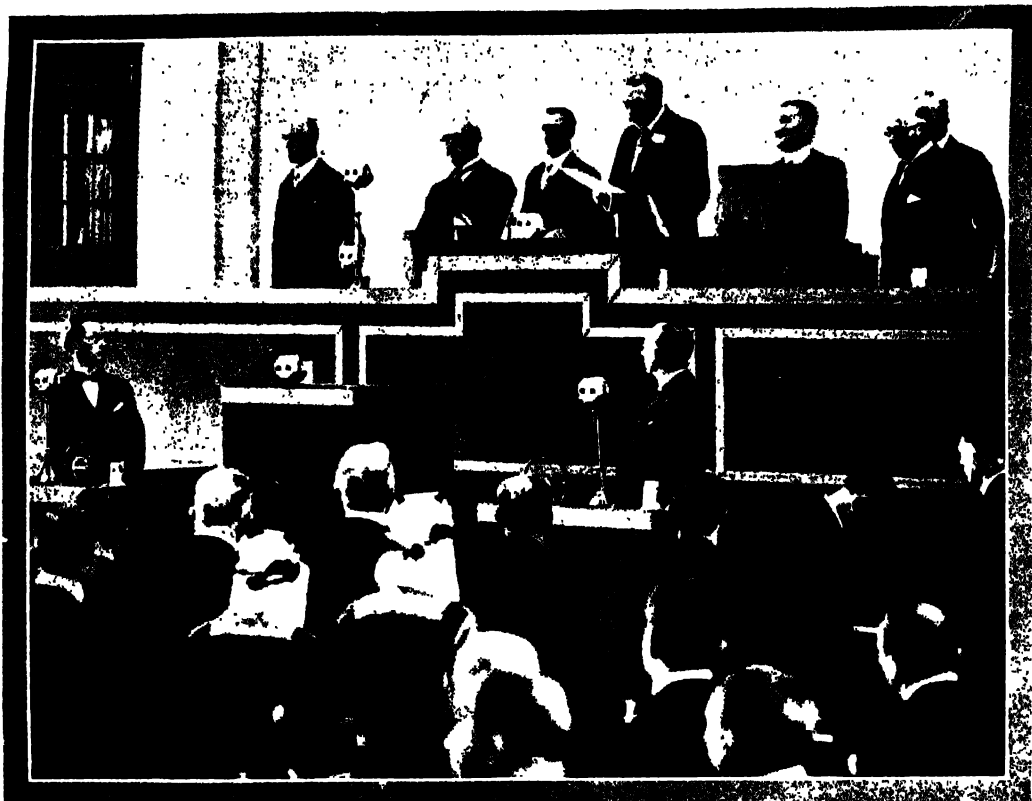


Photo by Seibelman Syndicate

In June, 1933, delegates from most of the nations met in London to discuss possible ways in which they might act together to end the world-wide hard times. The assemblage was called the World Economic and

Monetary Conference. The British prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald—second from the left in the top row in our picture—was chairman. King George of England is here seen reading the opening address.

the government, was started in the Tennessee Valley, centering at Muscle Shoals, and it was proposed to start other public works until the whole program would need \$3,300,000,000 for financing and would reemploy many thousands of men. Legislation was introduced to give the government large powers in the regulation of industry and the wages and hours of the workers—for by this time even those who still had work were often not getting a living wage.

The President's Emergency Measures

Many of the banks closed by the President's order had not been able to reopen, and the financial situation continued so bad that in April the United States followed Great Britain and many other countries in formally going off the gold standard. At the same time Congress gave the Presi-

dent authority to do what he could toward what economists call a "managed inflation"—that is, an attempt by the government to manage its money and credit in such a way that prices would go up until they had reached a certain point and then stop there.

In international affairs, too, President Roosevelt made several dramatic moves. He invited leading statesmen from many nations to Washington for informal discussions before the International Economic Conference at London in the summer of 1933; and he proposed a "tariff truce," or agreement not to raise tariffs during the conference. In May, when the Disarmament Conference at Geneva seemed about to die after a whole year of talk that was getting nowhere, he startled the world by sending a telegram to the head of each of the fifty-four nations represented there, pointing

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out how serious the situation was and making certain suggestions.

By 1936 things had shown a great deal of improvement. Business was better and several millions of men had gone back to work. Certain of the government's measures had been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, notably the NRA—or National Recovery Administration, with its regulations for industry—and the AAA—or Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which had offered certain regulations to the farmer. But the Social Security Act (1935), with its provision for old age and unemployment, was allowed to stand.

Now the Constitution does not state that the Supreme Court has the power to declare a law unconstitutional; and all these decisions raised the question as to whether the Supreme Court ought to have that power over laws passed by Congress.

We Make New Friends

Abroad, the administration committed itself to the policy of the "good neighbor" by pledging itself not to interfere in the affairs of other nations and to do all it could to promote friendship and international trade. With this end in view Mr. Cordell Hull, secretary of state, negotiated a number of reciprocal (rê-sîp'rô-kål) trade treaties, and the United States joined with other American nations in an effort to bring about an agreement that would banish war in the New World. For the first time the countries to the south began to lose their fear of us.

The election of 1936 was hard-fought, but Roosevelt was re-elected by the largest majority in the country's history. Only Maine and Vermont voted for Alf M. Landon, the Republican candidate.

Feeling that the country was in favor of his measures, and that the Supreme Court, which was almost entirely composed of elderly men, was exceeding its constitutional powers in declaring many recent laws unconstitutional, Roosevelt proposed (1937) that the Court should be reconstituted. It was his plan that when one of its members reached the age of seventy, a younger man should be added to the Court to balance the older man's point of view. This plan aroused widespread disap-

proval and did not go through, for many people felt that the processes of justice were being tampered with.

A new slump in business, which had been improving fairly rapidly, now frightened the country. Once again, as in the years of the prosperous twenties, more goods had been manufactured than the people had money to buy, and factories had to close. The experts advising the President—by this time they were no longer called the "Brain Trust," as in '33 and '34—set about hunting for ways in which the laws thrown out by the Court could be passed in a form that would not be declared unconstitutional. For the New Deal was committed to the belief that in only one way could the wheels of industry be made to turn without jamming—by giving more money to the masses of the people and so increasing their power to buy the goods the manufacturers wanted to make. The New Dealers called this "priming the pump." The conservative economists called it "a shot in the arm"—for in general it is their belief that economic forces, if left to themselves, will bring about a delicate balance which results in prosperity, but that if they are interfered with in any way they cannot work properly and the nation's business falls ill.

Some Famous Acts of Congress

As a matter of fact, the Court about this time reversed its earlier position and the trouble in that quarter ended. A new Agricultural Adjustment Act (1938) was passed. Already the Wagner-Connery Labor Relations Act had been passed (1935), guaranteeing labor's right to collective bargaining, and setting up the National Labor Relations Board to settle disputes between labor and capital. The Guffey-Snyder Act had regulated the soft-coal industry. In 1938 the Fair Labor Standards Act fixed minimum wages and maximum hours for workers in industries producing goods to be sold in interstate commerce. Other laws provided for slum clearance and low-cost housing projects. Moreover, further help was given the farmer by legislation to fight soil erosion, to insure crops, to bring aid to farmers who were in danger of losing their farms through foreclosure and to help people everywhere to own

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Photo by U. S. Department of Agriculture

No Sahara Desert this, but a glimpse in our own United States. Here workers of the Resettlement Administration have planted grass to stop the march of sands threatening to overwhelm a forested tract. We have

had to rescue thousands of square miles from this kind of fate. For unless the soil is saved our country eventually will die, just as Babylonia and Assyria died from the same causes in the days of old.

and improve their homes, to set up a system of crop control known as the "ever-normal granary"—described elsewhere—and last, but by no means least, to move to better land farm families whose land could not support them.

Sand Storms and Floods

The last enterprise—undertaken by the Resettlement Administration, established in 1935—had become most necessary, for not only was much of the farmland exhausted; a number of drought years had turned large sections of our western plains into arid desert, where winds swept up the dust in blinding storms and neither plants nor animals could live. We have described the tragedy on other pages. The homeless, destitute people—commonly referred to as "Okies"—were sent wandering by the thousands in search of food, and their care became one of our great national problems. One of the most interesting of the projects of resettlement was the planting of a whole village in the wilds of Alaska.

In these same drought years the East saw some of the worst floods in our history. Like the dust storms, they came from improper use of the land. They extended as far west as Ohio, and thousands of people in town and country were driven from their homes. The swollen torrents wrought havoc when they reached the lower Mississippi, and destroyed

millions of dollars worth of property. All this money was added to the bill for relief.

The 1938 election showed a swing to the Republican party. People were tired of government spending. The public debt had almost reached the limit of the \$45,000,000 fixed for it in 1935, and there were still nearly 8,000,000 unemployed. Labor troubles were getting worse and worse. The split in the ranks of labor—which we have described elsewhere—had stirred up strife and even violence, and had been followed by an outbreak of "sit-down strikes." A good many people were saying that it was not a simple economic depression that the country was passing through, but a revolution brought about by the complete breakdown of an economic system that had not kept pace with our machine age.

Where the Money Went

The Democrats replied that their reforms had not yet had time to bear fruit. They maintained that much of the money spent after 1936 had been for relief from drought and flood, and not for New Deal projects. They explained a large part of the unemployment by pointing out that the normal increase in population had given the country some 6,000,000 additional workers since 1929, and that industry had been replacing men by improved machinery. They maintained, moreover, that much of the federal spending

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—such as for dams and power developments, for highways and the control of soil erosion—was really a long-term investment which would bring in large returns to the country in the future—though the government's system of bookkeeping had no way of tabulating this kind of expenditure.

But it was true that for one reason or another industry had not expanded. Some said it was because capital that might have been spent in building up the plants was used up in taxes. Others said that the New Deal policies destroyed the confidence of business men in the future of business so long as the Democrats were in power. Still others said that the war clouds which had been gathering ever more darkly over Europe and Asia made business unwilling to undertake large risks.

The Din of the Coming Battle

For war surely was coming. Men with their ears to the ground could hear the din of arms afar off, and growing ever louder. Our Congress took steps to keep us safe, if such a thing might be, but everyone was fearful. Our Neutrality Act had forbidden the use of United States ships for sending war supplies to other nations. But the isolationists, who believed that our two oceans kept the United States safe from attack, were the only ones who had much faith in this kind of legislation. Other people felt that the United States was likely to be in great danger and that the passage of laws could not do much to keep the country at peace.

The Election of 1940

In the presidential election of 1940 the Republicans nominated Wendell Willkie, a man of "big business," and the Democrats nominated Roosevelt for a third term—something that had never happened before in the history of the nation. The Republicans claimed that to have the same president for three terms was likely to result in dictatorship. But the people in general were afraid to "swap horses in mid-stream." They felt that Roosevelt had been far-sighted in foreign affairs and feared lest the isolationists, in spite of all Mr. Willkie could do, would gain control in a Republican administration.

So Roosevelt easily won by a large majority.

He went ahead with a vigorous policy in building up our national defense and giving what help he could to the fighting democracies. The whole program is outlined in our story of the Second World War. In this hemisphere we did everything in our power to cement ties with the countries to the south of us, and to counteract Nazi propaganda there, which had left no stone unturned in winning them over. We exchanged cultural representatives with the lands of South and Central America, we established scholarships for study, and sent experts to help solve agricultural and industrial problems. One of the most effective steps we took was to lend the Latin-American countries money for internal improvements, especially for the building of the Pan-American Highway, a magnificent road which will stretch from Alaska to Chile and is now nearly done. All these sums were placed through the Export-Import Bank, a government agency founded for this kind of purpose.

Long before we entered the war our factories had begun to turn out supplies for our own and other armies. Gradually, as the wheels of industry turned faster, people began to find jobs, either at home or in the armed forces. The country spent enormously. Sums which had formerly been appropriated for relief or for government works looked trifling in comparison with those that went for tanks and planes and guns. Labor grew scarce and prices began to mount. The administration took steps to prevent inflation. Through the Office of Price Administration it put a "ceiling," or top price, on certain staples, such as steel and various foods, and "froze" wages and salaries, so that they too could not mount too high. Through the War Production Board it established "priorities" on certain goods necessary for our war effort—that is, it forbade the use of substances like steel and rubber except for certain essential purposes.

By November, 1944, the war was reaching its climax and Americans were afraid to change leaders. They elected Roosevelt over Thomas E. Dewey by a wide margin. When Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, the Allied nations were filled with dismay at the loss

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of a great war leader. But Vice President Harry S. Truman promised to carry out Roosevelt's policies, and the war, as we have related on other pages, moved quickly to its victorious close.

Compared with other nations the United States had suffered very little during the



Harry S. Truman was president of the United States during the troublous postwar period.

war, but she could not escape the problems of the peace. Rising prices, prolonged strikes, disputes of all sorts between labor and management, and a severe shortage of many kinds of goods plagued business and prevented recovery. Many wanted to abolish the OPA—Office of Price Administration—and let things take their course. Others thought that because the world was short of so many necessities, to do so would bring a quick rise in prices, a short boom, and then a collapse. But increasing pressure was brought to bear by those who believed that keeping prices low prevented full production, since producers had little incentive to work hard for small profits.

Finally, at a time when there was a severe meat shortage and black markets—that is, the selling of goods above legal price—were springing up everywhere, President Truman announced (October, 1946) that meat

controls were removed. The November elections gave control of Congress to the Republicans for the first time in sixteen years. And though the Democrats and Republicans were far from agreeing as to just what had caused the swing in sentiment, it was fairly clear that the country was tired of price control. Consequently in a few days President Truman announced that price controls would be immediately removed on everything except rents, rice, and sugar.

General George C. Marshall, the man whom President Truman called "the greatest living American."

Acme Photo



As had been foreseen, prices shot up alarmingly, in some cases to 100 or 150 percent above ceiling prices. But instead of coming down they stayed high or went still higher. By midwinter they had broken all records and still they kept going up. Food especially was very costly, for it was food that was in greatest demand over the world.

Emptying purses brought a second round of strikes, and in 1948 still a third. In spite of a dire housing shortage prices in building were so high that the trade was almost at a standstill. But the country had almost no unemployment, and profits and wages were the highest they had ever been.

For this stubborn rise in prices many people

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blamed the rise in wages for laboring men. Moreover, there had been a good many strikes that had inconvenienced people greatly. So the Republican Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) for the control of strikes and for other restrictions on labor—and labor protested bitterly. The President and Congress drew farther and farther apart, and Congress passed a number of bills over the President's veto—notably one to reduce taxes.

Dealing with Affairs Abroad

Thanks to the efforts of Senator Arthur Vandenburg and certain other Republicans, there was greater harmony in foreign affairs. President Truman proclaimed the Truman Doctrine, which committed the United States to giving help to countries threatened by communist Russia. And General George Marshall, the former Army chief of staff and now the President's secretary of state, proposed the Marshall Plan for giving economic aid to the free countries—to bolster them against communist propaganda.

Congress supported both policies and the European Recovery Program (ERP) got under way. By 1949 it had made encouraging progress. Meanwhile Congress had passed a law providing for stronger national defenses and for military training in peacetime. Elsewhere we have told of the difficulty in getting along with Russia.

The coming election of 1948 complicated all these decisions greatly. Henry A. Wallace, the former Democratic vice president and cabinet member, organized what was known as the Progressive Party and ran for the presidency on a platform that supported concessions to Russia and a large number of radical measures.

A New Southern Party

Moreover, certain southern Democrats refused to follow President Truman when he asked for a federal law requiring that the Negroes be given full civil rights. They founded the States' Rights Party and nominated J. Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina, to the presidency.

Half-heartedly the Democrats nominated President Truman. Most of them believed

that, with his following so split, he had no chance to win. But he campaigned vigorously against Thomas E. Dewey, his Republican opponent, assailing especially the record of the 80th Congress, which had just been in session. Up and down the land he went, urging upon the people the need for laws to help provide better housing, to give the Negroes full civil rights and check lynching, to control the rise of prices and prevent inflation, to support farm prices—lest their too rapid fall bankrupt the farmers as in the '30's—and to provide for various social measures. He also demanded the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Contrary to the expectations of nearly everyone he won in what was the greatest surprise election in our history.

The Famous "Four Points"

President Truman asked the new Democratic Congress to pass the measures for which he had campaigned—he called them the "Fair Deal." In his inaugural address he stated the four points of his foreign policy: support of the United Nations, promotion of the Marshall Plan, the drawing up of a pact for self-defense among the nations of the North Atlantic, and a "bold new program" by which American skill would be used in developing backward areas in the world.

He did not get all he asked from Congress. The Republicans and States' Rights Party combined to defeat the program for the Negroes and other measures. Shortly after election prices began to go down. There were more strikes, and unemployment spread. We were in an economic recession. Besides this, the country was dismayed by dissension among the armed services and by accusations of communism brought against certain members of the State Department. But by 1950 business was recovering and prosperity seemed fairly secure for some time to come.

Then in June, 1950, we suddenly faced a crisis when armed forces from the northern, communist half of Korea suddenly pushed south into Korean territory held by us under the United Nations. The United Nations urged resistance, and our forces took up the fight in what promised to be a long and tire-some struggle.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AREA AND LOCATION

The United States has an area of 3,026,789 square miles. It is the second largest country in the Western Hemisphere, and extends from 24° 30' to 49° N. Lat. and from 66° 55' to 124° 45' W. Long. On other pages we have explained what is meant by "longitude." The earth is also divided north and south into degrees of "latitude." Imaginary parallel lines about sixty-nine miles apart are drawn around the earth between the Equator and the Poles—ninety of them on each side of the Equator, from which they are counted north and south.

The United States is bounded on the north by Canada, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico and Mexico, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean. The Canadian frontier is 3,900 miles long, the Mexican frontier 1,975 miles long. The country's greatest width from ocean to ocean is 3,100 miles; its greatest length from north to south is 1,780 miles.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Our country's eastern coast is very irregular and therefore is the one that has the best harbors. In general it is rocky as far south as Boston, but beyond there it is low and sandy for the most part. North of Boston there are a large number of bays and inlets, especially in Maine. The largest indentations on the eastern coast are Massachusetts Bay, Cape Cod Bay, Narragansett Bay, Delaware Bay, Chesapeake Bay, Long Island Sound, Albemarle Sound, and Pamlico Sound. The most important harbor is New York Bay, the greatest harbor in the world, but many other bays and inlets give excellent anchorage to ships. The most important projections on the eastern coast are Cape Hatteras in North Carolina and Cape Cod in Massachusetts. The peninsula of Florida projects from the southeastern corner of the country, and separates the Atlantic Ocean from the Gulf of Mexico. Various arms of the Gulf, none of them very large, indent the southern coast, which in general is fairly regular in outline. Its chief projection is the delta of the Mississippi River. The western coast too is regular. Here the principal indentations are San Francisco Bay and Puget Sound, both of them famous harbors. San Diego also has an excellent natural harbor. There are a large number of islands along the Atlantic coast; among them Mount Desert, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Block Island, Long Island, and Staten Island are the most important. Off the southeastern coast of Florida are the Bahamas, belonging to Great Britain, and just south of Florida is the island of Cuba, with Florida Strait separating the two. Among the West Indies Porto Rico and certain of the Virgin Islands belong to the United States. The most important islands in the west are Santa Catalina and the Santa Barbara Islands, a chain about 160 miles long.

The surface of the United States falls naturally into certain great divisions. These are the Atlantic coastal plain, the Appalachian mountain system, the great central plain, the interior highlands, and the great mountain system of the West, known as the Western Cordillera. Historically the Atlantic coastal plain is the most important part of the country. It extends from New York to the southern tip of Florida, and produces fruit, corn, rice, and tobacco. Since most of it has been somewhat depressed, the ocean tides enter the mouths of the rivers, where many good harbors have been formed. Because the plain is for the most part fairly narrow the rivers that drain it, though they are important, are not so long as many of the rivers farther west. The largest of them are the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, the James, the Roanoke, the Cape Fear, the Pee Dee, and the Savannah. The important rivers of New England, where the coastal

plain is lacking or is very narrow, are the Connecticut, the Merrimack, the Androscoggin, the Kennebec, and the Penobscot. West of the coastal plain is the Appalachian mountain system, which extends from northern Alabama to the northeastern corner of our country. It is divided into a number of different belts. On the side nearest the ocean is a belt of very old and hard rocks which in North Carolina form the highest mountains in the Eastern United States. Here Mount Mitchell reaches an elevation 6,684 ft. A little farther north, in Virginia, these rocks form the famous Blue Ridge. In the north it is the same belt of crystalline rocks that underlies New England and forms its highlands—the Berkshires in Massachusetts, the Green Mountains of Vermont, and the White Mountains of New Hampshire.

Inland from the belt of old and hard rocks is a broad valley that extends from northern Alabama to Lake Champlain. It is often called the Great Valley, and is remarkable in that it has no ridges lying across it, though there are sometimes ridges running lengthwise. Beyond the Great Valley are rocks that through the central part of the Appalachian system have been folded to make ridges and valleys. These long even ridges are especially well developed in Maryland and Pennsylvania, where they are known as the Allegheny Mountains. West of the ridges the rock layers lie fairly flat in a high plateau that extends the full length of the Appalachians. It has been very much cut up by rivers in New York, and is known there as the Catskill Mountains. In the south it is known as the Cumberland Plateau. It is in the Appalachian Plateau that we find our country's greatest deposits of soft coal; hard coal is in the mountainous belt just east of the plateau. West of the Cumberland Plateau is a somewhat lower plateau that extends part of the way across Kentucky and Tennessee. In northeastern New York the Adirondack Mountains are thought to be a spur of the Laurentian Highlands of Eastern Canada—the oldest land on the continent. Some learned men, however, consider that they belong to the same belt as the mountains of New England.

All that part of the country lying between our eastern and western mountain systems is a fairly level plain drained almost entirely by the Mississippi River and its great tributaries—the Ohio, the Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Red rivers. This is our country's great agricultural section. In the east are low fertile prairies, well watered and, in the northern part, covered by soil that was left by the glacier. In northern Wisconsin and Michigan and in northeastern Minnesota is another low spur of the Laurentian Highlands. It is called the Superior oldland. It never rises to high summits, but in it are rich copper deposits and the greatest iron mines in the world. In the south the prairies descend to the low coastal plain of the Gulf of Mexico, which in the southeast joins the Atlantic coastal plain. Across it the Chattahoochee, Alabama, Black Warrior, Pearl, Brazos, and other rivers make their way. In the section where it is crossed by the Mississippi River the coastal plain has a long arm reaching inland for some five hundred miles. This strip, which is very fertile, is known as the "Mississippi embayment" of the coastal plain. West of the Mississippi, in Missouri, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, are the Ozark and Ouachita mountains, the only mountains that rise from our country's great central lowland. This mountain group, which is never very high, is known as the "interior highland" of the United States. Some four hundred miles east of the Rocky Mountains the land begins to rise gradually, until at the foot of the mountains it reaches a height of 5,000 or 6,000 feet. This broad strip of fairly level country is known as the "Great Plains"—so named in contrast to the "Prairie Plains" that lie to the east. The climate here is much drier than in the Prairie Plains, and as a result the

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section is better adapted to stock raising than to the growing of grain. In general the line along which the annual rainfall drops below twenty inches, may be taken as the boundary between the two sections. In the north, largely in western South Dakota, the Black Hills rise as a group of fairly rugged mountains from the level of the plains; and a little south of them, in western South Dakota and western Nebraska, is a section known as the "Bad Lands," where the action of water has hewn the land into fantastic forms. Still farther south, in western Texas and eastern New Mexico, is a large section known as the Staked Plains, or Llano Estacado. It is very barren, and much more level than most of the Great Plains, which are often interrupted by hills or steep river valleys. This western section of flat plain lying next the mountains extends north into Nebraska and is known as the "High Plains."

In general the western third of our country is mountainous. Rising from the Great Plains are the Rockies, which are divided into a great many different ranges and are highest in Colorado. There is a marked sag in their elevation in central Wyoming, but they reach fine heights again in Montana and Idaho. West of them are regions of high plateau. In the south this is known as the Colorado Plateau, and is drained by the great Colorado River, which in Arizona has carved out the famous canyon which bears its name. The climate over these great western plateaus is very dry, and much of their surface is desert. They are frequently broken by mountain ranges, and are carved by rivers into deep canyons. Between the Wasatch Mountains in Utah and the Sierra Nevadas in eastern California is a high plateau known as the Great Basin. It is fairly level except where it is broken by short ranges of mountains that lie north and south. There is no outlet to the sea, and what drainage there is gathers in the depressions between the mountains. There it forms salt lakes or dries up to leave mud flats or deposits of salt and other minerals. Great Salt Lake is formed in this way. The region of ridges and basins, sometimes called the Basin Range Province, is larger than the Great Basin, for in the south it broadens out toward the east and extends clear to the ocean in California. North of the Great Basin lies the Columbia Plateau, a great lava plain that extends over southern Idaho and the eastern part of Washington and of Oregon, between the Northern Rockies and the Cascade Range. It is drained by the Columbia River and its tributary the Snake, which has carved out a remarkably fine canyon in Idaho.

The highest mountains in our country are in California. Here the Sierra Nevadas, lying along the state's eastern border, reach in Mount Whitney a height of 14,495 ft., the highest elevation in the United States. A little to the east of Mount Whitney is Death Valley, a part of the desert that covers southeastern California; in it is the lowest point in the United States—280 ft. below sea level. Death Valley lies within the Great Basin. The Sierra Nevadas are continued in Oregon and Washington as the Cascade Mountains. Along the western coast is the Coast Range, lower than the Cascades and the Sierras and in many places running down to the sea, though in the south there is a narrow coastal plain. Between it and the ranges to the east is a fertile valley that is made to produce many fruits and vegetables. In Washington the valley runs down to Puget Sound, which has entered it for a long distance. In California it is drained by the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, which empty into San Francisco Bay, but the southern part of the valley is very dry and must depend upon irrigation. Fruits, grapes, nuts, and garden vegetables are raised here. In the Cascades and the northern Sierras are many signs of volcanic activity. Here are a number of extinct volcanoes and large areas covered by flows of lava. Mount Lassen,

the only active volcano in the United States, is in northern California.

The United States is rich in lakes. Along the northern border of the Prairie Plains section are the famous Great Lakes, really inland seas of fresh water drained by the St. Lawrence River into the Atlantic Ocean. They carry a heavy traffic. The Sault Ste Marie Canal connects Lake Superior and Lake Huron, and other canals give boats an easy passage from Lake Huron to Lake Erie and from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario around the famous Niagara Falls. The Erie Canal conveys boats from the eastern end of Lake Erie to the Hudson River. The Intracoastal Waterway has been built inside the long line of islands that rim the country's eastern coast from New Jersey south. A similar waterway extends along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. There are a great many small lakes throughout the northern part of the United States, especially in Wisconsin and Minnesota. All together the inland water area of the United States is about 45,000 square miles.

CLIMATE

The United States lies in the North Temperate Zone, but it has great extremes of heat and cold. Most of it is in the belt of prevailing west winds, which come off the Pacific laden with moisture; but since they cannot pass the high western mountains without dropping their moisture, the western slopes of the Coast Range and the Cascades have a heavy rainfall, while the regions just east of the mountains are very dry. Fortunately the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Great Lakes supply the central and eastern part of the country with plenty of rain. Because there are no east-and-west mountain ranges to keep them out, the cold north winds can come sweeping down over the country in winter, bringing bitter weather to the central plains; and in the same way hot moist winds can come north from the Gulf of Mexico in summer, bringing high humidity to the same region, which is already heated by the sun. Along the eastern coast northeast winds usually bring chill and rain, and south winds from the Atlantic bring heat and humidity in summer. Because of the winds from the ocean the Pacific coast has a much milder climate than the eastern coast. The winters there are much less severe, with little frost, and except in the south the summers are much cooler than they are along the Atlantic. Rain falls there only in winter, but along the northern and central parts of the coast heavy fogs sweep in from the sea in summer and leave moisture on the vegetation. The annual rainfall in those sections is exceedingly heavy. The region between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas has very little rain, and there it is that we find the deserts of southeastern California, Arizona, western New Mexico, Utah, and Nevada. Here there is a dry, stimulating climate and a great deal of sunshine.

In general the Atlantic states have hot summers and cold winters, though the southern states are much milder than those in the north. Everywhere there is enough rain to water the crops, and in the north the snows are heavy. Summers are hot in the states along the Gulf of Mexico, and the winters are mild, though there are occasional severe frosts. Rain there is abundant, though droughts are not unknown. The central plains have very severe winters, and the states in the north often suffer from blizzards. Here three-fourths of the rain falls between April and September to the great advantage of crops, especially cereals; but on the Great Plains the rainfall is for the most part too light for regular farming. It is a region of dry farming or of irrigation. Tornadoes destructive to life and property sometimes sweep the states of the Middle West, and hurricanes which start in the West Indies cause a certain amount of damage in the southern

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states. Over nearly the whole country the weather is highly variable, for it is controlled by the great "cyclones"—or vast whirls of air hundreds of miles across—that sweep across the continent from west to east, often in a great curve.

VEGETATION

The United States still has large areas of standing forest, and lumbering is one of its greatest industries. The trees of the West, among them the famous California redwoods and giant sequoias, are mostly cone-bearing varieties, such as firs, pines, and spruces. There are a great many cone-bearing trees in the Great Lakes region also, and in the northeastern states. The Appalachians have oaks, walnuts, and poplars, as well as evergreens, and the central states are rich in hardwoods—oaks, beeches, maples, chestnuts, and black walnuts. Here and in the northern Atlantic states the elm is a great favorite. The yellow pine is one of the common trees in the South, together with the magnolia, the palmetto, the tulip tree, the sycamore, the sweet gum, the pecan, the cypress, and the live oak. Florida and California have various semitropical trees, such as the palm. The Great Plains are treeless except along the rivers banks, and the very dry regions of the West are covered with bunch grass, sagebrush, mesquite, creosote bush, yuccas, and cacti. When any of these plants are found in dense, thorny growth they are known as chaparral. High mountains in the dry sections get enough moisture to grow various cone-bearing trees. The nuts native to the country are the pecan, the black walnut, the butternut, the hazelnut, and the chestnut. The important native berries are the strawberry, raspberry, blackberry, blueberry, elderberry, and cranberry.

Though most of the states in the Union raise cereals the great grain-growing region is in the central plain, between the Great Lakes and the valley of the Ohio River and extending west into the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas. Among farm crops corn is the most important, with the United States raising two-thirds of the world's supply. It is grown in the great Corn Belt, which stretches from Indiana westward through Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, part of Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas. Most of the crop is fed to live stock, but certain amounts are made into flour or alcohol.

Our second most important crop is cotton, of which we raise almost half of the world's supply. It is produced in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and California.

The third most important crop is wheat, of which we raise about a fifth of the world's supply. It is grown in a good many different states, but its production is centered in four separate regions. Of these the most important is the region of hard winter wheat, a section that has Kansas at its center. North of this region is the section of hard spring wheat. Soft winter wheat is grown east of these two sections. Still another important wheat-growing region is in Washington and Oregon, where soft wheats are grown.

More than a quarter of the world's oats are grown in the United States, largely in the northern and southern parts of the Corn Belt. Barley is grown in the hard spring wheat belt, though not in large quantities. Rice is cultivated to a certain extent in Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Georgia, and South Carolina, but great quantities must be imported. Hay grows wherever the climate and rainfall are favorable, but in the West it consists mostly of alfalfa, and in the East north of the cotton belt it is mostly timothy and clover. In the cotton belt cow peas and soy beans are the chief forage crops—that is, the chief crops that are fed to cattle. Flax is raised in the two Dakotas, Minnesota, and Montana. Maine, Idaho, and California are famous for

raising fine potatoes. Sugar cane is grown chiefly in Louisiana, but it is planted in Texas, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida as well. Sugar beets are grown in the north-central part of the country, around Lake Michigan, and also in Utah, Colorado, and California. Maple sugar is produced in the northeastern states, especially Vermont, and also in New York and Pennsylvania. Fruits are raised in many states, but the most important centers of fruit production are the region of the Great Lakes, the Atlantic coast from New York to Norfolk, and the semitropical states of Florida and California. Citrus fruits come almost entirely from the last two states. Tobacco, in which the United States is one of the world's most important producers, is raised chiefly in Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Connecticut, Ohio, Maryland, and Wisconsin.

All in all, the United States is the most important food-producing country in the world.

ANIMALS

The animals of the United States are many and varied. Among them are the moose, deer, elk, antelope, bear, buffalo, mountain lion, lynx, jaguar, wolf, fox, Rocky Mountain goat, mountain sheep, porcupine, prairie dog, coyote, skunk, squirrel, chipmunk, gopher, rabbit, raccoon, woodchuck, opossum, seal, armadillo, alligator, many sorts of turtles, the rattlesnake, copperhead, water moccasin, and a large variety of snakes; and hundreds of species of birds, including the grouse, prairie chicken, pheasant, bald eagle, falcon, grosbeak, woodpeckers of many sorts, the bluebird, robin, bobolink, sparrow, various thrushes and orioles, cardinals, flamingoes, ibises, and the cactus wren. Thousands of domestic animals are raised for the market, especially in South Dakota, Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas. Sheep are raised in Texas, Montana, California, Idaho, Wyoming, and Oregon; and hogs in Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska, Indiana, Minnesota, and Missouri. The United States raises a quarter of the world's hogs and a tenth of the world's cattle.

MINERALS

In minerals the United States is one of the richest countries in the world. Its various valuable mineral resources are distributed among the states as follows: Coal: The chief deposits are in the Appalachian Mountains, in Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, and in other central states as far south as Texas. The leading coal-producing states are Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Alabama.

Petroleum: The United States leads all other countries in the amount of oil it produces and the amount it uses. The principal oil regions are in the Appalachians, the Rocky Mountains, along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, in Illinois and southwest Indiana, in California, and through the tract reaching from Kansas to northern Texas.

Copper: The United States furnishes a large share of the world's copper. The deposits are found in Michigan and in various places in the West, especially in Arizona, Montana, Utah, Nevada, and New Mexico contribute substantially to the supply.

Iron: The United States furnishes two-fifths of the iron used in the world and uses more than any other country. Deposits are found around Lake Superior, especially in Minnesota, and also in Alabama and Pennsylvania.

Lead: The United States is the world's largest producer and consumer of lead, which is found in Missouri, Idaho, Utah, Colorado, and Oklahoma.

Zinc: Zinc mined in the United States is an important part of the world product. Deposits are found in

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—Continued

Missouri, Oklahoma, Kansas, New Jersey, Montana, Utah, and Colorado.

Aluminum: Bauxite, from which aluminum is extracted, is found in Arkansas, Georgia, and Alabama.

Phosphates: The United States supplies two-fifths of the world's production of phosphates. Our supply comes from Colorado, Idaho, Florida, and Tennessee.

Sulphur: In Texas and Louisiana the United States produces about four-fifths of the world's sulphur.

Gold is mined in Alaska, California, South Dakota, Colorado, and Utah.

Silver is found in the gold-producing states and also in Idaho, Arizona, Montana, and Nevada.

INDUSTRIES

The United States is the chief industrial nation of the world. Its manufacturing industries may be grouped as follows:

Metallurgical, or the smelting and refining of ores: This industry has been most widely developed in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and New York, for coal and coke are conveniently near in those states. Pittsburgh is the chief center for the steel industry and works the iron which is shipped down from the mines around the Great Lakes, where Duluth is the most important port for iron shipment.

Mechanical: Automobiles, locomotives, agricultural machinery, sewing machines, industrial machinery, bicycles, and many other kinds of machinery are manufactured in the northeastern and north-central states. Detroit and Cleveland are centers for making automobiles; sewing machines are manufactured in Elizabeth, New Jersey; locomotives in Philadelphia; and agricultural machinery in Chicago. Of course other cities share in the manufacture of all these various kinds of machinery. The newer aircraft industry is mainly on the two coasts, with California leading in production. The center for producing machine tools—the machines that make machines—is Ohio.

Chemical: This industry has been largely developed in the regions where coal is mined. It consists of the manufacture of chemical fertilizers, dyes, paints, perfumes, vegetable and chemical fats, soaps, mineral oils, asphalt, and asbestos. Great petroleum refining centers are to be found in Pittsburgh, near Lake Erie, in New Jersey and California, and in the West South Central states. The refineries produce benzine, gasoline, mineral oils, and paraffin.

Textile: The textile industries are important because they help to use the vast amounts of cotton and wool that our country produces. The oldest textile center in the United States is New England, but lately the industry has spread to the South, especially to the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama. The woolen industry is to be found chiefly in Philadelphia; in Lawrence, Massachusetts; and in Providence, Rhode Island. Paterson, New Jersey, is an important center for the manufacture of silk. Rayon and nylon, which have taken the place of wool and cotton for many uses, are made in the southern and Middle Atlantic states.

Food industry: From Chicago to Kansas are mills for the preparation of cereals, and this region is also the chief section for the manufacture of meat products. Flour is manufactured in great quantities in Minneapolis also, and in Buffalo. The canning of fruit and vegetables is widespread, but Baltimore is one of the most important cities for it. California and the southern states are the principal sections in which this industry has been developed. The making of butter and cheese is a leading industry around the Great Lakes and also in the West.

Miscellaneous: Rubber is manufactured in Akron, Ohio. Shoes are made in New England and Missouri. The clothing industry is centered largely in the great

cities of the East. The moving-picture industry has been chiefly developed in Hollywood, California. Lumbering is chiefly carried on in the southern states and in Maine, California, Washington, and Oregon. The center of the wood pulp and paper industries is in the region of the Great Lakes, though Maine and certain southern states also contribute largely. Furniture is manufactured in Michigan and in the southeastern states, and Washington carries on woodworking of every sort. Manufacturing is now more widely scattered over the country than it has been in the past.

THE PEOPLE

In 1949 the population of the United States was estimated at over 148 million. About ninety percent of these people were white, less than ten percent were Negro, and three-tenths of one percent were Indian. The rest—mainly Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Hindus, Koreans, and Hawaiians—numbered less than a third of a million people all together. Over ninety percent of the total population was born in America. The proportion of Negroes to the total population is smallest in the New England states and greatest in the South. Though a few southern states have about equal proportions of Negroes and whites, the ratio is changing as more Negroes leave the South for other sections. Each year the proportion of Negroes to the total population decreases, as does the number of Negroes of pure blood. A large number of Negroes are mulattoes—half white and half Negro.

The various white stocks are widely scattered, but there is a concentration of Irish in New England, the Middle Atlantic, and southern states. The Middle Atlantic and North Central states are the sections with the greatest proportion of people of German descent. Over half the Italians live in the Middle Atlantic states, most of them in New York City. In 1947 the United States had only 147,000 immigrants, a mere handful compared with fifty years before. For the same year, there were 99.3 males for every 100 females in the total population.

RELIGIONS

Protestants outnumber Catholics in the United States, but the statistics show the Catholics to be more numerous than any single Protestant denomination. An actual count of the various religions is hard to get, since some number children among their members and some do not. In the South the leading denominations are Baptists and Methodists. The Lutherans are strongest in the North Central states, where there are large numbers of Germans and Scandinavians. The Catholics are strongest in the North and West. In 1930 the country had somewhat over 4,000,000 Jews.

DIVISIONS

The United States of America is made up of forty-eight states and the Federal District of Columbia, which includes only the city of Washington. The states are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Besides this the United States has, as possessions or dependencies, the Territory of Alaska, the Territory of Hawaii, Porto Rico, certain of the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, scattered islands in the Pacific Ocean—including Guam and Wake Island—and the Panama Canal Zone in the Isthmus of Panama.

The STORY of GOVERNMENT

Reading Unit No. 1

WHY WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT

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WHY WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT

On the brow of a hill above the Potomac, its gleaming dome surmounted by a statue of Liberty, stands the Capitol Building, the center of the federal government of the United States.

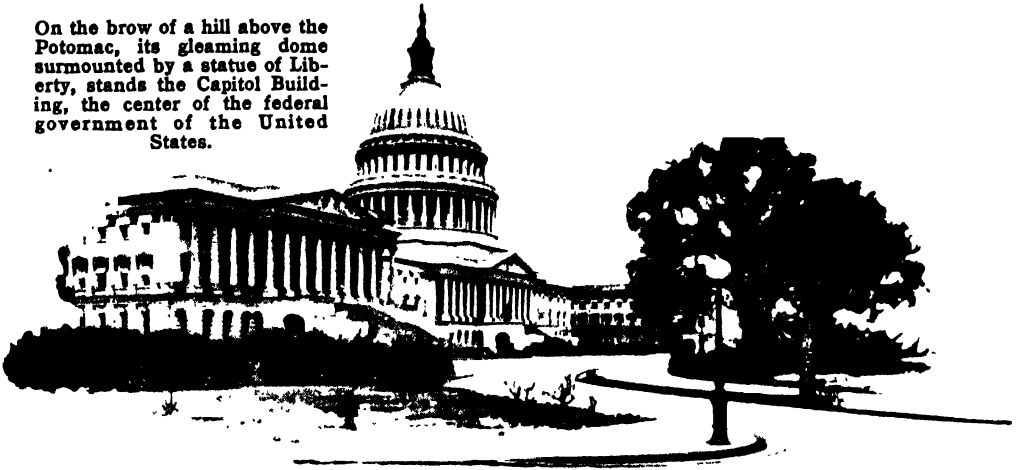


Photo by the National Museum

WHY WE HAVE *a* GOVERNMENT

This Is a Story of the Various Kinds of Government Men Have Known from the Earliest Days to the Time When the People Found Out the Way to Rule Themselves

ON HIS way home from school a boy stopped to watch a policeman on a busy corner directing traffic. When the policeman raised his hand, the stream of cars on one street stopped and the stream on the other street began to move. The man let the cars go one way for a few moments, and then stopped them to give the others a chance. As the boy stood there he heard the sound of a fire truck several blocks away. With screaming siren it tore down the middle of the street. Quickly the policeman ordered cars out of the way and stopped all the streams of traffic. The fire engine roared past and was out of sight in a few seconds. Obedient to the officer's signal, the cars started again.

This boy lived in a large city, and was used to seeing policemen and fire trucks. Fire engines are so exciting that he always stopped to watch when they went by, but still they were so common that he rarely thought much more about them. He seldom thought that they had much to do with any story of government.

While this boy was watching the traffic and the fire engines, there were other boys

on the way home from school in every other part of the country, boys cutting through empty lots in small towns, boys walking along country roads. If we could stop to watch a country boy we should probably see him get off the school bus at the side road that led to his father's farm. He would wave to his friends who went on farther in the bus, and the bus would move on. Near the road would be several mailboxes, one for each of the farms up the side road. The boy would take the letters from the box belonging to his family and trudge up the road to his home.

Every one of these millions of boys has been in actual touch with the government and has seen it working before his eyes. In the first place they have all been to school, and nearly all of them to schools conducted by the government. They have all walked along streets or roads built by the government. In cities they have crossed streets in which the traffic was controlled by police. If they have money in their pockets, it was issued by the government. Some of them have seen fire engines, owned and run by the government, hurrying to fires. In city

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Rough and ready were the laws of the Old Man of the Tribe when he was called upon to mete out justice. The accused, groveling on the ground before him, could expect little mercy. But unless the tribe stood together it was doomed, and unless a strong man ruled, the tribe would not stand together. Many centuries were to pass before man should be ready for self-government. For that he would have to learn to

be honest and unselfish, and to work for the good of the group as well as for his own personal gain. Even to-day there are many who do not realize that by gaining their own selfish ends they may bring ruin to the group to which they are bound, and so, in the end, ruin to themselves. They are the people who help bring about nation-wide calamity and destroy the prosperity which fair-dealing and patriotism have built up.

and in country they have dealt with postmen who are part of the government's huge system for carrying mail. These are by no means all the ways in which government affects our lives; but without going farther, we can see how very important government is.

What Is the Government?

What do we mean when we say that "the government" runs the schools and "the government" runs the post office? We often speak of "the government" when we mean several different systems, really several different governments. The government which runs the post office is the national government, while the schools are operated by cities or counties. We know also that our country is divided into states, and that each state has a government.

Since there are all these different governments, each doing different things, and all of them doing many other things that we have not mentioned, a story of government

will be a story of all of them, how they came into existence and what they do. But before we get to these questions we ought to think a little about government in general. We know that each country in the world has a government of its own, and that no two of them are exactly alike. What kinds of government are there? How did they grow?

As far back as we can go in history, we find that people always had some sort of government. At first it was so different from what we have now that we might hesitate to call it government. The first government was mainly the thing that most governments are now established to prevent—the rule of the strongest and the most selfish. When men lived in caves, in constant danger from wild beasts and from other men, the man with the strongest arm and the biggest club often told the others what to do. That was a large part of what there was in government.

This idea that the strongest man would

WHY WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT

tell other men what to do was a great part of government for a very long time. As men gathered in clans and learned to live a life better than that of the other animals, the strong man became known as a chief; and as time went on, the chief became a king. Often these strong men, chiefs and kings, were so selfish and cruel that they took what they wanted from the others just because they could. But some of them used their strength to help the others, as well as to get things for themselves. They knew the best ways of hunting and fighting, and they made rules for others to follow. If a tribe got its food by herding sheep, the chief did his best to see that they always found good pastures. Often there was not pasture enough, and different groups would quarrel for the land. The chief was, of course, the leader in fighting. If he did not lead well, or if someone else was a better fighter, the chief lost his place.

Every strong man who became a chief or king naturally did his best to hold his place as long as he could. When he grew too old to rule he put his son into the position. Sometimes the son would have to fight some of the other strong men to prove that he was capable of ruling. But as life became more settled, and kings grasped the idea that they ought to lead their people as well as rule over them, it seemed quite natural that if a man had been a good king, his son ought to do well also. So in many nations the idea slowly grew up that the members of one family were the natural and proper rulers. Everyone assumed that the king's son would be the next king. In some countries a single

family went on ruling in this way for centuries. We call their rule "hereditary" (hě-rěd'y-tă-rĭ).

The story of very early times is largely a story of such rulers and their struggles. Rulers led huge armies into battle against other rulers, and the winner was the lord of so many more people. A man who was the master of very large realms was called an emperor. An emperor usually thought that success lay in conquering still more people and adding still more lands to his realm. There were periods of peace, of course, and we know something of the laws that rulers made for their people. We know that some of the rulers built extraordinary palaces and temples and fine roads. Some encouraged art and literature.

It was impossible for a king or emperor who ruled over a large country to do everything himself. He had to appoint men to help. He often put a governor over each part or province of his kingdom, and he usually had a number of counselors who helped him to make laws. They helped to plan his wars and advised him about ways of improving the country in times of



Photo by British Museum

In Athens a person accused of a major crime was tried by a jury court composed of citizens over thirty years old. The whole body of available jurymen was divided into ten sections, each section known by one of the first ten letters of the Greek alphabet. Each jurymen was given a ticket on which were scratched his name, his parish, and the letter of his section. Three of these tickets, dating from the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C., and made of bronze, are shown above. At the top is a fragment of pottery on which are scratched the words, "Teos, this potsherd is his." Such "votes" were cast when a man was "ostracized"—a proceeding described on the pages where the story of Athens is told.

peace. Thus the mere physical strength of the king ceased to be so important. It was always an advantage, of course, for a king to be strong and handsome. But it was more important for him now to be wise, especially as he was an "absolute monarch"—one whose powers are unlimited by a constitution.

As men grew more civilized and more intent on other things than fighting, they created other kinds of government. In various parts of the world, at various times, people began to see that government by a single

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man whose word was law is not the only possible kind of government. The story of government from those early times to the present is the story of the very slow growth of the idea that the people can and ought to govern themselves. And it is the story of the ways that have been devised to make it possible for people to govern themselves. So constitutions were devised to limit the power of monarchs, and the idea of republics, or representative governments, evolved. Modern dictatorships, requiring complete trust in a leader, reverse the process of self-government.

How the Greeks Governed Themselves

One of the first and most important attempts to carry out this idea was made by the Greeks about five hundred years before Christ. After centuries of rule by various good and bad kings, there was established in Athens a government which was called a democracy. In the story about the Greeks in these books you can read of all the interesting things they did, and learn why we still look up to them as one of the most remarkable peoples in history. In their language the word *demos* meant "people," and a government in which the people ruled was called a democracy.

The citizens of Athens met in the market place, voted on all important questions, and elected leaders and judges. It was not a calm and easy way of managing things. The people often disagreed and formed hostile parties that quarreled just as they do now. But they were probably happier than they would have been under a king, and they certainly made Athens an illustrious city.

To be sure, democracy in Athens was not what we should call democracy to-day. We may now be shocked to discover that, besides the people or citizens who voted and thus ruled, there were a great many others who were very important for the work they did but who had no part in the government at all. These were slaves, for the Greeks took slavery for granted. Much of the humbler work in Athens was done by slaves who were not allowed to vote. There were also many people in Athens who had moved there from other places and who were con-

sidered as outsiders and not allowed to vote. So even though the Greeks made a very important forward step in government, they did not have complete democracy by any means.

In a general way the democracy worked out by the Romans was like that of the Greeks. In the history of Rome you can read the story of the growth of Rome from a small tribe in western Italy to an empire that included most of the civilized world. In the course of their history the Romans developed ideas about government that have been very important ever since. At first Rome was a little settlement on the river Tiber, ruled by kings. The first growth came from conquering other small tribes around. At this early time Roman kings were elected by the other warriors instead of being hereditary rulers. A new ruler might be the son of the old one, but he was more likely to be the strongest and best fighter. So the Romans were already familiar with the idea of electing rulers. By the time that Rome had conquered most of Italy, the people grew impatient with the kings and set up the Roman republic.

This was about five hundred years before Christ. By that time life was settled enough for people to realize that tilling the land was the main way to get a living. The owners of land were the most important people, and they were the ones who took part in the new government. They chose rulers called consuls. Two consuls were elected at one time and held office for a year. The Romans were so afraid that some man would try to set himself up as a dictator that they chose this way of having two rulers divide the power, thinking that if one ruler turned into a tyrant the other would control him.

At first the method of allowing only owners of the land to vote was satisfactory. But as the Romans grew more numerous, the number of landowners increased only slightly. Instead, they slowly turned into a special class of citizens, called patricians, who had certain rights as a matter of birth. If you were not born a patrician you could never become one. The rest of the people were called plebeians. They gradually grew

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Photo by Chauffourie Rome

This picture shows the rock from which, according to popular tradition, criminals were hurled to certain death in the early days of Rome. According to legend this rock, the Rupe Tarpeia, got its name from Tarpeia (târ-pê'yâ), a Roman maiden who died on that very spot at the time when the Sabines were attacking Rome. The story goes that Tarpeia had offered to

betray her people to the enemy in exchange for what the Sabines "wore on their arms"—meaning, of course, their bracelets of gold. The Sabines carried out their part of the bargain to the letter; they threw their heavy shields on top of the unhappy girl and so killed her, to show that they did not approve of treachery, even if it were to their own advantage.

powerful enough to make trouble about the fact that they had no voice in the government. For about two hundred years the consuls were always patricians. But finally the plebeians succeeded in getting a law passed that one of the consuls must be a plebeian. The two classes opposed each other in struggling for power much as political parties oppose one another now. All these struggles took place in the five hundred years between the founding of the republic and its downfall shortly before the birth of Christ. While they were going on, the Romans were conquering more people and bringing more countries under their rule.

The Danger of Being Too Rich

As a result of their conquests the Romans grew very rich. It would be much too simple to say that because Rome was very wealthy it went to pieces. But the wealth of its citizens probably did have something to do

with the decay of Rome. In the century before Christ many Roman citizens gave way to luxury and selfishness, and used their positions to get what they could for themselves without worrying about what happened to the country. What is now called "graft" became common. Men who handled public money put a good deal in their own pockets. Tax collectors took as much as they could get from the people and handed over to the treasury as little as they dared.

How Rome Ruled Her Provinces

At her best Rome was a good ruler. The countries she conquered were often better off under her than they had been before. They had good laws and a good system of money, fine roads and fine buildings. They were protected from enemies. Conquered countries became provinces and were ruled by governors sent out from Rome. When the governors were honest and capable, the provinces were well ruled. But when it

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Photo by Gesellschaft, Berlin

Ancient castles in ruins, ancient castles restored, and later castles built in the picturesque fashion of the ancient ones, raise their romantic towers high above the river Rhine—a reminder of the days when power-

ful lords lived in fortresses and the feudal system of government reigned. The castle above is surrounded by neat vineyards, where the growing vines find a foothold on well-kept terraces.

came to be the fashion for the consuls and others in charge at Rome to send out their special friends as governors, or any man to whom they owed a favor, the provinces might suffer.

The First Roman Emperor

With these and other kinds of corruption growing more and more common, Rome was like a huge machine which no one was steering. Those who should have been steering were too often snatching things for themselves. Naturally the machine did not run well. The way was open for a strong man to overthrow the pretense of democracy and make himself emperor. That is just what happened. After the disastrous civil wars in which Julius Caesar and Pompey and others fought, Augustus became the first emperor.

In our story of government we do not need to spend much time with the Roman emperors. There were some good ones and there were some extremely bad ones. Under them the theory of government was the old one that one man should have absolute power. All who rule under him get their authority from him. It does not take much thinking to see that this kind of government can be very good or very bad. If the supreme

ruler is an able and honest man, he can do a great deal for the happiness of his people. If he is stupid and selfish he can use his power simply for his own pleasure and can make life almost unbearable for his subjects.

For five centuries the Romans endured a succession of emperors good and bad. Many of them were bad simply because they were not able enough to be good. They were too weak to be real masters; they just let the great machine take its own course. Naturally the course was downward. And then the wild tribes of barbarians from the north and east swept into the empire, conquering and destroying. In the course of time they settled down among the people they had conquered and learned the ways of peaceful, civilized life. But long before that the Roman empire had fallen apart.

When the World Lost Its Center

After the fall of Rome it was a long time before the world—or at least the world of Europe—knew any firm and permanent government such as it had seen under the republic and empire of Rome. The world had lost its center; instead of any single place where orders came from, there were a great many such places. And there were a great many men who claimed the right of

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giving orders. What had once been the world of Rome became a world of many separate little rulers. Each ruler had his eye on his neighbor's possessions. The result was a great deal of squabbling and fighting.

Out of all the disturbance there arose a way of living that is called "feudalism," (fū'-dāl-iz'm). The word usually reminds us of knights in armor riding around on big horses, and of castles on high hills. The knights and castles were important enough in feudalism, but so were the peasants who worked in the fields. Feudalism was not so much a system of government as merely a scheme of living together that people worked out at a time when life was difficult and uncertain.

The invasions of barbarians left Europe in confusion. Without any central government, each man had to find a way to protect himself from robbers or even from his neighbors who might feel like coming over to steal his land or to run off with his daughter. Protection from enemies became the important problem for everyone, because there was no government with a police department and an army to defend the people. A man who saw that he might not be able to protect himself usually went to the strongest man in the region and said he would like help. If the stronger man agreed, they would make a bargain. The strong man promised to protect the weaker and the weaker swore allegiance to the stronger; that is, he promised to help if there should be any fighting to do. The weaker man was called a vassal and the stronger a lord. A lord might have many vassals to protect from any outside invader, and he could call on all of them for help if he needed it. If the vassal owned any land, he gave it to the lord; and the

lord lent it back to him with the understanding that the vassal should give him some of the produce from it.

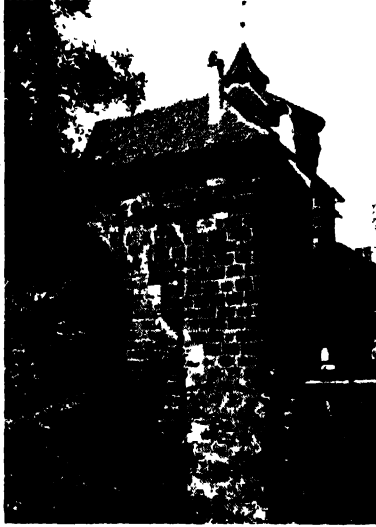
In a small way the vassal made the same arrangement with men weaker than he. A peasant or farmer would give up the real ownership of his land, but he would be promised the permanent use of it and protection from his enemies if he gave a share of his crops to his own lord, the vassal of the bigger lord. Usually the peasant would be expected to leave his fields and fight with his lord if it should be necessary.

If you were a small lord living in a castle on a hill, with farms in all the valleys around, you would find that the farmers would come and make this kind of bargain with you. You would promise to protect them from wandering armies and bands of robbers. They would promise to keep you supplied with food and other

things you needed from their farms. Ordinarily the farmers would make you the real owner of the land and you would give them the use of it for life. A number of men who owned no land would come to you. You would accept them as vassals with the understanding that they could live in the castle and help with the work and the fighting.

In the Days of Lords and Vassals

You would have in your castle and the lands around almost a little kingdom of your own. But not many miles away there could be found other lords in other castles, many of them as strong as you, or stronger. So you would do the cautious thing. You would pick the lord that looked the strongest of all, and agree to become his vassal. Then if you were attacked your lord came with his men at arms and helped you to



In the Middle Ages, cities as well as castles were protected by frowning battlements. The picture above shows a corner of the walls which surrounded the medieval city of Nuremberg in Germany.

WHY WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT



Photo by Photomart House

When John became king of England at the death of his brother, Richard the Lion-hearted, he governed so badly that he turned everybody against him. Above

fight off the enemy. If he called on you for help, you set out to his aid with the men from your castle and some of the peasants from your fields.

When Men Were Serfs or Knights or Monks

Of course this system of society did not grow up over night. It developed slowly and was never just the same in all parts of Europe. Vassals changed from one lord to another, trying to pick the one who was best able to protect them. The death of a powerful lord sometimes meant that all his vassals swore allegiance to his son, though sometimes that they all turned to various other lords. Monasteries as well as men found it necessary to get the protection of powerful lords. They often owned land and gave some of their crops in return for protection—and they, too, might have vassals of their own. Men who were anxious to escape the rough life of the time became monks and spent their lives in prayer and study. Their prayers as well as their crops were benefits they gave a lord who protected them.

As we have said, the feudal system was a rough-and-ready scheme for living together rather than a system of government.

you see him being forced to agree to the famous Magna Charta, or Great Charter, and to give up a part of the power which he had so misused in governing the people.

The kind of government that we know means schools, courts of law, uniform systems of money, policemen and firemen to protect us, and many other things unknown or all but unknown to feudalism.

A number of reasons can be given for the disappearance of the feudal system. For one thing, some men secured so many vassals that they were powerful enough to set up a real government in which the various lords could be forbidden to squabble among themselves. For another thing, trading and manufacturing began as soon as a period of peace made them possible. Manufacturing and trading can best be done in cities; so towns and cities began to grow up again. Once a city had grown big enough, it could maintain its independence or could make treaties of mutual protection with other cities. Strong cities could form leagues, such as the famous Hanseatic (hăn'sê-ăt'ík) League on the Baltic Sea.

The Coming of Kings

Often the importance of cities made it easier for kings to keep their vassal nobles in control. City traders were glad to see strong governments rise to keep peace and make trading possible. As kings rather than

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feudal lords got control of Europe, they made the division into countries more important than it had been. In telling who he was, a man in feudal times would say, "I am the vassal of Lord So and So." After feudal times he would say, "I am a Frenchman."

Most of the kings who grew powerful as feudalism declined were, or tried to be, absolute rulers, like the Roman emperors. They held that a king is responsible to no one; he can do what he pleases, and no one has a right to stop him. To make this seem more reasonable, they invented the idea of the "divine right of kings." According to this doctrine a king was the agent of God for conducting affairs on earth. It was held that the pope was the agent of God in spiritual matters, while the king or emperor in each country was the agent in earthly matters.

One of the first kings to get into trouble as an absolute monarch was John of England. He was not a good king; he ruled England so tyrannically and cruelly that the barons, who were really his vassals, leagued themselves against him and on June 15, 1215, forced him to agree to a document called Magna Charta, the Great Charter. This document was the foundation of the rights of the people in England. It set a limit on the power of the king and established the idea that the law of the land is more powerful than the king. In it John agreed that there should be courts where men accused of wrongs could be tried by their equals. No one should have his life, his liberty, or his property taken away from him without proper legal proceedings. London and other cities were to be allowed to carry on commerce without interference.

Although later kings sometimes succeeded

in disregarding the Great Charter, the principle of it has grown and become ever more important. That principle we stated: the law is more important than the ruler; even rulers must obey the law. This idea seems so natural now that it is hard for us to realize that it took centuries of struggle to

get the idea established in the world.

Even before the time of John some of the people had a voice in the government, though the king expected to have his own way when he really wanted it. The king had a Great Council composed of important nobles. They advised him in making laws and had something to say about taxes. In the two hundred years after the signing of the Great Charter, the Council gradually became more powerful. It came to be known as parliament—from the French word "parler," meaning "to speak"—because it was the place for talking over the affairs of the country. It was divided into two

parts, or houses, one consisting of nobles, and the other of the common people, or burgesses.

Early Representative Governments

With the development of parliament there grew up the system of lawmaking by what is called "representation." No one knows just where it began, but historians think it was used by German tribes long before they grew civilized. In the democracies of Greece and Rome the citizens who were to vote on a question met in the market place and voted by raising their hands or shouting. This was possible in a democracy that was not much bigger than a city. But it was not very practical when the number of citizens grew very large. All the people in England could not gather in London to discuss laws



Photo by Museum of Versailles

This is a portrait of Napoleon, who at the height of his glory invested himself with the pomp, the power, and the divine right of a Caesar of the Roman empire.

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Photo by the National Museum

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of Amer-

ica." This is the preamble to the seven articles which when signed by delegates from the states—as is shown in the picture above—were adopted on September 17, 1787. They became the constitution of the United States in June, 1788, when nine states had ratified them.

and taxes. So each shire, or county, sent two men to parliament to tell what the people in their shire thought about the questions to be considered. They "represented" the shire.

What Representation Really Means

Representation is now part of what we may call the "machinery of government" wherever people rule themselves. No matter how big the country, it is possible for individuals in every part of it to take part in the government. In the United States the workman in a New England factory and the farmer in Texas both vote, and from each region men are chosen to meet the representatives from all the other parts of the country in Congress. There the problems of the country are discussed and decisions made. Although the Texas farmer has no right to decide alone what laws shall be made or what taxes people must pay, he can help to decide on the men who do settle these questions. When we get to the story about our own government we shall learn more about how people govern themselves through their representatives.

For many centuries France was ruled by

kings, some of whom were extremely able and successful rulers. They believed in the divine right of kings. One of them, Louis XIV, who ruled from 1643 to 1715, is said to have made the remark, "I am the state," expressing exactly the idea of divine right. He made France very prosperous and powerful, though he insisted on fighting wars that would seem to us unnecessary. The next king, Louis XV, was weak, selfish, and stupid. He had sense enough to see that his country was going to pieces, but he did not care. His son took the punishment. Louis XVI was willing to please, but he never really understood his terrific task.

Dancing on the Brink of Ruin

The country was in very bad condition. Working and business people had to pay very heavy taxes, while the nobles paid almost none. The Queen, Marie Antoinette, and the court merrily wasted the money that was taken away from the people. You can learn more of the troubles of the French people at this time in the story about France in these books. The story of the French Revolution is one of horror and bloodshed, but it

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is very important to any man who is interested in government, for it was an attempt to do away with any ruler who claimed to be appointed by God. It did away with the ruler by chopping off his head.

The problem of setting up another government was more difficult. Great crowds of excited people, most of them without experience in ruling a country, were unable to agree on any one scheme long enough to make it work. Several kinds of schemes were tried in the course of a few years. The revolution was really several revolutions in succession.

Among the men chosen to govern was Napoleon Bonaparte. He did not care at all about founding a type of government by which the French people could rule themselves. He wanted only to be the supreme ruler, and that was what he became. Without any pretense of giving the people any power in the government, he was clever enough to please them by carrying out many of the reforms they had wanted when they revolted. He made taxation fall more justly. He established a set of laws called the "Code Napoleon," which is still used in France. He also tried to conquer as much of Europe as he could. He was such a magnificent general that it took a combination of most of the other countries to defeat him. For his great skill as a soldier he is important in the history of Europe; but he is not so important in our story of government, for he really set the French people backward rather than forward in their struggle to find a way of governing themselves.

In all the struggles over government in Rome, England, and France, and in other

countries that we have not mentioned, no ruler ever got into trouble just because he was the ruler. People have always known that there must be someone whose duty it is to make decisions and to give orders. If all the kings in the world had been wise and skillful, most of the world would probably still be ruled by kings.

But most countries have done away with kings, or taken most of the power from their kings, because people found that in general kings did not make good rulers. If they did happen to get a good king, he might be followed by a bad one.

The troubles always came not because people objected to being ruled, but because they objected to being ruled badly. There were always certain things the ruler did or failed to do which caused trouble. Any country has

many different kinds

of people in it, all doing different things and anxious about different problems. An important part of a ruler's task is to treat each group fairly and honestly. That is not an easy thing to do. Often the quarrels were about taxes. If a king taxed nobles more heavily than merchants and farmers, the merchants and farmers thought he was a good king. But if he changed his mind, and let the nobles have an easy time while the farmers paid the taxes, then the farmers made trouble and said he was a very bad king. Whatever the question to be decided, the king would find some of his subjects liking what he did and some of them dissatisfied. His problem was to do whatever was best for the largest number of his people.

If the kings found it hard to rule in a way that was fair and just to all, the peoples did not find it any easier. No people can rule



of Natural II

This monument marks the spot where the first blood was shed in the American War of Independence. It is dedicated to the minutemen who, on April 19, 1775, fought, on Lexington Green, the British who had been sent to seize the military supplies hidden by the colonists in the village of Lexington.

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itself just by saying, "Now we are going to govern." The French people found it quite easy to chop off Louis XVI's head, but not at all easy to set up a government that worked. We have seen that throughout the history of the world the idea that people should govern themselves has become more and more important. Most modern governments are based on this idea. But this idea is just a beginning. Every modern country is still struggling with the problem of how people can govern themselves properly.

Any government must be based on some set of rules which are agreed on by the people. Such a set of fundamental rules is called a constitution. A constitution says what officers there shall be, what they shall do, how they shall be chosen, who shall make the laws, and who shall impose taxes. In other words, a constitution answers the fundamental questions about *how* the governing shall be done.

Absolutely every government has a constitution. Even the government of a king whose power is complete and absolute is based on a constitution. But such a constitution could be stated in one sentence: "The king may do anything he pleases; he can do no wrong." So what we usually call a constitutional government is one in which there are rules saying which powers are given to which officers; in other words, it outlines a system of government in which no one man is any sort of absolute ruler. There are nearly as many kinds of constitution in the world as there are countries. No one of them

gives all the power to one man. In countries where there are still kings, the constitution limits the king's power, often so completely that he is no more than a figurehead. The government is managed by the people. This

is true, for example, in Great Britain, which is almost a complete democracy, despite its king and nobles.

A constitution may be written down and published so that anyone may read it; or it may be simply understood and taken for granted. In the United States we have a written constitution; the British constitution is un-

written. There are, of course, advantages and disadvantages in each kind. If a constitution is written out it may be consulted easily at any time. There can be no questions about what it says. But there can

be questions about what it means, and there always are. Another disadvantage comes from the fact that men cannot see into the future. A constitution which is very good when it is written may not be suited to conditions a hundred years later. New ways of living make new problems for a government. Usually a constitution itself provides a way in which it may be changed, but it usually makes the process slow and difficult in order that people may not make

changes hastily and without thinking them over. The result is that it is as hard to make good changes as bad ones.

An unwritten constitution is like a habit. It is simply a way of doing things that people have always followed. In fact, a good law is usually just a formal statement of some-



Photo by American Museum of Natural History

In this room in the old Congress Hall, on the north-west corner of Independence Square in Philadelphia, the first national Congress met.

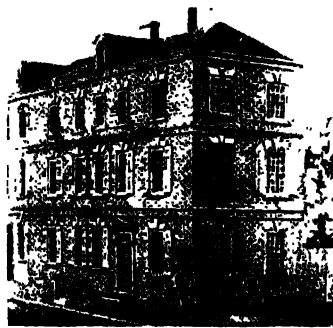


Photo by Visual Education

This is the house in Philadelphia where Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, which, only slightly amended by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, was agreed to on the fourth of July, 1776.

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thing that people have long had the habit of doing before the law is written down. Only because they have long been practically agreed about the law do they now willingly obey it. Any question that comes up can always be dealt with by asking, "How have we done this before? Is there a good reason for doing it differently now?" A really new question is decided by the parliament, which

The work of government is usually divided into three kinds. These are called legislative, executive, and judicial. "Legislative" means simply "lawmaking." The part of a government that makes the laws is called the parliament or congress. In our country the laws that affect the whole country are made by Congress, the laws for each state are made by the lawmaking part of the state government,



Granstorff Bros. Copyright H. K. T.

This painting is called "Adjustment of Conflicting Interests." For centuries in Europe the interests of

church and state were often in conflict, and there were many such meetings of bishop and king.

represents the people. What actually happens is that the people keep making the constitution as they go along. Certainly there is a danger of foolish and hasty changes under such a system, though in Great Britain changes in the constitution have been as wise as those made in other countries.

The Big Club We Call Government

A government is a little like a very large club to which all the people in a country belong. In one important way it is not like a club; no one may resign. Of course if you move out of a country you are resigning, but you still have to live in some country—you cannot resign from all of them. Thus we are all members of the great club that manages the affairs of the country we live in. We take part in managing affairs by voting. Like any other club, a government does not operate well if its members are not interested in it and do not take their share of the work of making it a success.

usually called the legislature, and the laws for a town or city are made by the local council. Congresses and legislatures are composed of representatives elected by the voters in accordance with the constitution of the country and the various constitutions of the states. The constitution says how many members there shall be in the lawmaking body and how they shall be chosen. It also says a good deal about what they may do. It lays down a number of things that they must do and others that they may not do. In Great Britain, on the other hand, where the constitution is unwritten, the parliament naturally is not limited by anything in the constitution, because it is the body that makes the constitution. The British parliament can do anything it deems wise.

When we say that parliament and Congress make laws, we naturally think of laws as rules preventing us from doing some things and ordering us to do others. We think of some such laws as one that orders us not to

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drive an automobile more than forty miles an hour on a public highway. But a great deal of what we still call "lawmaking" is not making rules of conduct; it is making plans and decisions about the management of public affairs. For example, decisions must be made about the lands and forests that belong to the country or to a state—whether they should be kept or sold, when new forests should be planted on them, which of them should be made into public parks, how to make the best use of water power. Endless questions come up for the lawmakers to decide. Shall we keep the products of other countries out by charging high duties? Shall we have a large army or a small one? How much money should be spent upon the navy? How can the farmers, who often seem to have a hard time, be helped?

The Duties of Our President

When Congress decides that a new post office is needed in your town, the congressmen do not come to do the work. They do not even have anything to do with hiring men to do the building; most of them never see the building. The part of a government that carries out the decisions of the parliament or congress and does the daily work of government is called the "executive." In the United States the head of the executive branch is the president. Under him are several departments for doing the different kinds of things the government does. He is the chief, and is mainly responsible for the way the country is managed. He also has a part in making laws, for he can "veto" a law that Congress proposes; that is, he can refuse to allow it to become a law. We shall learn more about the president and Congress in the part of our story that tells especially of our own government.

What Is a Prime Minister?

In England the executive is the prime minister. He is not separated from parliament as our president is separated from Congress. He is the leader in parliament and remains in power only so long as a majority of the members agree with the plans he proposes. This is one of the most important differences between the unwritten

constitution of the British government and our written constitution. The prime minister was, early in English history, the chief officer of the king. From the words used in public documents one would think that he still carried out the will of the king. But in fact he carries out the plans which he and his colleagues in parliament have decided on.

The third great division of government is the judicial. As one may guess from its name, the duty of this part of a government is to decide quarrels and disagreements of all kinds. The number of possible questions that may come up for judges to decide in our very complicated life is so great that in every government there are many different kinds of judges and courts. They vary from the traffic judge before whom a motorist is taken if he passes a red light, to the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who must decide, whenever a case is taken to them, whether a given law passed by Congress or one of the states is or is not consistent with the constitution.

How Our Judges Are Chosen

Some judges are elected and others are appointed by a higher officer. If they are appointed they often hold their positions for life; even if they are elected they remain in office longer than most other officials chosen by the people. This is to prevent a judge from having any temptation to decide cases unfairly in the hope of getting elected again.

From the earliest times men have tried to choose the wisest and best of their fellows to act as judges. It is one of the first steps toward civilized life to settle disputes by reason and law instead of by fighting. Now in every country there is almost an army of judges whose whole work is determining the rights and wrongs of quarrels and interpreting the laws. Some of them decide who is right in personal disputes between citizens. Others preside while juries decide the guilt or innocence of persons accused of crime. They set punishments for the guilty. Our life is now so complicated that it is necessary to have many special kinds of judges, such as those who deal with family quarrels and with children who have broken the law.

When we look at any actual government

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Photo by Rosengauz

When one man's will or whim has too much the force of law, there will be too many such ruthless scenes

as this—the seizure of a peaceful nunnery by the order of Henry VIII in the early 1500's.

at work we can see that the division into three parts, legislative, executive, and judicial, is more true in theory than in fact. As we shall see, the authors of our constitution tried to make the division a practical matter by giving almost equal power to Congress, the president, and the Supreme Court. But they also arranged that no one department could do its work without the help of the others. Each part was to be a check up on the others.

We said that a government is a little like a large club. It is an organization that we all belong to, whether we want to join or not, and one that has an effect on the lives of all of us. The number of ways in which a government affects us is increasing. People are slowly giving up an idea which was common for a long time, that a government's duty was done when it protected the people from invaders from outside the country and from robbers and disturbers of the peace within. Even the Roman government built roads and had a postal system, though these were mainly for military purposes. Modern governments are coming more and more to the idea that the welfare of each individual

in the country is a real concern of the government.

So beside building roads and operating postal systems, governments now undertake a large number of services for citizens that would have been said, a hundred years ago, to have nothing to do with government. For example, our government, like most others, has a department of agriculture whose business it is to help the farmers of the country. It has laboratories and research bureaus where it works at the problems of other classes of citizens. It maintains a weather bureau, a lighthouse service, and numerous other services. It vaccinates you, and in some places fills your teeth for you; it is interested in everybody's health.

All these rather new activities of government are signs that government is slowly becoming an instrument for the service of all the people instead of an instrument for oppressing the people, as it often was in the past. There are still many steps ahead to be taken. They can be taken only if every citizen learns what he can about the government and does his part by honest thinking and honest voting.

The STORY of GOVERNMENT

Reading Unit No. 2

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN THE UNITED STATES

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

Amending the Constitution when necessary, the people of the United States have governed

themselves successfully, using those principles set down by the founders over 150 years ago.

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN THE UNITED STATES



In Philadelphia stands a group of buildings which played a great part in the early history of our country. Here the Continental Congress met at the time when the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Here, when the Revolution was over, the convention as-

sembled to give our country a constitution. The group of buildings is now a museum, called Independence Hall National Museum. The main building of the group is Independence Hall, shown in the picture above. Here is the home of the Liberty Bell.

HOW *the* PEOPLE GOVERN *the* UNITED STATES

A Free Country Is One in Which Every Man May Have an Equal Voice in Making Its History. Here We Tell How Americans May Use Their Voices to Put Their Will into Effect

WHEN the men of the thirteen colonies made the great decision to separate from England and to form an independent country, they probably did not realize that it is usually harder to set up a good new government than to throw off a bad old one. The government they had had from England was bad, and many of them were inclined to think that the less government any country had the better. Thomas Jefferson expressed this idea when he said he preferred newspapers without government to government without newspapers.

So the first government the colonists set up was a weak one, partly because many of

them thought it should be. The thirteen colonies declared themselves free states but agreed to join together in the American Federation. The federation was simply a loose agreement between thirteen little countries who thought their separate freedom as important as the agreement they made with each other. The federal Congress could not tax individual citizens, but was supposed to be able to raise money by asking for it from the states, who alone could tax the people. But the states often decided that they did not care to send any money, or would wait until the others had sent theirs. Congress was supposed to be able to regulate com-

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merce, but most of the states insisted that they had a right to charge duties on imports if they wanted to. They could charge duties not only on products brought from Europe, but on goods shipped from one state to another. Eggs and vegetables brought into New York from New Jersey or Connecticut had to pay a duty.

The federal Congress issued a great deal of paper money, but since it was not able to collect enough from the states and could not support its paper money with gold, the paper became worth less and less. Also the federal government had borrowed money to carry on the war with England, but it was not able to pay the interest on what it owed.

When it grew more and more clear that the country needed a stronger central government that could control the states and could raise money by taxing individuals instead of just asking the states for it, Alexander Hamilton and others persuaded the states to hold a convention to revise the "articles of confederation"—that is, the agreement the thirteen little states had made with one another.

The Struggle for Strong Central Government

When the convention met, the delegates did not have an easy time agreeing. They included many remarkable men; most of them were leaders in their states, and many of them later took a large part in the new government that they formed. But they disagreed violently on many subjects. Hamilton was sure that the new government should be very powerful; others, like Jefferson, thought that there were great dangers in such a strong central government.

The constitution that was finally drafted showed that on the whole the "federalists," those who believed in a strong central government, had won. It set up a government truly above the states. The states continued to have their own lawmaking bodies and their governors, and to decide as they pleased

about matters that did not affect other states. But the new national government was to have power over all questions that affected the whole country. States could no longer interfere with the national government by refusing to send the money it needed. The new constitution said that Congress need not ask the states, but could tax individual citizens like any other government. States could no longer charge duties or tariffs on goods coming from other states. All in all, the states agreed that they would not try to act like thirteen separate little coun-

tries, but would join to make one nation.

The constitution that these states adopted was not a perfect thing. It was a compromise of many conflicting ideas, and satisfied no one completely. Thinking people of the present day do not call it perfect. But they know that it is remarkably good. The fact that it is still good to-day shows that the men who wrote it were unusually wise. Our country is many times as large as it was then. Life has changed in many ways; new machines and new ideas of all kinds have made the problems of government very different and much more difficult, but the general scheme of government that was adopted in 1787 is still working. It has been changed a little, as its authors knew it would be, and it will doubtless be changed again; but what-



Photo by the Press Photo Studio

Faneuil (fā'n'il) Hall, in Boston, Massachusetts, is known as the "cradle of American liberty" because it was here, in the days before the Revolution, that meetings were held to protest against England's treatment of the colonists. Many patriotic meetings have been held here since that time, and the spirits of many famous men haunt the grave old building—among them are James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Quincy Adams, and Daniel Webster.

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN THE UNITED STATES



Photo Copyright by Detroit Publishing Co.

Here is James Otis speaking in the Old Town House in Boston. In 1768 there was a movement to empower customhouse officials to search any house for smuggled goods. The colonists objected to the movement, and

the question was taken before the Superior Court. As advocate-general, James Otis would have had to be on the side of the government, but he resigned his office and spoke on behalf of the colonists.

ever its faults, it has worked as well as any plan of government in the world, and far longer already than most of them.

Why We Have a House and a Senate

We can best understand our government if we look at the constitution and trace out the working of the rules it lays down. In the first section of the first article it says that "all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives." Why was the Congress divided into two parts? Some members of the Constitutional Convention were not in favor of the division. They thought that if the people were going to make the laws, through their representatives, they would need only to have the representatives meet and make the laws. Other members thought the problem was not quite so simple. They realized that the people or their representatives might be swept away by an idea and make it into law too quickly, only to realize afterward that it was not so good an idea as they thought. To prevent laws being made hastily and thoughtlessly,

they decided that it would be best to have the lawmaking body divided into two parts, so that every law proposed would be discussed by two separate bodies of men. To make sure that all possible opinions about a law would be brought up when it was being discussed, they said that the two bodies should be elected in different ways.

How Our Lawmakers Are Chosen

There was another reason for dividing Congress into two houses. The Constitutional Convention was a meeting, not of representatives of the people of the country, but of representatives of thirteen states. When it was suggested that the number of members from each state in the new Congress should be proportional to the population of each state, the big states were satisfied but the little states objected. They said that in such a congress the big states with more members could do anything they wanted, and the little states would have no power to stop them. But if, on the other hand, every state could send the same number of members to congress, then the small states would have an advantage. The few people in Rhode

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Island would be just as powerful as the many in New York.

The way out of this difficulty was a congress of two houses, of which one represented the states as such, and the other the people of the states according to their numbers. This scheme satisfied also those who wanted two separate groups of lawmakers to balance each other and prevent foolish and hasty actions. It appealed also to those who were not in favor of a pure democracy, who thought that the people could not be trusted to pick wise representatives. They felt that one of the houses of Congress should not be elected by the people but should be chosen in some way to make sure of getting leaders and thinkers. So it was decided that the Senate should be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature of the state.

By having the senators chosen by the legislatures of the states instead of directly by the people, the authors of the constitution hoped to make the Senate a wise and sober group that would restrain any rash and reckless impulses that might come from the House of Representatives. For this reason also they made the senators hold office for six years, while representatives were changed every two years. They also made the Senate a continuous body by saying that the terms of the senators should overlap. Only one-third of the senators are elected at any one time. When a senator begins his term one-third of his fellow senators have already been in the Senate two years and one-third have been there four years.

Although the plan of having the

senators chosen by the legislatures of the states seemed a wise precaution to the authors of the constitution, it has not continued to satisfy the people. The idea that senators should be chosen by the direct vote of the people in each state was discussed and argued for years. The constitution was finally changed by an amendment in 1913, and the people now elect their senators by direct vote.

The Law That Governs the Lawmakers

The first article of the constitution tells what Congress may do and may not do. We need not go over the whole list of provisions, because you will want to read the constitution for yourself. You will see that Congress is given power over most matters that affect the country as a whole, or at least most matters that anyone could foresee in 1787. From the time the constitution was adopted to the present day some people have urged that Congress be given more powers.

Congress has the power to tax people for the support of the federal government, to control commerce with other countries and between states, and to issue money. These are powers which had not been clearly given to the Continental Congress and which the makers of the constitution thought essential if the country was to have a stable government.

Article two says that the executive power shall be vested in a president. The powers of the president are not given at great length. He is commander in chief of the army and navy. We can see what was in the minds of the authors of the constitution on this point. They had seen many

A few relics of America's early days are still standing in Boston, Massachusetts. This is the famous Old State House, built nearly two hundred years ago and restored in 1882. From a balcony on the second floor, facing State Street, the citizens of Boston heard the proclamation of the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Declaration of Independence, and the declaration of peace with England.

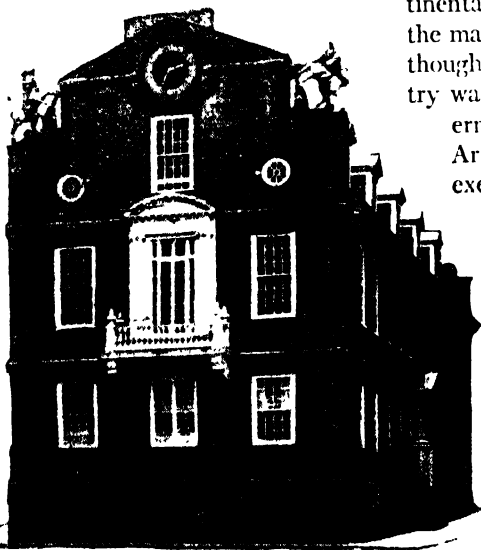


Photo by Boston C. of C.

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN THE UNITED STATES

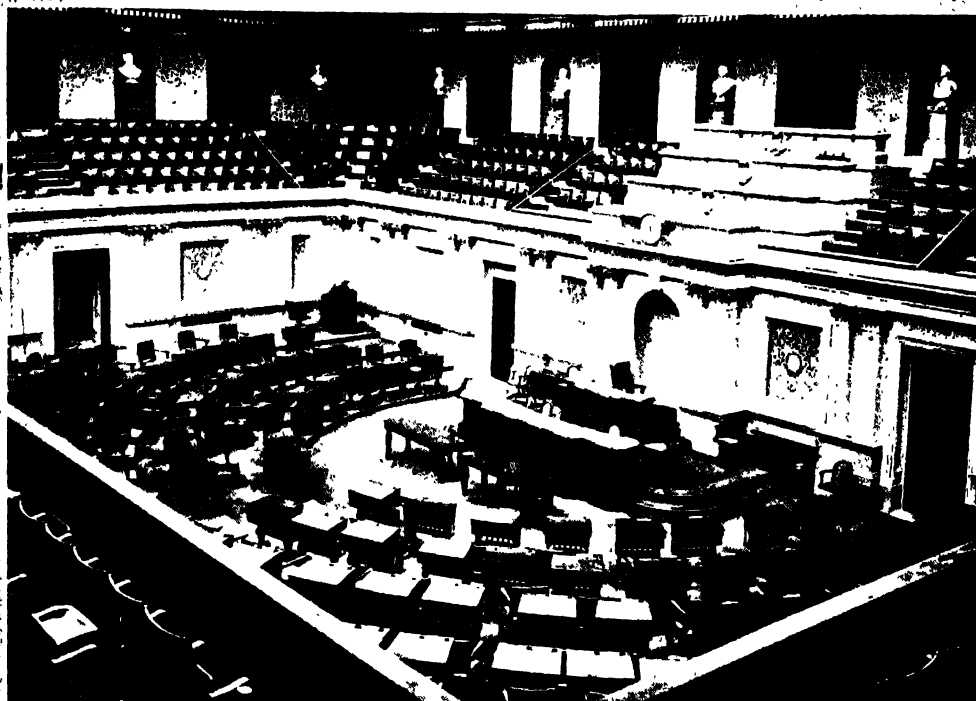


Photo by Keystone View Co.

In this dignified, simply-decorated chamber the Senate of the United States meets. Its members, who number ninety-six in all—two senators for each state—sit

at desks on the floor of the chamber. Above is a visitor's gallery. In niches are busts of the vice presidents of the United States.

examples in history and in their own times of armies being used to oppress people. At one time an army in Rome murdered the emperor and offered the office to the man who would give them the most money. And since the time of Rome there had been many examples of military leaders seizing power simply because they had control of soldiers. To prevent any such evil in this country, the supreme command of the army and navy is given, not to a soldier, but to the president, who is elected by the people every four years.

What the President May Do

The president, "with the advice and consent of the Senate," may make treaties with other countries. He appoints men to all sorts of less important positions and in this way has control over the carrying out of the laws. And the constitution says "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." He is also to report to Congress

from time to time "on the state of the union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

How the President Vetoes a Bill

In one way the president can do more than recommend to Congress. When Congress passes a bill, the measure does not become a law until the president has signed it. If he disapproves, he may refuse to sign it. This is called the president's power of veto. Congress can, however, make the bill a law in spite of a veto, if the bill, upon being reconsidered, receives the votes of two-thirds of the members in each house.

The constitution explains how the president shall be chosen, by a scheme carefully worked out to make it as certain as possible that the choice will be wise and thoughtful. Since the president has very great powers and responsibilities, the authors of the constitution thought he should not be chosen

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directly by the vote of the people. They were afraid that a man who was popular with the great mass of the people might be none too sure to make a good governor. So they invented a plan. The president should be chosen by a special group of "electors." The electors were to be chosen in each state in the way the legislature of the state decided, and they could not be persons who had any position in the government. The electors would choose the president and vice president.

This plan was meant to make the choice of a president a very calm and cool affair, conducted thoughtfully by picked men. It still seems like a good plan. But it does not work; or perhaps we should say that the people of the country have failed to use it. The people insist on voting for a particular man for president, instead of for a group of men to choose the president. This is due largely to the rise of political parties which, as we shall see, are very important in our government. Parties could not get people to vote for them if they did not have candidates for the office of president who could win the admiration of the voters. So it became, and still is, the custom for the electors to promise beforehand to vote for a particular man for president. You vote for the electors who have agreed to choose the president you want. Thus the literal instructions of the constitution are still followed, but the idea behind them is abandoned altogether.

The other great branch of our government is the judicial. The constitution does not go into so much detail about this department of the government as it does about the others. It says simply that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts

as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." It says that the members of the Supreme Court, with one chief justice, shall be appointed by the president "with the advice and consent of the Senate." But it does not say how many judges there shall be in the Supreme Court; nor does it determine very clearly what their powers shall be.

It says that the Supreme Court shall settle certain kinds of cases, such as those in which high officials of the government are accused. And it shall have "appellate (ă-pĕl'ât) jurisdiction" over less important cases; which means simply that people who are not satisfied with the

way their cases have been decided by lower courts may under certain circumstances "appeal" to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court will then "review" the work of the lower court and say whether its decision was correct, or whether the law involved is contrary to the constitution.

The Final Test of a Law

In practice, deciding whether or not a law is constitutional is the most important duty of the Supreme Court. But the constitution



Photo by the National Museum

This is a portrait of John Marshall, probably the greatest chief justice of the Supreme Court that the United States has had. At the time when he went into office, in 1801, it was generally thought that the Supreme Court was the one part of the new government that had not done what was expected of it. It was John Marshall who gave the organization the weight and dignity which the makers of the constitution had intended it to have.

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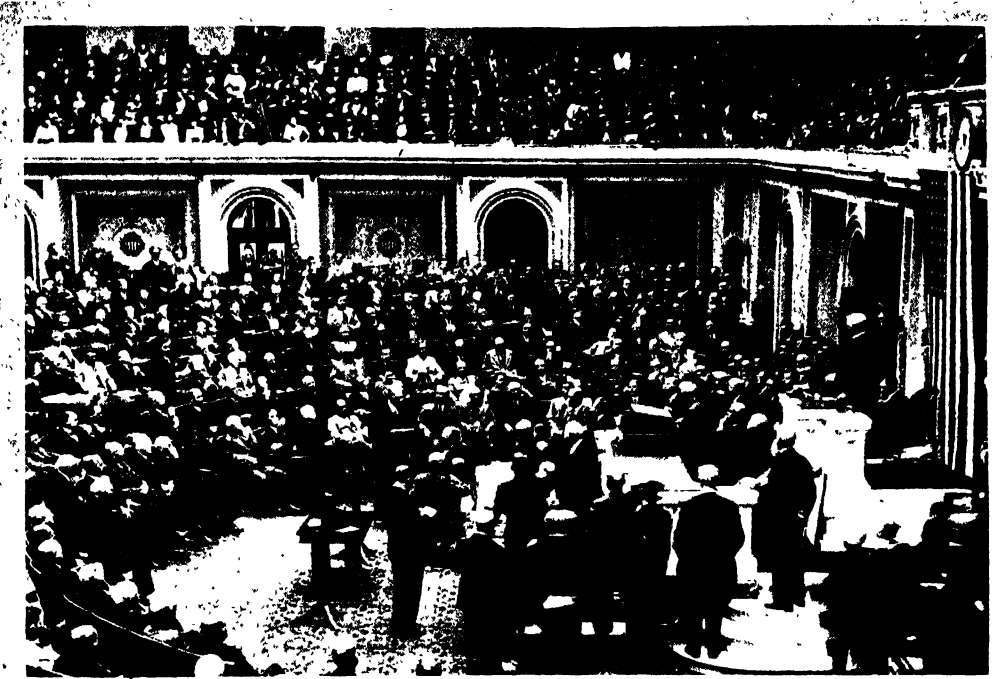


Photo by Keystone View Co

This photograph shows the House of Representatives in session. The number of members who shall be elected to this lower body of Congress is based upon

the population of the United States, and upon its distribution. The original House numbered 65 members. To-day the membership is 435.

does not say clearly that it is to have this power. John Marshall, the third man to hold the office of chief justice, was convinced that the federal government should be stronger than the states and that the Supreme Court should be the backbone of the federal power. Under his leadership the court first maintained that it had the power to declare a law contrary to the constitution. He said that unless the Supreme Court had this power, Congress would naturally assume that it could pass any kind of law, and so could really change the constitution by just making laws.

The Importance of the Supreme Court

You can see that this power is extremely important; it makes the Supreme Court as important as the president and Congress, although we may feel its power less directly. A law that the Supreme Court declares unconstitutional is not repealed; it is just not enforced. Congress cannot make it a law by passing it again with a larger vote, as it

can when the president vetoes a bill. The only thing that can be done is to change the constitution—a long and difficult process, as we shall see—or to wait until the court changes its mind, which it sometimes does.

The Problems of Modern America

There are many examples of the way in which the supreme court can affect the course of events in the country. Many of the problems that face us now were not dreamed of by the authors of the constitution. They knew nothing about railroads or telephones, or about many other inventions that make our lives so different from theirs. When Congress has to deal with new problems, the Supreme Court can either help or hinder according as its members feel it their duty to interpret the constitution narrowly or broadly.

Congress, the president, and the Supreme Court, then, are the three almost equal powers in our national government. We cannot say whether or not they have exactly equal

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powers because the things they do are different, but they do tend to balance each other and to keep us in the middle of the road. They tend to make whatever large changes we want come fairly slowly. This is exactly what the framers of the constitution intended. They believed very decidedly in taking time to talk things over and to think a bit before making changes. Their scheme for possible changes in the constitution shows this clearly. Whenever two-thirds of both houses of Congress vote for it, a change or amendment to the constitution may be proposed to the states. If three-fourths of the states agree, the amendment becomes part of the constitution.

"The Rights of Man"

This may not seem so very difficult, but it has been found that a tremendous impulse for a change is needed to carry through the whole process. The first amendments were added soon after the constitution was ratified, and are more of an afterthought than a change. Many people had been disappointed because the new document did not say enough about protecting the "rights of man." The Declaration of Independence had said that all men have "certain inalienable Rights." In Europe the French were asserting that all men have rights which no government can take away. In England from the time of the Great Charter men had said that rulers must be limited in their power over the people.

Alexander Hamilton thought that all this excitement about rights was unnecessary because the constitution did not give anyone the power

to interfere with people's rights. But James Madison and others thought that one cannot make too sure, and it was better to have the constitution say definitely that there are certain things that must not be done. So ten amendments were added. Religion shall not be a concern of government, was the first declaration, and it was undoubtedly wise. The days of cruelty to people who would not worship as their rulers thought they should were over when the constitution was written, but the mixture of religion and government was still capable of causing trouble, from which we have been saved altogether.

Congress shall pass no laws restricting the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. These rights are especially important. Almost the first thing an oppressive ruler does is to make laws against those who express disapproval of him. Free speech is most important in a democracy, for men who are in power fall very easily into the idea that anyone who does not agree with them is not only mistaken but is actually wicked and should be punished. In reality criticism and discussion are the life of popular government. People can only govern themselves well if

they can talk and read about their problems.

We need not go over the other rights one by one. Some of them are still important; others relate to troubles that have nearly disappeared. In all of them we can see what rights of man the people of 1790 thought were most likely to be disregarded by a government.

The first amendment which was really a change, rather than a mere

This white marble building is shaped to fit in between the streets which radiate from the Capitol—like so many spokes from the hub of a wheel. It holds the offices of the Senators of the United States.

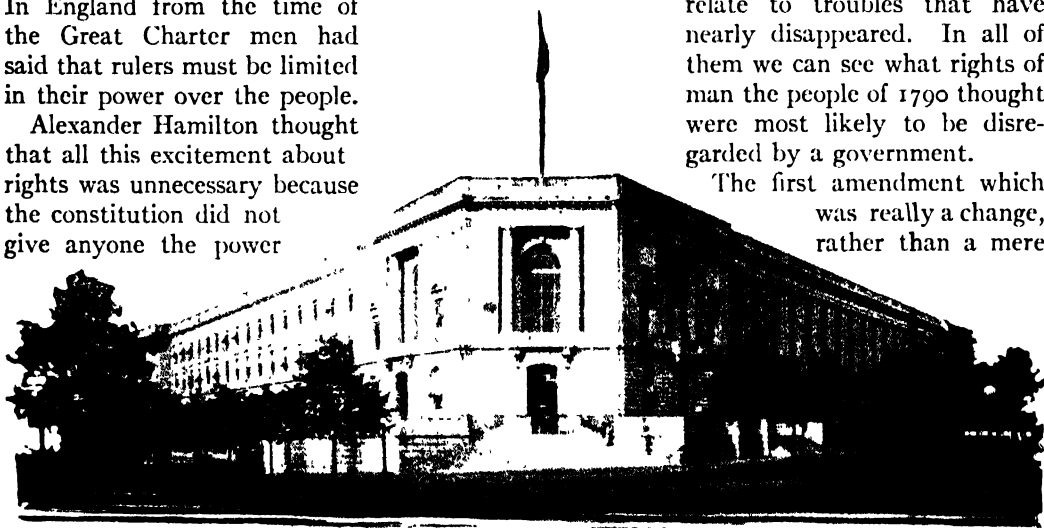


Photo by Washington C. of C

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This vast crowd has just nominated a president of the United States. For this is the Democratic National Convention meeting in the Chicago Stadium in 1932. Beams of light streaming through the high

windows fall on either side of Governor Roosevelt as he makes his speech accepting the nomination. You will notice signs belonging to the various state delegations, who represent the voters.

addition, was the eleventh. It settled a question of the rights of states, more exciting then than it is now. The twelfth has to do with the election of the president in case of a tie, and it is no longer important because the way of electing the president has been changed greatly without changing the constitution. The next changes in the constitution were those that came with the Civil War, over sixty years later. By winning the war the Northern states settled the question whether any state can resign from the Union because it happens to disagree with the others. The Southern states wanted to form a separate country in which slavery would be permitted. The Northern states maintained that this must remain *one* country and that slavery must be abandoned if a majority of the people in the country felt it to be wrong. These ideas are the substance of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, which prohibit slavery and give Negroes the right to vote and the other rights of citizens.

The Income Tax Amendment

No more amendments were adopted for a long time, but at last in 1909 Congress passed an amendment giving the federal govern-

ment power to raise money by an income tax. This was accepted by three-fourths of the states and was proclaimed as part of the constitution in 1913. Soon afterward the seventeenth amendment, changing the way of electing senators, was passed and accepted. The eighteenth amendment, prohibiting intoxicating liquor, was passed in 1919. And the nineteenth, giving women the right to vote, was passed in 1920.

Four Amendments in Ten Years

So we saw more than a hundred years pass without any amendment to the constitution except those that came with the civil war, and then the country seemed to realize suddenly that amendments are not impossible. Four of them were adopted in less than ten years. They seem to show that, although vague dissatisfaction with our government does little good, changes can be made whenever clear-cut improvements are proposed.

The constitution does not say how the executive part of the government, headed by the president, shall be organized. It says he may ask the opinion of heads of departments on matters under their control and thus implies that there shall be departments with heads. It does not say what the de-

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partments shall be. This might seem to be an omission that should be corrected. But the authors of the constitution probably meant to be vague on this point, wisely leaving room for changes. Departments can be created or abolished whenever it seems wise, without the long effort involved in amending the constitution. Changes are not frequent, but there are several more departments now than were first established. There are now ten departments among which the work of managing the country is divided. The head of each department is usually called the secretary of the department and is chosen by the president, with the consent of the Senate, which it rarely fails to give.

What the President's Cabinet Is For

This group of men, chosen by the president to help him manage the country, is called his cabinet. He usually chooses men in whom he has confidence and whom he likes, though too often he must consider "politics" also. That is, he gives positions in the cabinet to important members of his party who have helped to get him elected. According to addition, the cabinet is supposed to advise the president. Since there are no laws in the constitution or elsewhere about this, the president can always do as he pleases. So some presidents depend a great deal on their cabinets for advice and help, and others pay very little attention to them.

If we were explaining our government to a visitor from

The National Museum in Washington has, among other things, important collections of natural history, anthropology, biology, and geology—assembled mainly through scientific work done by the United States government.

some distant country, he would naturally imagine that when we had told him what the various officers were and how they were chosen there could be little more to add except all the detail of what the officers and their subordinates do. But there is another element in our government that does not appear in the constitution at all. It is represented by the word "politics." The authors of the constitution did not think much of political parties, and they imagined that they had invented a kind of government in which parties and politics would not be very important. They were very much mistaken. It is doubtful whether a democracy is possible without political parties of some sort.

That the people govern themselves does not mean that they all agree about how they should govern. There are two sides to every question, and often more than two; supporters will be found for every side. For example, some persons will think that incomes should be taxed heavily, others that landowners should bear the burden. One group shouts that we must do one thing; another group answers that such a thing would be fatal, and we must do something quite different. It is only natural that men who have definite opinions should join together in associations to see that their ideas are carried out. Such a group is a political party. At present we have a number of them.

Before the election of a president each party holds a convention, a meeting of chosen members of the party from all over the country. This

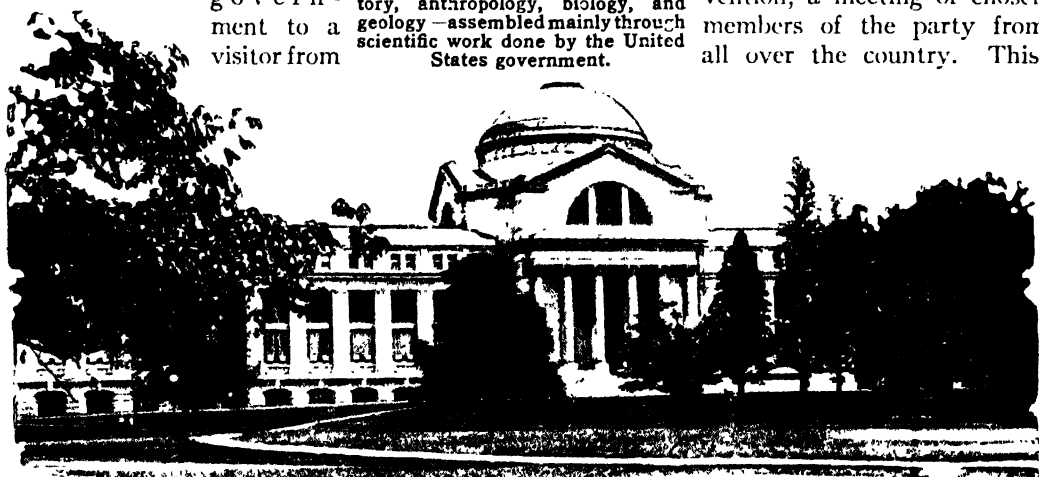


Photo by the National Museum

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Photo by International Photos
This was the home of the American embassy in Berlin. It was situated on the famous Unter den Linden, the

show street of Germany's capital. Here the American ambassador resided.

meeting is often an excited gathering of men who disagree with one another in many ways, though they are all members of the same party. With much tumult they succeed in picking a man to "run" for president. They adopt a "platform," or a statement of what they think about public questions. In state and local elections the performance is simpler but much the same.

The Founders of Our Major Parties

The period before an election is full of activity and excitement. Party supporters rush about making speeches, writing articles and books, and generally doing everything they can to win voters. Newspapers take sides—they are often owned by men with strong opinions in favor of one party—and print editorials praising the candidate they support. Far too often they also print news that is flattering to their candidate, and leave out or limit news that favors the rival candidate and party.

There are two great parties in the United States which, under one name or another, have struggled for power almost since the beginning of the country. The Republican party likes to trace its foundation to Alex-

ander Hamilton. It has always stood for the idea of a strong central government and a high tariff on goods imported from other countries. It says we must protect our manufacturers and workers from the competition of foreign producers. The Democratic party considers Thomas Jefferson its founder. It has usually supported the rights of states and individuals when it was supposed that those rights were in danger from the central government. And it has maintained that a lower tariff is better for the country because foreign trade ought to be encouraged and because tariffs often give some of our citizens an advantage over others. These are among the fundamental principles of the two parties; on any more transient question they may take sides also, and may sometimes change sides.

Do Parties Stand for a Principle?

As a matter of fact, we cannot look back at our history and see the Republican party and the Democratic party always opposing each other over the same questions. Often elections are fought without any very fundamental struggle about principles of government. People frequently are asked to vote

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for a particular man rather than for ideas about public affairs. This is not true, however, of some of the less important parties. There have been a number of smaller parties which have had influence, though they have never succeeded in electing a president. Among others, the Populist party in the 1890's and the Socialist party have always asked people to vote for certain ideas rather than for certain candidates.

The Danger of Our "Political Machines"

It would be too much to suppose that all the men who work for parties do so just because of unselfish conviction that their party is the one which can handle the government most wisely. Many of them do, but many others have to be urged with more than the feeling of a good deed well done. In other words, it is often assumed that people who give time and effort and money to getting a candidate elected will be rewarded after the election. The reward is ordinarily a job. Many of the officers who are elected in the various parts of the government, from the president down to the mayors of cities, have the power to appoint minor officials under them. They usually appoint members of their parties who have been especially helpful in getting them elected.

The result of this way of doing things is what is popularly called a "political machine." It is a party, or a group within a party, which exists, not to carry out certain principles of government, but merely to secure the power that comes from holding office. Even presidents often develop

machines to keep their party in office. The president appoints postmasters and other federal officers in all parts of the country; thus he can put his supporters into these positions and have men working for his party in every state.

The Machine at Its Worst

It is in the cities that the "machine" is seen at its worst. It maintains its power not only by giving jobs to those who support it, but by handing out favors of all kinds in return for votes. In this way the line between honesty and dishonesty easily becomes confused and dim. Many of the men who get jobs in the city governments do their work as well as they can, and many of the favors done for people may be harmless. A business man may be chosen to supply material the city needs and may supply it well and at a fair price in spite of the fact that he was given the contract because he voted the right way. But too often favors given in return for votes take dangerous and dishonest forms. High prices are paid for city supplies to men who have supported the officials who buy things for the city. Men who break the law can sometimes go unscathed because they support the machine. The weakest link in our chain of government is in the management of some of our big cities.

As long ago as 1883 a law was passed by Congress to change the "spoils system," as the habit of appointing political supporters to offices was called. The "spoils" were the many jobs that the heads of a party could hand out if they

The United States Treasury Building is the center of the government's banking and business affairs. Like the other government buildings, it is classical in style.

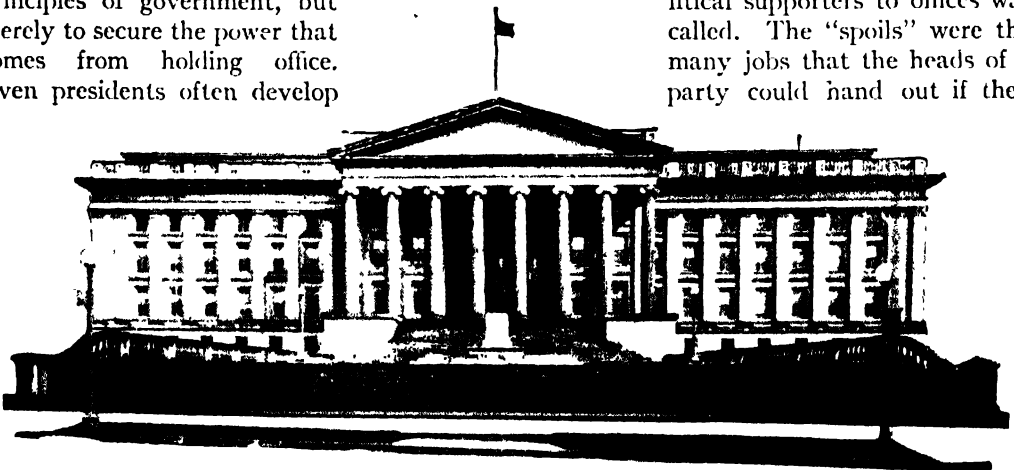


Photo by Washington C. of C.

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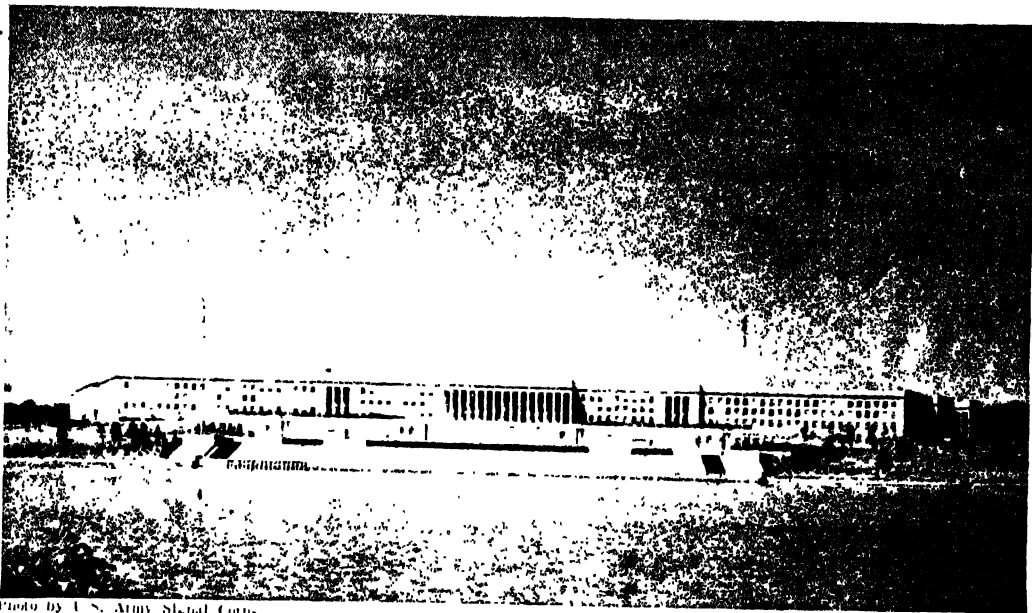


Photo by U. S. Army Signal Corps

The Pentagon, the home of the War Department, is just across the Potomac River from Washington, in Arlington, Virginia. Although it has only five floors,

it is the largest office building in the world. During World War II 32,500 people worked here directing the many activities of the United States Army.

were elected. The result was naturally that many of the jobs were held by men unfit for them. The government service was by no means improved by the fact that every time the country changed from one party to the other a great number of officials were thrown out and inexperienced men put in their places. So a civil service system was designed. According to this scheme, many positions in the federal government were classified and examinations were made out for each position. To get one of these positions a man must pass the examination, and he must pass another before he can be promoted. Thus even if he is appointed for political reasons, he must show that he can handle the job.

Since the civil service system was begun, more and more positions in the federal government have been placed under it. A few of the states have much the same kind of law, but in most of them the "spoils system" is still the custom. Most large cities, however, now have civil service systems at least for those employees whose work is too technical and complicated to be handled by a politician.

We can best understand the extraordinary

variety and amount of work done by the federal government if we look briefly at the departments whose heads form the president's cabinet. Each department is like a huge business employing many people and spending great quantities of money.

The Department of State

The first is the Department of State, which handles our affairs with other countries. The constitution gives the president the power to deal with other countries, and to make treaties "with the advice and consent of the Senate." The secretary of state is the man who carries out the president's ideas of how our affairs with foreign powers should be conducted. The importance of the secretary of state depends a great deal on the character and the opinions of the president. If the president trusts him, the secretary can have great influence on affairs. But if the president prefers to do it all himself, he has the power so long as he can get the Senate to agree. Thus although any formal treaty must be accepted by the Senate, the president has enormous power in our foreign relations, as indeed in any other department.

The men who represent us in other parts

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of the world are divided into two classes, diplomatic officers and consular officers. The diplomatic officers are ambassadors and other ministers with less important titles; they are the mouthpieces through which our country converses with other nations. We send an ambassador to every country that sends us one. The duty of an ambassador is by no means limited to talking about formal agreements and treaties. He is the person to whom Americans in a foreign country turn for help. And the people of the country he is sent to, treat him as though he himself were the United States. He must take part in the life of the country, become acquainted with many people, and entertain important men and officials. The talks he has and the friends he makes in the other country are often as important as formal agreements. He is not supposed to concern himself with matters of commerce and business between the two countries, but in practice he may find it hard not to do so. If our country has set up a tariff which keeps the products of another country out of the United States, business men in that country are sure to ask our ambassador why we insist on such a tariff. The ambassador must keep the State Department informed of events in the other country and what the people are thinking and saying about us.

The other officials who represent us abroad are the consuls. Their work is commercial. They supply information about shipping rates, tariffs, and markets in this country to merchants who want to sell things here. And they supply

our business men with much information about other countries—what sort of product is most in demand, methods of shipping and packing, and all the data that a man would want who planned to export his products. Consuls also supervise American ships in foreign ports and look after American citizens in need of help or advice.

All these activities outside the country are supervised by the secretary of state and the officials under him. The work is split up among several divisions, one for each part of the world. There are many letters to be written and records to be kept. This department also issues passports to American citizens planning to travel abroad. Lately its work has grown greatly, especially since it must supervise the nation's representation in the United Nations.

The Department of the Treasury

The Department of the Treasury does for the country what the treasurer of a club does for the club. It collects the money in taxes from the people and pays it out again as Congress directs. No money may be paid out or taken in except in obedience to orders from Congress. Since this is true, we must turn back to Congress again to get a glimpse at the finances of our country.* In 1921

Here you see Uncle Sam's marines policing Haiti. In 1915 this little country, which shares with Santo Domingo the second largest island of the Greater Antilles, asked the United States for aid in establishing a sound and orderly government. The United States agreed to help. Haiti has made such progress in learning to rule herself that we have now withdrawn altogether from the island and have left it under native control.

Congress passed a law establishing a budget system. Before that time it was more or less a matter of luck and patching to make the money paid out balance the money paid in. Congress passed bills for collecting and for spending money without much attention to



Photo by U. S. Marines

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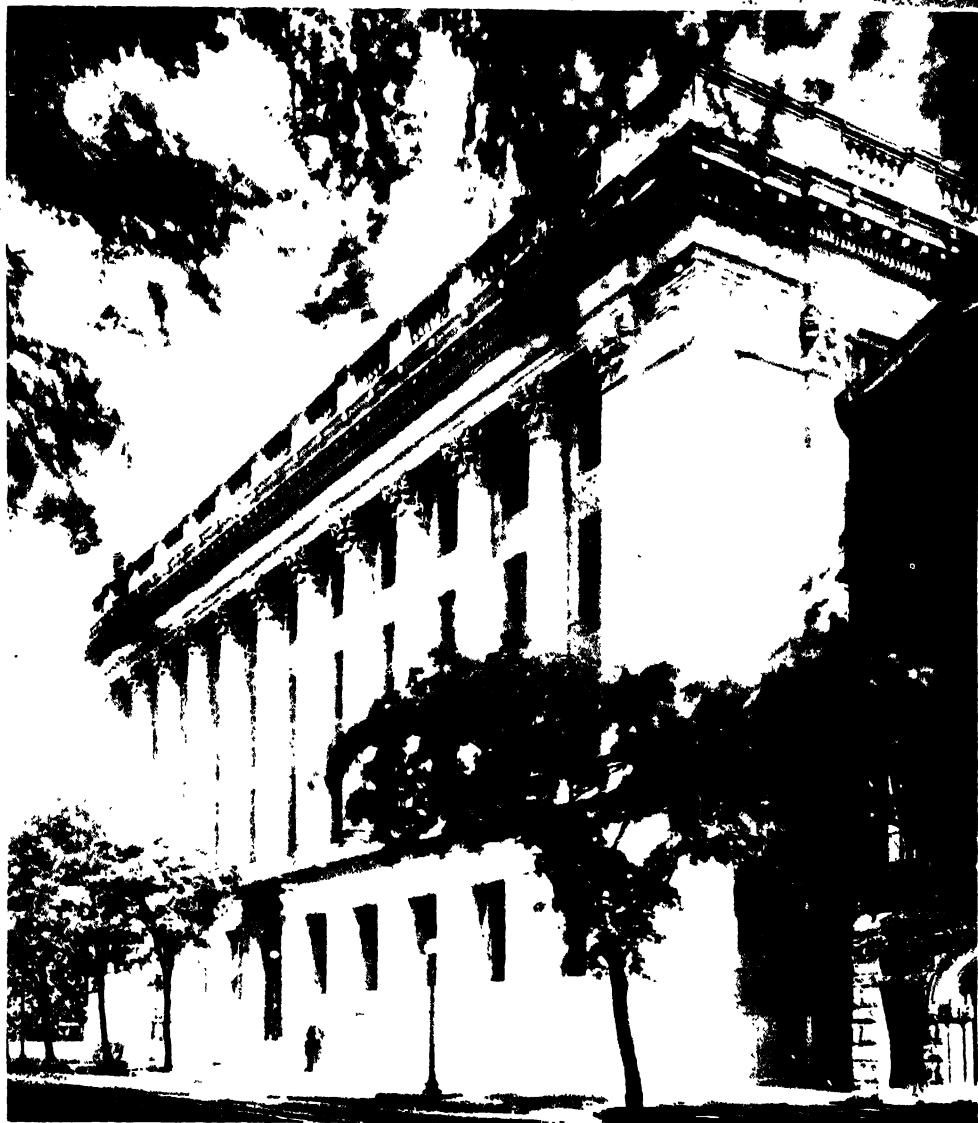


Photo by Washington C. of C.

This handsome structure is one of the newer buildings of the United States government in Washington. It

is the Department of Commerce Building, and was not completed until 1929.

whether or not one would offset the other. Sometimes there was a surplus at the end of the year and at other times a deficit which would have to be made up the next year.

A budget is simply a plan. Each year the heads of the various departments, divisions, and bureaus of the government must draw up a statement of the money they will need during the next year for salaries and supplies. If the amount asked for is more than that of

the year before, there must be an explanation of the increase. Under the Treasury Department is a bureau of the budget which takes all these many reports and makes up a statement of how much money will be needed to support the government during the next year. It is one of the duties of the president to go over this statement of the expense of government, make notes of changes he would recommend, and present

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to Congress a budget message. Thus Congress will have before it a clear statement of the money needed, and will know how much must be raised in taxes. Of course Congress may change any part of the budget, giving some departments more and others less as it sees fit, but usually it accepts roughly the estimate received.

Where Our Government Gets Its Money

When we consider that the money taken in by our country in any year is now several billion dollars, an amount so large that you and I find it hard even to imagine such a sum, we can realize what a huge task of book-keeping is involved in the budget. The money is collected from the people in various ways. Some of it is taken in tariffs, or duties on goods shipped into the country. This means that there are collectors and inspectors at every port which receives foreign goods. Some of the money is taken in income taxes. For the collection of taxes within the country, or the "internal revenue," the country is divided into several districts, each one organized to handle the returns from its area and

each in charge of an official of the Treasury Department. Every person who has an income over a certain amount must pay the government a certain percentage of it. The percentage varies according to how much he has and according to how much the country needs. In general, the greater your income, the more of it you must give the United States.

No bills are sent to remind people of their income taxes. But the government does not assume that all people are honest; it makes an effort to detect those who cheat. People who are caught cheating or evading taxes may be put in prison. In paying the tax you fill out a blank stating your income and all about how you get it. If you earn it all, you pay a little less than you do if all or part of it comes from investments. Thus the man who works for his living does not pay so high a tax as the man who does not work but lives on the income of money he has invested. Somewhat like the income tax is the inheritance tax.

Property worth more than certain amount is taxed when it passes on the death of the owner to his heirs. Like the

One of the most important departments of the federal government is the Post Office. We are all familiar with its army of postmen who make communication so simple for us, whether live in the country or in the city.



Photo by Keystone View Co.

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income tax, this is arranged to take more from wealthy people than from those who have less money.

Another tax collected by the internal revenue department of the Treasury is that on tobacco. From the point of view of the government, this is a very good tax; for it is easy to collect and the income from it varies little from year to year. It is collected by selling to the producers of tobacco products stamps which must be placed on their packages. Thus every package of cigarettes or box of cigars has a stamp which must be torn when the package is opened. A few other things—all of them luxuries or amusements—also bear this “excise” tax.

Besides collecting taxes and taking care of the funds, the Treasury Department has charge of the mints and the engraving offices where the money we carry in our pockets is made. It operates the Coast Guard in peacetime and administers the Narcotics Bureau and the United States Secret Service.

The Department of Defense

Until 1947 the Army and the Navy was each headed by a secretary of cabinet rank. Now the defense of the country is in the hands of the Department of Defense, or what is known as the National Military Establishment, headed by a civilian secretary of defense who is himself responsible to the president—the commander in chief—and sits in the president's cabinet. The Defense Department is made up of the departments of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, each headed by a civilian secretary. Those three secretaries are responsible to the secretary of defense and share with him and the president the task of shaping general policies.

Just what is the Defense Department for? Of course we can say at once that it is to defend us from our enemies, but this does not mean much unless we have some idea what possible or real enemies we have. The enemies a nation has depend a great deal on how it acts. So our preparedness for fighting should depend on what we as a nation want to do in the world. It is fairly certain that the people of this country do not want to take land away from any other people or to do anything similar that would have to be

done by force. This is true of most of the peoples in the world. Yet the world still consists of many nations. And each nation remembers only too clearly that somehow wars have started in the past, and that the nation with the biggest and best-trained army at the start was most likely to win. So we have a world full of people, none of whom want to fight anyone, but all of whom are spending huge amounts of effort and money keeping ready to fight.

For a long time our country had few worries about possible wars. Our peace with Canada has always been so complete that it never occurred to anyone to build forts at the border, as the European countries do. Mexico and the other countries to the south were all so small and weak that we were sure of having our own way in a quarrel without having to fight. Europe was far enough away for us to watch the quarrels and fighting that went on there without getting mixed up in the trouble. But this condition of affairs is gone forever. We have acquired possessions in far-away parts of the world. We have admitted, by sending our soldiers to fight in the worst wars history has seen, that the affairs of Europe are not outside our concern. Our citizens go all over the world in their efforts to make money and to sell the products of our country. They assume that our navy and our soldiers exist to protect American commerce everywhere.

So everyone agrees that we need a navy and an army, but there are many different opinions about how large and costly they should be. Before World War II our regular army consisted of about 165,000 volunteers. In peacetime no one was compelled to serve in it. Now, even in peacetime, our young men are drafted for training in some branch of the Army—infantry, field artillery, coast artillery, engineering corps, or signal corps. Or they may volunteer for the Navy or Air Force. In peacetime the engineers take charge of much of the government's work in the improvement of rivers and harbors.

The Department of the Interior

The Department of the Interior does a great deal of the quiet, inconspicuous work which is going on all the time to make our

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN THE UNITED STATES

country a better place to live in. It has charge of government-owned land and government power installations, looks after outlying possessions, manages the national parks, and takes care of the Indians. It contains the Bureau of Reclamation, Bureau of Mines, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Geological Survey, which searches out mineral deposits and maps the whole country down to the smallest details.

The Department of Justice

The Department of Justice has the duty of enforcing the laws of the country. The head is called the attorney-general; besides supervising the work of this department, he is the legal adviser to the president. The department has attorneys or lawyers in all parts of the country whose work it is to bring men who have broken federal laws into court and see that they are punished. Working with the attorneys are the United States marshals, who carry out the orders of federal courts. If the court finds a man guilty, the marshal takes him to a prison operated by the Department of Justice. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), with its "G-men" and their scientific methods of hunting down criminals, is in this department. So, also, is the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The Post Office Department

One of the largest departments is the Post Office, in charge of the postmaster-general. It is the department we are most familiar with, for we see members of the great army of postmen on the streets every day. Every city and town of any size has its post office, and the large cities have many. Around a hundred years ago everyone had to go to the post office to get his letters; the idea of having mail brought to a man's home or office was unknown. Now our postmen come to our houses several times a day in cities, and in the country the mail is carried out from the towns to the farms.

To have the mail carried from town to town, the Post Office makes contracts with the various railroad companies and pays them according to the amount of mail they carry. Railway mail clerks ride in the mail cars and sort out the letters, so that at each

station letters for the town and the region near it may be put off the train. Since 1918 we have had air mail service. At first the Post Office, with the help of the army air service, owned and operated the airplanes, but now it hires private companies to do the carrying just as it hires railroads.

With the same stamp on the envelope you may address a letter to a friend on the next block or all the way across the country. We might suppose that the saving on local letters that are cheap to deliver would balance the cost of carrying letters a long distance. But it does not. The Post Office is not conducted like a business; there is no pretense of making its income equal its outgo. It loses many millions of dollars every year, and Congress appropriates enough to make its books balance. In other words, people think that what the Post Office does is so valuable that it is worth having their government pay for it.

An enormous amount of mail is carried free. All the letters and documents that are sent out from any department of the government are taken without charge. Some other institutions are given the same privilege, or are charged less than the regular postage. Agricultural schools and experiment stations, publications for the blind and some educational and religious magazines are helped by special privileges. Businesses, too, are helped by permits that let them send part of their mail at reduced rates. And airlines and steamship companies are paid exceptionally high rates to carry the mail. It is considered important for us that those comparatively young businesses should succeed.

The Post Office also protects us as much as it can from scoundrels. Whenever it finds that a man is using the mail for some sort of scheme to cheat people, the Post Office stamps any letters sent to him "fraudulent" and returns them to the senders. To make it easy for any person who wants to save money, the Post Office has a Postal Savings Division in which money can be deposited. This works like a savings bank, and pays a small rate of interest.

The Department of Agriculture

In the Department of Agriculture there

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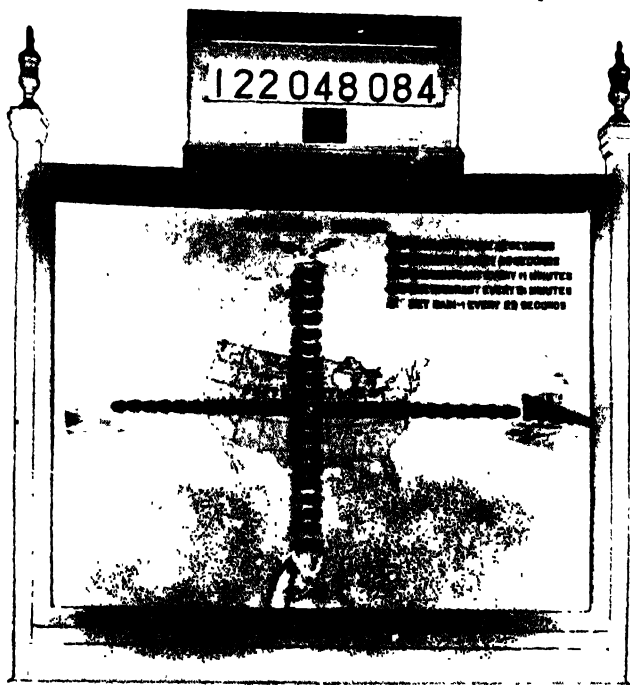
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Photos by U. S. Bureau of Census

The Constitution of the United States requires that a census of the population of the several states of the Union be taken every ten years, to find out how many representatives shall be elected from each state to the House of Representatives. The first census, taken in 1790, was little more than a count of the population of the country according to families. The only names put down were the names of heads of families. The

censuses taken nowadays are very different. They represent an enormous effort on the part of Uncle Sam to get together a "who's who" of his vast family. Everyone is required to give his name, his age, and many other important facts about himself to be filed away in the archives of the nation. Above is a card used in taking the census. In simplified language it tells someone's history.

Finding out the number of Uncle Sam's nephews and nieces and various important facts about them is only one of the things the Bureau of Census does. Besides the regular census of the population, taken every ten years, there are other censuses, also taken at regular intervals. Every ten years a census of religious bodies is taken. Every five years the Bureau takes a census of agriculture and a census of electrical industries, including telephones, telegraphs, electric railways, and central electric light and power stations. Every two years a census of manufactures is taken, and every year, statistics of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces are compiled.



What is the value of the census? It gives the national government a personal record of everyone living in the United States. After fifty or sixty years the records are thrown open, so that historians, genealogists, and students of sociology may study them. In the meantime statistics taken from them can be used in regulating a city's water supply, in building railroads, in dealing with race problems, and so on. Business men find the figures very useful in setting up factories and stores; doctors and public-health officers are interested in information about birth rates and death rates for different ages, sexes, and parts of the country.

This interesting calculating machine at census headquarters will tell you at any given moment about how many people there are in the United States. It works electrically, and the information it gives is based upon past statistics. A tiny light flashes every few seconds to indicate a birth, and—less often—to indicate a death. Other flashes tell of the arrival of an immigrant or the departure of an emigrant. At the top the ever-growing population is given in estimate.

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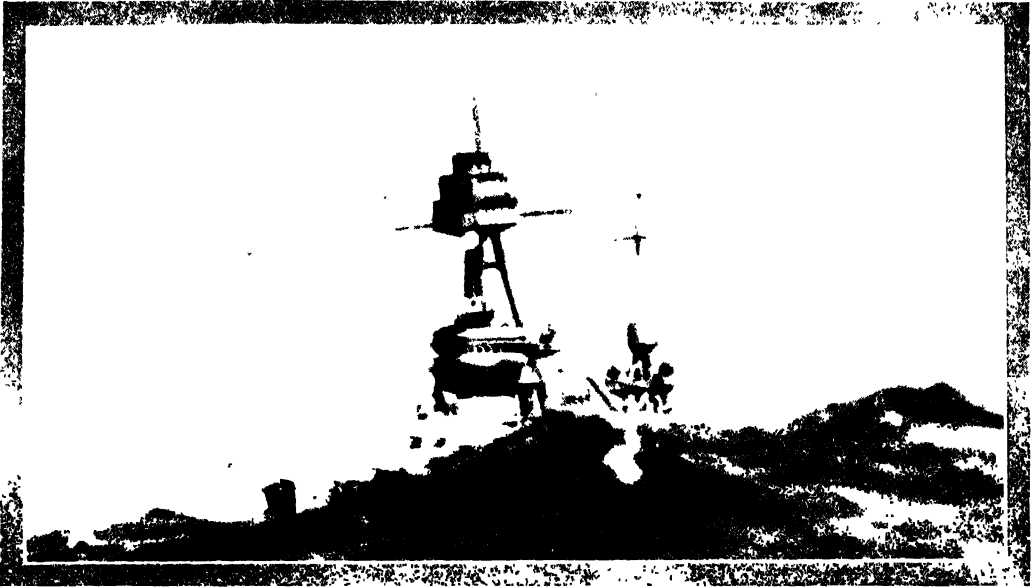


Photo by United States Navy

Every year Uncle Sam's fleet meets for practice and engages in a series of war maneuvers. Above is the

historic battleship "Texas," plowing through a heavy sea in the course of such practice.

are several bureaus applying the latest scientific knowledge to farmers' problems. How to treat diseases of cattle, how to get rid of mequitos, how to deal with various pests that eat crops, and thousands of other questions are treated in pamphlets and bulletins which are issued free or sold at very low prices. Experts spend their lives studying questions about farming, in laboratories at Washington and in experiment stations in various parts of the country. The improvement and conservation of the soil is the work of one division of the department; the care and maintenance of the forests, another. Experiments are carried on to find industrial uses for farm crops and farm wastes. One laboratory is devoted to forest products. Rural electrification, loans to farmers, market research and reports about farm products, crop insurance, and the maintenance of fair prices for farmers are all matters in which the department serves the farmer. And the farmer's wife is not forgotten, for the problems of housekeeping get scientific attention

The Department of Commerce

The Commerce Department was set up to promote trade and commerce--domestic and

foreign. It carries on research and makes reports about business conditions, production, and prices of industrial commodities. Its National Bureau of Standards tests all sorts of materials and equipment and makes scientific information available to government and business. Its Civil Aeronautics Administration promotes the building of airfields and the establishment of new air routes to encourage civil aviation. The Geodetic Survey charts and maps coast lines and works to insure safe water transportation.

Who Is the Weather Man?

The Department of Commerce is divided into a number of bureaus and divisions. One of the most interesting is the Weather Bureau. All of us who are doing things outdoors turn, when we see a newspaper, to the corner containing the "weather man's" prophecy for the next day or so. We know he is not always right, but he is much more often right than wrong. He is not just guessing, as you can learn if you turn to the story about the weather in these books. He works with thousands of other members of the Weather Bureau, who live in different parts of the country. They all keep records of the rain and the winds in their regions, and they

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keep one another informed of the movements of storms. Their information about the weather is a convenience to us all, and it is a necessity to such people as farmers, sailors, and aviators.

Under the Secretary of Commerce is the Bureau of the Census. That is the office that counts us all every ten years. Just counting one hundred and fifty million people is a big job. But in addition to merely counting the people, the Census Bureau figures out the answers to many questions about them; how many are farmers, how many are lawyers, how many are married, how many are foreign-born, and all sorts of other things. Almost any question relating to the people in the country can be answered by the Census Bureau.

What Is a Patent?

Another part of the Commerce Department is the Patent Office. The Constitution says that Congress may "promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." This means that the country encourages men to make new inventions by giving patents to inventors. When a man thinks of a new device he presents the Patent Office with a model or a drawing of it. If no one has applied before him for a patent on the same device, he is given a patent which says that he alone may manufacture and sell this device for seventeen years. With this monopoly on his product he should be able to make money enough to reward him for his cleverness in making the invention.

The Department of Labor

In 1913 the youngest of the government departments, the Department of Labor, was established. Its purpose is to promote the welfare of wage earners in the United States. Its chief research division—the Bureau of Labor Statistics—gathers and publishes information of all sorts about workers, such as wages, hours, types of work, training, and working conditions. The Women's Bureau deals with the problems of women in employment. The Bureau of Labor Standards sets standards of health and safety as

a service to state labor departments. Certain kinds of work formerly done by the Department of Labor has been transferred to other departments.

Independent Agencies

Our story of the working divisions of the government does not end with the nine principal departments. There are some forty-odd independent agencies and establishments that help administer the laws of Congress—some responsible to Congress, some responsible directly to the president. There is room to mention only a few of them here.

One of the oldest agencies is the Library of Congress, established away back in 1800 to buy such books as Congressmen might need. In 1870 the business of copyrighting was placed under its control. Anyone who publishes a book or a piece of music may send it there to be copyrighted. It then becomes illegal for anyone except the copyright holder to sell or use it without permission. A copyright protects a holder for 28 years and may be renewed for 28 more.

Another old government agency is the Commission for the District of Columbia, which handles the problems of governing the Capitol city. Still another is the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates commerce among the states.

Many of the agencies are comparatively new—the National Archives Establishment, for example. Its purpose is to serve our country now and for the future by preserving all records of the federal government. One of the new agencies—the Federal Security Agency—houses the offices that deal with such matters as old age pensions, unemployment insurance, education, public health, and child welfare. Other independent agencies include the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which helps protect bank deposits; the Federal Communications Commission, set up to regulate use of the air waves; and one of the newest of all, the Atomic Energy Commission, which has charge of all research in atomic energy—its nature and the uses to which it may be put.

***The* STORY of GOVERNMENT**

Reading Unit

No. 3

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN A STATE

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

The aim of the constitution, 7-383
Each state a single unit, but also a part of the whole, 7-383-84
The officials of a state, 7-385
The kind of laws passed by the state legislature, 7-385-86
The state is divided into self-governing units, 7-386
"Common law" and how it works, 7-386-87
Statute law is a legislated law, 7-

387
How private and public wrongs differ, 7-387-88
Those who enforce the laws, 7-388
The effect of automobiles on road building, 7-389
The county treasurer collects taxes, 7-389
Duties of the county clerk, 7-389

Things to Think About

Suppose the men who advocated a weak central government, when the constitution was

being drafted, had won!
Why is murder considered a "public wrong"?

Picture Hunt

Goldfields of Colorado, 7-276
Minnesota's marvelous resources, 9-399
Settling the New World, 7-138

Life in the Tennessee mountains, 7-223
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Conquering the Far West, 7-231

Roads and road building, 10-150
Oregon leads the way in political reforms, 7-312

Habits and Attitudes

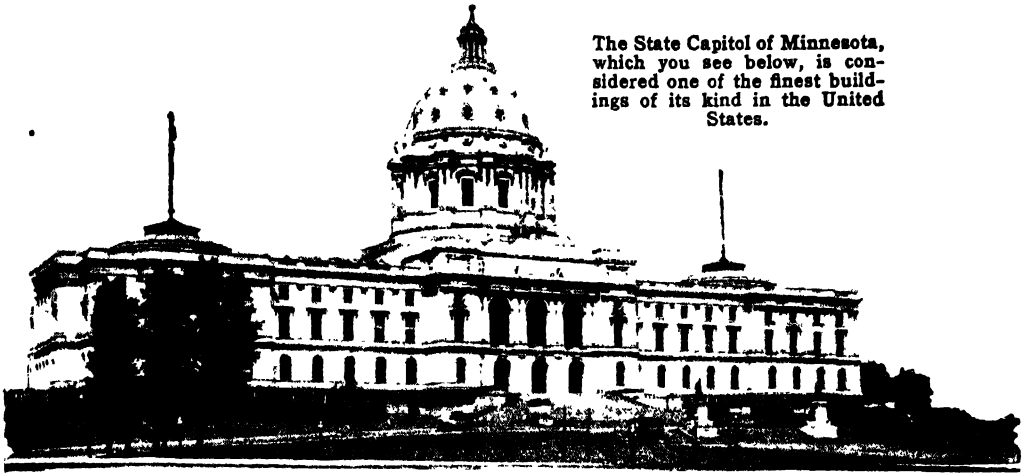
The state as an experimental station, 7-384
How our daily lives are most affected by state laws, 7-385

Each community responsible for its own affairs, 7-386
Murder a public, not a private, affair, 7-387

Summary Statement

It is the laws of the state that most closely affect our daily life.

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN A STATE



The State Capitol of Minnesota, which you see below, is considered one of the finest buildings of its kind in the United States.

Photo by Greater Minnesota Ass'n

HOW *the* PEOPLE GOVERN *a* STATE

Our Country Was and Is a New Idea in Government—the Idea of a Strong Central Power above Many States. This Will Tell How the Separate States Do Their Work

AT ITS birth our country was made up of thirteen different states, and for a few years it looked as if the number might really be unlucky. Each of those states had just shaken itself free of England, and each of them was so eager in its new liberty that it wanted to be free of all the other states as well. There was a real question whether we were going to be one country or thirteen different countries. In a few years, however, the question was settled when the thirteen states joined in one country by adopting a constitution that set up a strong central government. A few men like Hamilton and Madison saw the importance of such a central power, and history has shown that they were right.

Even the remarkable constitution that was adopted was more or less a compromise among the different states. In writing that constitution the authors always had the rights of the separate states very much in mind. They were really doing a fairly new thing in the world—founding a strong central government over all the states and yet leaving to each state a great deal of liberty to

go its own way, in accord with its own interests, in many a matter that did not make much difference to the central government. So the authors tried to see that “state rights” were well guarded. They tried to say just what the central government—the Congress and the president—might do, and what they might not do; and they took care to add that the powers which were not definitely given to the central government by the Constitution should remain to the separate states.

We may now look to see what the various state governments have done with these powers—in other words, how the government of any state in the union is organized and conducted.

The states may do anything that is not forbidden by the federal constitution or by their own separate constitutions. There is a great deal of good in this fact, and there is a certain amount of evil. It is good for any state to be able to try a new kind of law or a new idea in government, which may then be adopted by any or all of the other states if it seems wise, but which may be ignored

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN A STATE



Photo by Santa Barbara C. of C.

Surrounded by lawns and gardens and many trees, the County Court House at Santa Barbara, California, is a place for beauty lovers as well as a building where

by them if it does not work well. But there are certain matters, more important now than when the constitution was written, which might be better managed under one law of the central government, but which the central government cannot touch because the constitution does not allow it. For instance, it might well be better if the central government could make one set of laws to control the hours and the conditions of labor all over the country, especially for children. But under the constitution the states alone have power to make such laws.

Each state has a government very much like the national one. But it is not quite true that the state governments are modeled after

public business may be carried on. It is built in the Spanish style of architecture—a reminder of California's romantic Spanish past.

the national government; rather was the national government modeled, in the beginning, after the governments of the various states that joined to create it. Each state already had a constitution of its own providing for a state government in the same way in which the federal constitution was to provide for a national government. Since the adoption of the federal constitution, any other state desiring to come into the union has had to have a constitution ready and to prove that it could govern itself on the same general principles as all the others. No state has been admitted whose constitution was in any way at variance with the federal constitution; and on all matters on which the

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN A STATE



Photo by Gramstorff Bros

Juries, as well as politicians and government officials, have had their share of ridicule from cartoonists, speakers, and writers. And certainly the artist who painted this picture of "twelve good men and true"

has seen with clear eyes. Yet the jury system, in which a country's government and its citizens cooperate to bring about justice and fair play, is the best system that man has found so far for settling differences.

federal constitution was silent any state could do as it thought best.

So each state has a government in a general way like the others. But no two are exactly alike in all details. Each state has a governor who, like the president, is responsible for the day-to-day management of affairs. A state does not have a regular group of departments headed by secretaries, as in the federal government. The governors do not have cabinets. The various activities of the states are carried on in some cases by boards or commissions, and in others by individual officers. Some of the officers and board members are elected, and some are appointed by the governor. But usually several of the more important officers are elected.

How Laws of a State Are Made

In all but one state the laws are made by a body consisting of two parts, or "houses," and called a legislature or general assembly. We saw that there was a reason for dividing Congress into a Senate and a House of Representatives. One was to represent the states and the other the people directly. But there are no states within the states that need rep-

resentation in the legislatures; so that reason for having two houses in the legislatures does not exist. The only other reason is the idea that two groups will consider a proposal more carefully than one. This was a favorite idea with the early statesmen in our country, and a natural one. Many men now think the idea less important; they say that two groups elected by the same people are likely to pass about the same laws, and that the two houses merely make the process of passing laws more complicated and difficult. In fact, Nebraska not long ago set up a legislature made up of a single house.

In our daily lives the state laws are often more important than the national laws. It is the state which has most of the power to say how men shall do business together, what form of contract shall be used, how business may be organized. The state law says what acts shall be considered crimes and what the punishment shall be. The state makes rules on subjects as different as the kind of fireworks that may be shot off on the Fourth of July and the ways of guarding dangerous machinery in factories.

As with the federal laws, many state laws are not simple rules for people to obey, but

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN A STATE

are decisions on more general public questions. The state lawmakers decide the important matter of how money for the state shall be raised, whether taxes shall be laid on incomes, on property, or on business transactions. They may levy all three, and other kinds of taxes beside. They may forbid certain ways of doing business as contrary to the best interest of the people. They decide what buildings the state shall own, where they shall be built, and how much shall be paid for them. They establish and control the institutions of the state, such as prisons and reformatories, hospitals for the insane or the feeble-minded, and homes for the crippled and blind. They pass many a rule in the hope of making life safer and pleasanter, such as the rules about the speed of automobiles. There is no end to the number of matters a state legislature may consider and put into law.

How a State Is Subdivided

Each state is divided into counties, and the counties are made up of smaller units called towns or townships. Cities are sometimes separate from the county divisions and sometimes parts of counties. The kind of government that counties and towns shall have is decided by the legislature of the state; that is, the legislature says what county officers there shall be, what their duties are, and how they shall be chosen. But the citizens of the county do the voting themselves. No officials are sent out from some distant capital to rule over them, as is the case in certain other countries. In general, our country is divided into small parts to make the government of the people by the people as real as possible. On matters of their own concern alone, the people of a township may do as they please, but they cannot control the people of any other township.

Possibly the most important work done by the people through their state and county and town governments is the administration of justice and the preservation of peace. The men who administer justice are the judges, and in every state there are several grades of them according to the importance of the cases they help to decide. In most states the judges are elected, though in some

they are appointed by the governor or chosen by the legislature.

Much of the work of judges lies in settling disputes between citizens or groups of citizens, and such disputes are usually settled by what we call the "common law." The common law is not something that is written down anywhere in the form of a set of rules to say that men may do such and such things and may not do such and such others. It is simply a set of traditions that have grown up on the basis of thousands of decisions in the courts of the past, and it goes back in history to a time long before our country was born. It grew up mainly in England. For if we were to sit down to make out a set of rules by which we could decide every kind of dispute that might arise between two men, we could easily spend our lives at it and then find that there were many possible disputes that we had not foreseen. So what we have done is something quite different. A certain kind of dispute would come before a court and be decided in the wisest way the court could manage. This decision would then be a "precedent" (*prës'ê-dënt*). Any future dispute of exactly that same kind would then be decided in the same way, or by that precedent; and so all persons would get the same justice from all courts. All the decisions or precedents taken together make up the common law.

Our Books of Decisions

In a sense, however, the common law is written down. It is written in all the records of decisions made by courts in the past. The decisions of every important court are published in books, and indexes are prepared to make it easier to find a decision on any kind of dispute.

Suppose that you live in a house with some land around it and you are annoyed to find that a neighbor has the habit of taking a short cut across your land on his way to work. You tell him to stop, but he replies that there is a well-beaten path across your land and many people use it. You say it is your own land, and the fact that people have the bad habit of cutting across it does not give them any right to do so. Finally you hire a lawyer and take the matter before

HOW THE PEOPLE GOVERN A STATE



Photo by International News Photos

This is a view of Sing Sing, the state prison at Ossining, New York, where criminals receive not only punish-

ment but an education. Here they may learn a useful trade and receive training in citizenship.

a judge. Do you know what will happen?

The neighbor will come and argue his side of the question, through a lawyer also. Your lawyer says the land is unquestionably yours and shows that it has always been decided in common law that the owner of land may keep other people off it if he chooses. Your neighbor's lawyer replies that all this is true enough, but it is also true that people have been using that short cut for at least twenty-five years. He quotes decisions from far back in the past to show that whenever the owner of land has let people use it for twenty years without making any complaint, he has given up his right to complain and they now have a right to keep on doing whatever they have been doing. Unless your lawyer can then show that in some way this case is different from the others which have been decided in the past, the judge will decide that the path across your property is now a public way.

What Is Statute Law?

Such questions as this one are said to be decided under civil law. Most of the matters brought before judges are more complicated and also more important than this one; but with some exceptions, they are decided on the same principle. The exceptions are in matters where the common law has received additions from what is called statute law. If people feel that any part of the common law is working badly because the judges are

too much inclined to cling to the past instead of allowing for the changes that have come over life in the present day, their legislature may make laws to cover any kind of case they like. Such laws from the legislature are called statutes. If the legislature of a state has made a statute covering a given matter, that is the law to be followed in the courts rather than the decisions of the past.

Private Wrongs and Public Wrongs

In depending on earlier decisions, lawyers and judges do not limit themselves to their own states. They look for decisions on the matter in hand in the court reports from all over the world. But in general they consider the reports from nearest home the most important.

The "civil law" is the procedure under which quarrels between citizens are settled. It is said to deal with "private wrongs." But if a man murders another he commits a crime, a "public wrong." Murder is more than an act against a single individual; it is one against society or people in general. So society, through the government, undertakes to prevent such crimes as murder whenever possible and to punish them when they are committed. This is one of the important functions of civilized government. In primitive life and in regions outside the range of a strong government, such as the western frontier of this country in early times, mur-

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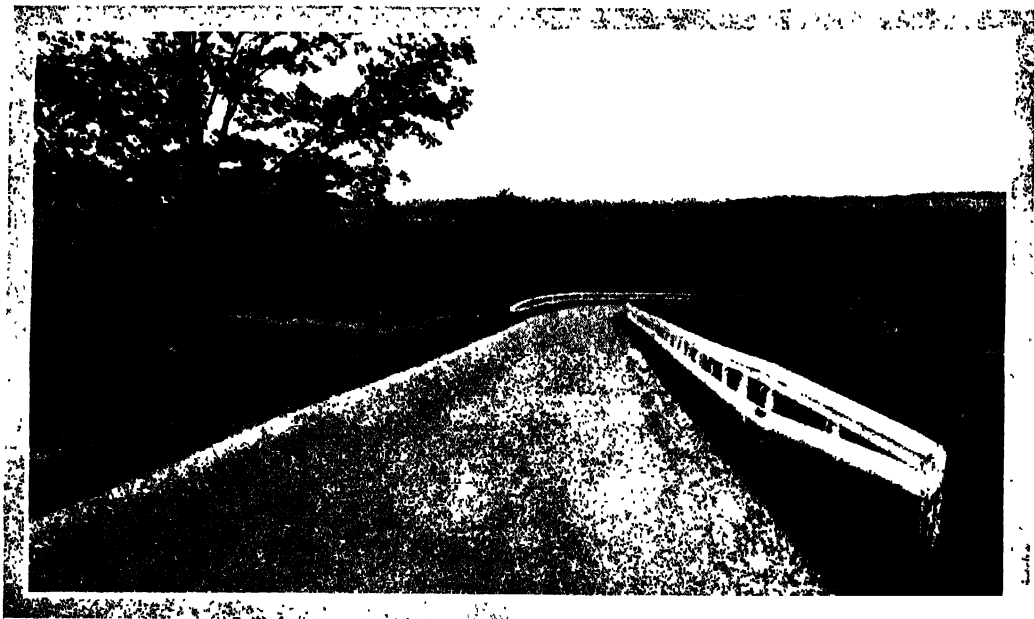


Photo by Barrett Co.

It is no uncommon sight to see on a Maine highway an automobile with a Florida or a California license plate

—and all because the government has built a network of good roads to bind people together.

der is a private wrong. The murdered man's family or friends try to punish the murderer, usually by murdering him in turn. But in civilization, treating murder as a "private wrong" is as bad as murder itself. Two wrongs do not make a right.

How Crime Is Classified

All other acts—such as stealing and forgery—which are so bad that they are considered acts against society instead of against a single person, are crimes. Very bad crimes are called felonies (fēl'ō-nī), less important ones are misdemeanors. The criminal law used to be common law, but in most states it has now been "codified," or written down. A "code" of laws is a list of the acts that are forbidden and of the punishments to be inflicted on anyone who commits them. It is possible to define all the crimes which society will punish, and it is a good thing to have them all clearly stated in books, instead of letting them depend on the decisions of the past, as in the common law. But it would be impossible to codify all the civil common law, although, as we said, in many states the legislature has clarified and added to the common law by statutes.

To enforce the laws there are officers of various kinds. One of the most important is the prosecuting attorney, or district attorney, as he is called in certain states. In securing justice from a private wrong, a citizen employs a lawyer to present his case in court. But public wrongs are the concern of the whole people, and there must be a public officer whose duty it is to present the case of society against anyone who has committed a crime. The prosecuting attorney is elected by the people. He is an important officer, for largely on his energy and honesty depends the force of the law. Laws do no good unless they are enforced.

The Duties of a County Sheriff

The county officer who carries out the orders of the courts is the sheriff. He is usually elected. He has charge of the prison or jail, and keeps there prisoners waiting for trial and criminals who have been condemned. He and his assistants also see that the orders of courts in civil cases are obeyed. If it were decided that a path across your land had become public property the sheriff would see that you put up no fences and did nothing else to keep people from using the path. In

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country districts he also does the work that is done by the police in cities. He sees that people "keep the peace," and may arrest those who do not.

Before the automobile came, the building of roads was left to local effort. If the people of a township or county wanted good roads, they had to see to building them. If they did not care much about roads, and were willing to drive their wagons to market bumping over rocks and through mud holes, it was their own affair. But when automobiles grew common, roads became a great deal more important. Local people bought cars and found that they wanted good roads to town; and people who were driving longer distances made complaints when they came to a stretch of bad road. Thus state governments found that they had to take over some of the duty of constructing and caring for roads. This was wise and just, for building a modern wide road is very costly, and counties and townships objected to spending so much money just to make it easier for people from distant parts of the country to ride past. It was said that all the people using the roads should help to pay for them, and that the states could most easily raise the taxes needed.

The states collect money from the users of roads in two ways. One is by a tax on automobiles. Each person who owns and operates a car must have numbered license plates on it, which he gets from the state each year. The money paid for the plates is used mainly for roads. The other way of making users pay for roads is to put a tax on gasoline. This is the fairest kind of tax because it is certain that the person who buys the most gasoline is using the roads the hardest.

In cities schools are maintained by the city government; in country regions they are in charge of the county and town authorities. There is usually a school board who secure the teachers and who supervise the superintendent or principal in charge of the school or schools. They build the school-houses and buy the supplies.

The money of the county is in the keeping of the county treasurer. He collects the taxes. County taxes are collected from all owners of land according to the value of the land. There is an assessor, or a board of assessors, to decide how much each piece of land is worth, and thus how much the taxes on it shall be. In many states there is a state board of control to supervise the finances of the counties and to make sure that affairs are conducted honestly and efficiently.

In the building where the court and the offices of the county officials are located is the office of the county clerk. He does a number of different things. He often keeps the records of the county court. He keeps the "vital statistics" of the county; that is, he makes a record of the birth and death of each resident. The law requires that all births and deaths shall be reported to him. When a person born in the county needs a document to show who he is, he must ask the county clerk for it. The clerk gives him a birth certificate, a document proving that he was born in that county on such and such a date. The county clerk also keeps a record of the sales of land in the county. A sale is valid only when it has been recorded in the county office.

In another story we are going to tell how a great modern city does its work. Its problems are so many and so great that we had better take them separately.

Thanks to great monsters like those at the right this fill will be finished in a fraction of the time it would have taken a few years ago. And because all the people in the state own the machinery and pay for the upkeep of the roads, even small villages can be joined by good highways.

Standard Oil Co. (N. J.), Photo by Libbuhn



The STORY of GOVERNMENT ---

Reading Unit No. 4

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

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For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Why is a city manager usually selected from another city?
What would happen if the water system in a city failed?

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HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

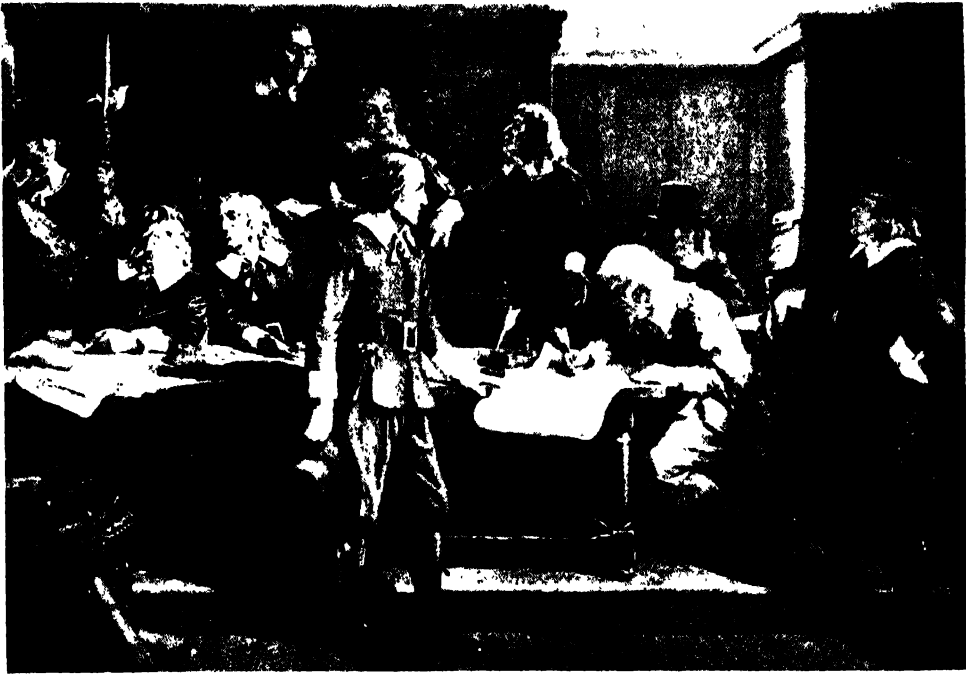


Photo by Guarantee Trust Co.

New Yorkers will be interested in this picture, for it shows the signing of the first deed in the little Dutch town of New Amsterdam, which was later to become the great city of New York. The date is October 12, 1654. Cornelius Van Tierhoven, seated at the end of

the table, is signing away the property now known as 61 Pearl Street and 26 Stone Street to Jacob Hendricks Varrenvanger, a noted surgeon of New Amsterdam. He is the somewhat pompous gentleman standing at the extreme right of the picture.

HOW *the* PEOPLE RULE *a* CITY

This Is the Story of the Way a Great City Does Its Vast and Complicated Public Work

WHEN a great number of people come to live together in a city, they have problems in their government that are quite unknown to people in country regions. This is not merely because they need more government. Life in a city is a different thing. In the country and in small towns the people are all neighbors, and they know a great deal about one another. The various officers of the local government are people whom everybody knows. The work of the county or town is truly everybody's business.

In a big city there are so many people that they cannot all feel as if the city government were something in which they could all take part and to which they all owed a

duty. And still there are many more things to be done in a city. Streets must be cleaned, fires put out, traffic controlled, and all sorts of regulations enforced. So a city is a special problem in government—a problem that is not so near to a good solution as some of the others.

Nearly all cities are governed in accordance with a charter, which is a document very much like a constitution. It is granted by the state, and may be changed from time to time.

In most of the larger cities the standard form of government is that of a mayor and a council. The mayor is the head of the government in somewhat the same way in

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

which the president is the chief officer in the country. The mayor appoints many of the lower officials and must see that they do their work well. He is elected by the people of the city, and he holds his office in some cities for one year and in others for as long as four years. With him are elected the city council, sometimes called the board of aldermen. In some cities the council contains as many as fifty men, and in others as few as four or five. Its duties are different in different cities, of course, but in general it makes the laws, or "ordinances," of the city, and is responsible for the finances. It decides what amounts of money shall be spent for various purposes, and how the money shall be raised.

The Fight against Corruption

The fight against dishonesty in government is usually more difficult in cities than elsewhere, and for that reason many different schemes have been tried and are still being tried to make the selection of honest officials more certain, and to make dishonesty in office more difficult. The old idea was the one we have seen in various parts of our government, that of balancing several officers of about equal power against one another. It was hoped that if both the political parties had members in a large city council, they would watch one another and prevent anything very bad. But it was too often found

that the parties worked together in corrupt schemes.

On the theory that much evil can be corrected if the voters can see clearly who is responsible for everything, the councils are sometimes made very small. If a large council votes to pay some contractor a hundred thousand dollars for a job that is worth only sixty thousand, it may be hard to know who thought up the idea and pocketed a part of the extra forty thousand. But if a small council of three or four men does such a thing, it is easier to hold them responsible, and to vote for other men at the next election.

The idea of a small group is carried farther in the commission form of government. In this form the mayor is simply one of a board of four or five men. The work of the city is divided into as many large departments as there are commissioners, and one commissioner is the head of each department. Together they manage the city much as a board of directors manages a big business.

The Task of Efficient Government

This scheme has not been found perfect by any means. One trouble is that the commissioners may join in measures as foolish and corrupt as those of any council. Another is that they may be jealous of one another and work each for his own glory rather than for the advantage of the city.

It may be said that no one of the commissioners is an expert in the work of the department which he rules.

Another interesting form of city government that is

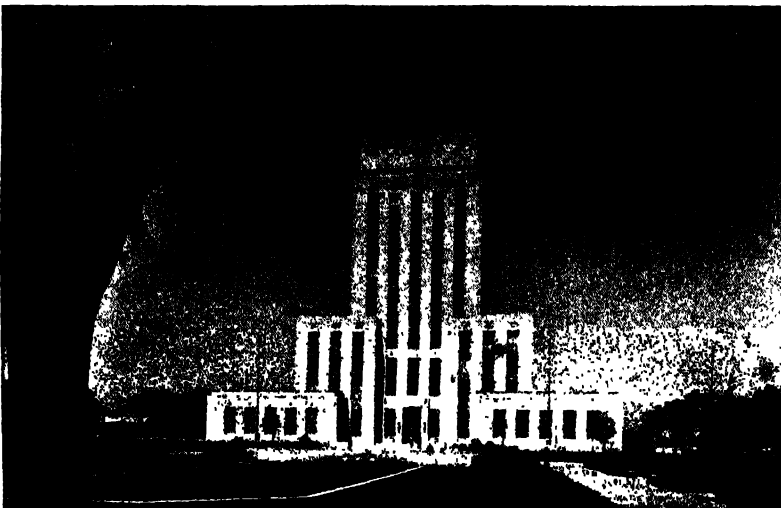


Photo by Elwood M. Payne courtesy Houston Chamber of Commerce

This beautiful and modern ten-story structure is the city hall in Houston, Texas. Many of the important functions of the municipal government are carried on in its offices.

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

being tried in several cities is called the city manager plan. It is based on the idea that running cities is a special job that should be in the hands of men who devote their lives to studying it, just as lawyers study the law and doctors study medicine. Under this plan there is usually a council elected by the people, and perhaps one member of the



No one would guess from the cheerful expressions on the faces of these members of the police department that "a policeman's lot is not a happy one"! Yet every year a large number of these men lose their lives in the city's service--shot down by desperate criminals and inhuman racketeers. The vehicle they are using is an armored motorcycle.

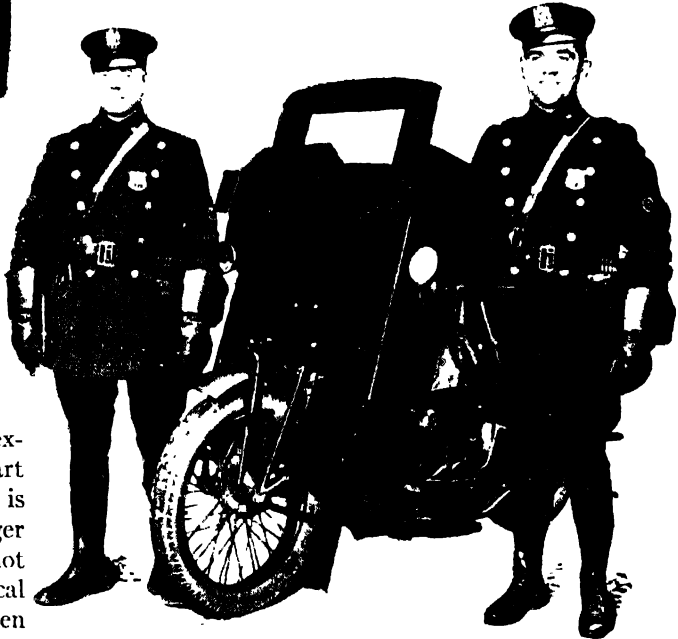
council is called the mayor; but the members are not paid high salaries and are not expected to take an active part in city affairs. Their job is to choose and hire a manager for the city, a man who is not connected with any political party and who may not even have lived in the city before.

The manager is almost a dictator in the city; he has the same power and responsibility that the head of a large business has. His job is not limited to any definite term, but lasts as long as the members of the council think he is doing well, or until he resigns. The members of the council serve a definite term, and may or may not be elected again, as the voters decide.

The efficiency, honesty, and general merit of a city government depend considerably on the men at the top. So a good way of choosing these men is very important.

Whether well or badly, all cities carry on a huge and complicated business that is absolutely necessary for the lives of the people who live in them. The work is divided among several departments and bureaus, and in a large city it employs thousands of people.

The police department of a big city is like a small army. There are some 19,000 policemen in New York. The army has common soldiers called patrolmen, and higher officers of various grades, rising to a commissioner who is usually appointed by the mayor. There is one principal office,



Photos by Int

or "headquarters," and other stations in various sections of the city.

In the pursuit of criminals the police need the very latest equipment that science can provide. The best police departments have men especially trained in the use of finger prints and photographs for identifying criminals. Other experts study firearms and bullets. Many larger cities now have radio systems for notifying officers of a crime the instant it is reported. Often policemen can get to the scene in a very few minutes.

Like soldiers, policemen are not of much

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

use until they are well trained. So police departments have schools where men are taught to deal with the problems of a policeman's life. A police "rookie" studies the use of weapons, first aid, the laws he is going to enforce, the ways of handling crowds, and many other subjects. He must be more than a guard against criminals. Most of the people who approach him during any day are good citizens who need some sort of help—how to find an address, how to stop a troublesome noise, or any number of little things that a policeman should know about.

The City's Traffic Problems

One of the special jobs of policemen is directing the traffic of a city. This is a good example of the way in which modern life has created problems that were not dreamed of fifty years ago. If this problem had received any attention in the olden days, many of our streets would be much wider than they are to-day. As it is, many a street is so narrow that it is a constant worry to the police and an annoyance to everyone else. Police departments usually have special divisions of men who handle traffic. Their job is more than merely waving to cars to stop or go. They have to be clever at handling crowds, and in keeping cars moving along. They need a detailed knowledge of the geography of the city.

The head of a traffic department must study the city constantly to make rules that will be fair to all—rules about

parking and about "one way" streets, rules to make drivers use the less crowded streets. With the engineers of his department or of a special engineering department of the city, he plans and installs signal lights to direct much of the traffic automatically. He will be consulted by the city engineers whenever a new street or bridge is planned. In our day a great deal of attention is given to the planning of many cities—to the location of streets and parks, of residence and business districts.

Since the beginning of civilization, fire has been one of man's most important aids and when he could not control it, one of his worst enemies. In modern cities, especially in America, where houses are more often built of wood than in Europe, fire is a terrible danger that must be guarded against every moment of the day and night. So the fire departments in our cities are usually large and important divisions of the city government, and are less likely to be hampered by "politics" than most other departments.

The Men Who Put Out Fires

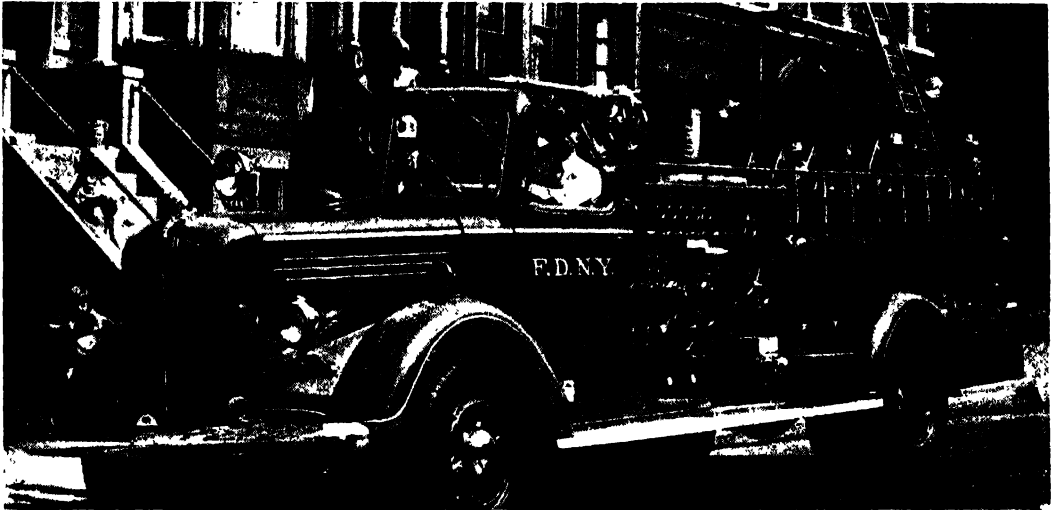
If you have ever visited a fire department you have seen the apparatus standing ready to start at any second when an alarm is sounded. A fire engine is a large motor pump on a truck; it is rushed to the fire and used to pump water from the nearest hydrant. This machine must be used wherever the pressure in the water pipes is not strong enough to throw the water into a building. Some cities have separate water

The elders in your family will remember these horse-drawn fire engines. As they tore madly down the street, with clanging gong, they were probably a more thrilling sight than the motor-driven fire engines of to-day. But of course they were not so efficient; and in fighting fires, efficiency is of the first importance.



Photo by Fire Engineering

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY



Courtesy New York Fire Department

There has been a fire. The ladder still reaches to the second story window, and the engine still stands in the

pipes for the use of the fire department, with pumping stations to furnish high pressure. This makes fire engines less necessary. There are also big trucks to carry hose, ladders, axes, and so on, and the firemen themselves.

The Fight to Prevent Fires

Since the important thing is to get to a fire while it is still small, a vital part of a fire department is the system of signals covering the whole city. You have seen the boxes on street corners. This system is perhaps a little less important now, since telephones are so common. But many people do not have telephones, and signals are still necessary. They must be tested from time to time and kept in good order.

It is a great deal better to prevent fires than to wait till they are started and then try to put them out. So all fire departments have certain rules that everyone in the city must obey. Electrical wires and apparatus must be installed in buildings in certain careful ways. Special care must be taken with inflammable chemicals and other material. There are usually squads of inspectors in the fire department to see that the rules are obeyed.

In most cities the firemen are picked and promoted by civil service rules and examinations. Even the chief may get his place by

street. How many of the crowd that watched it at work remembered that, as citizens, they owned a share in it?

competing with others in examinations. But above the chief is a board of fire commissioners, appointed by the mayor, who supervise the finances of the department.

Although every large city has a fire department and a police department, in no two cities is the rest of the government organized in just the same way. They all have many departments and offices, but the names vary and the way the work is divided up is different in each city. We cannot say that there is always a department of public works, for example, but we can see the kind of things that cities do, whatever the arrangement of the departments.

Building Our City Streets

The streets of a city seem simple enough to most of us who walk through them every day, but if we stop to think of the work that goes into making them and keeping them in good condition, we realize that in a big city they are by no means simple. In the first place, the surface must be paved in some way that will stand hard wear and will not be slippery in wet weather. It must also be easy to repair, and easy to dig into and cover over again when necessary. So cities hire engineers and make experiments to determine the best way of paving any given kind of street.

If we look under the surface of a city street

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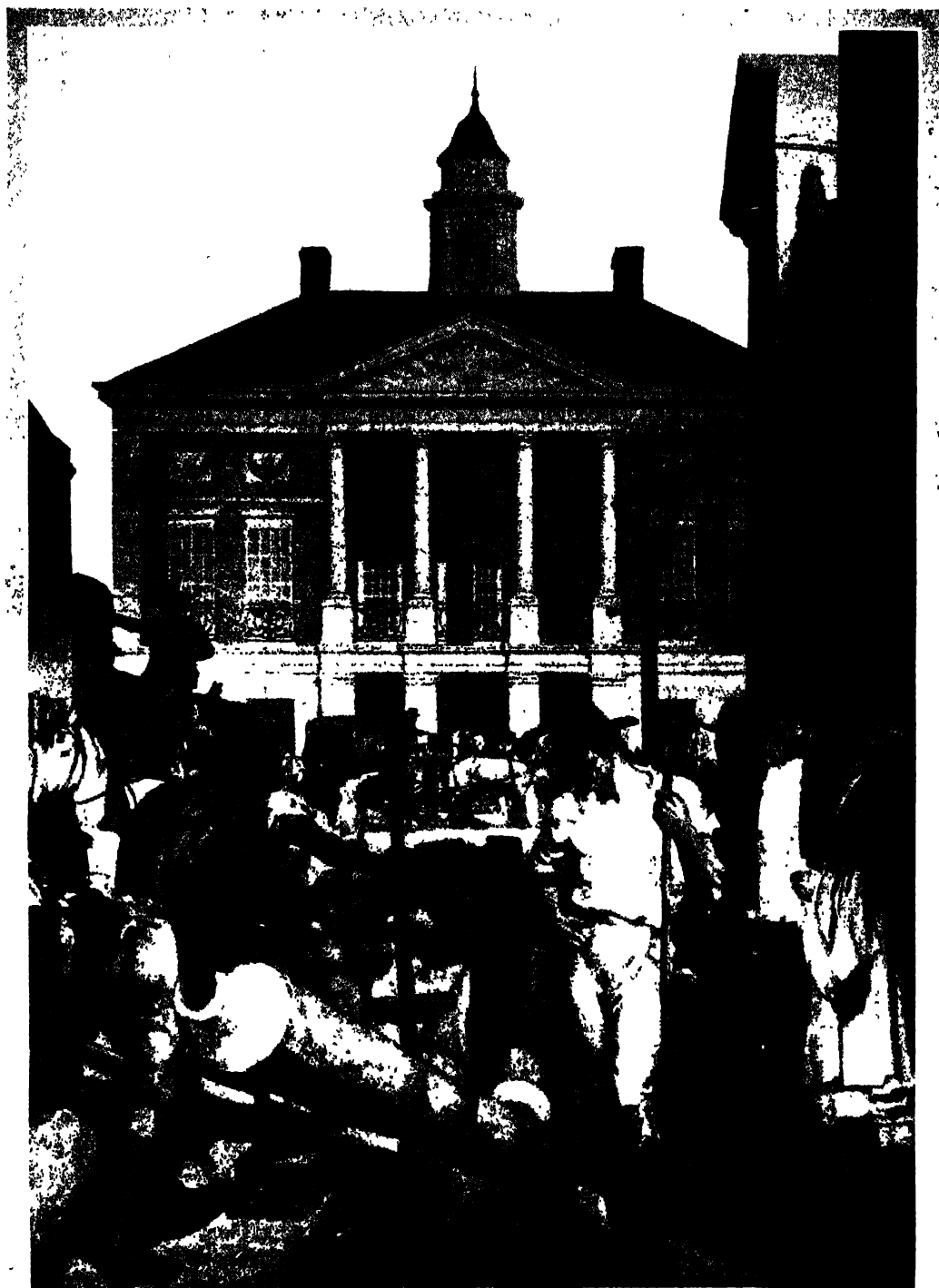
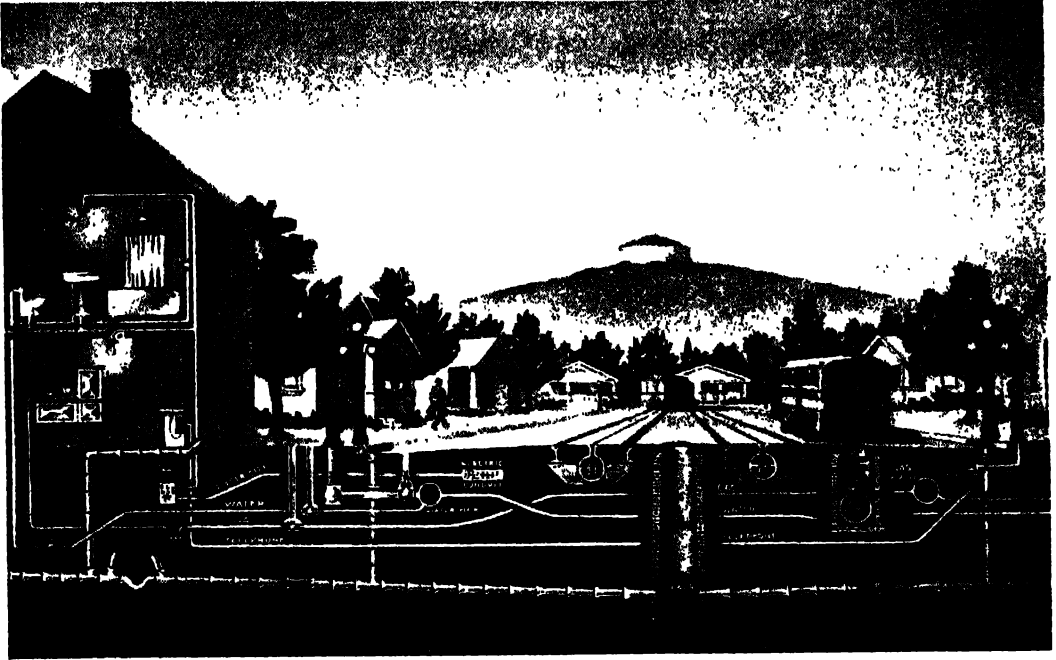


Photo by The Manhattan Co.

This shows the laying of New York City's first water system, in 1800. The pipes are hollowed logs of wood.

In the background: old Federal Hall. At the right: Alexander Hamilton, a promotor of the project.

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY



This sectional view of a city street shows the network of tunnels, wires, pipes, etc. that are necessary to keep a modern city going. We are so used to these

conveniences that we forget that our ancestors had to draw water from wells they had dug themselves and even had to make their own candles.

we find much more than dirt. In fact, we see so many tunnels and pipes that the dirt would seem to be there only to fill in. We find various cables. Among them are the cables which supply electricity to the street lights. Lighting the streets at night is a job that any city now does for its citizens, though only a few centuries ago no city was doing it. Wealthy men then had servants to carry lanterns for them at night, and poorer people just got along as best they could. Now we take street lights for granted, just as we do pavements.

What We Find under a City's Streets

The cables from the power house to the street lights are only a few of those we find under the pavement. Among the others are the cables which carry electricity to our houses, offices, and factories. In a few cities all power plants which furnish electricity to the people are owned by the city, but usually the current is made and supplied by a private company. Of course that does not mean that the city has nothing to say about the service. Electricity is a strange and dangerous stuff

to handle. In a city anyone who works with it may endanger not only his own life but the lives of many others. So cities have rules about how cables shall be laid, how wires and fixtures may be put into houses, how motors and other apparatus may be installed in factories. When new cables are to be laid, the company must get permission from the city to tear up the streets.

Separate and equally complicated sets of cables are laid under the streets by the telephone and telegraph companies. Their wires are not so dangerous, because they do not carry so much current. But cities take care to see how well such cables are laid and to prevent the companies from digging holes in the streets any more than is necessary.

Our Modern Sewerage Systems

In our explorations under the street we find many pipes, large and small. The largest are the sewer pipes which carry away water from the streets and waste from our houses. The sewers are built and kept in order by the city engineers. It is no small task to lay out a system of sewers. All the pipes

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY



Photo by N. Y. City Board of Water Supply

If a gentleman who lived three or four centuries ago were to come to life again and walk down a modern city street, he would marvel to find it so clean. He would not understand our sewerage systems, for as you can see in the picture above, sewer pipes are laid below the surface of the street and then covered over

with earth and pavement. In his own day the only sewerage system was perhaps a gutter which ran down the center of the street, and which, more often than not, was clogged to overflowing with filth thrown from the houses. As the refuse piled up, the level of the streets was raised three feet or more a century.

must slope a little, so that water will run through them, and they must all come together at some place where they can empty into a river or into the ocean. Dumping the filth from city sewers into streams or into the sea used to be the only way to get rid of it, but science has now shown us how to destroy sewage in plants built for the purpose. A few cities have such plants, but a great many have not yet taken this step forward.

How We Get Our Water

While dirty water is flowing one way under the streets in huge sewer pipes, clean water is flowing the other way in somewhat smaller pipes. These pipes run under all the streets of a city, and are laid in the new streets as the city grows. Building a water system for a great city is a piece of work that takes the best efforts of our engineers. New York City, for example, gets water from several reservoirs, one of them a hundred miles from the city. The water is carried in great aque-

ducts, some of them twelve or fourteen feet in diameter. One aqueduct is cut through solid rock a thousand feet beneath the Hudson River. Under a part of the city it runs more than two hundred feet below the street, and it does not interfere with subways or with any other kind of pipe. From the distant reservoirs the water comes through these aqueducts to reservoirs nearer the city, and from these it goes into the pipes which carry it under the streets to the houses. On a hot summer day over a billion gallons of water are used in New York.

In some cities meters in buildings and houses measure the amount of water used, and people must pay accordingly. In others people pay only roughly according to the amount they use; a water tax is charged against each house, based on the number of faucets in the house. Usually the cost of water to a citizen is so low that a good deal of it is wasted, but we think it is better to let water be wasted than to have too little.

If the street we have been digging into

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

happens to be a "through" street, we may find tracks laid in the middle of it, with street cars clanging up and down on them. Over our heads there may be the tracks of an elevated railroad, with trains moving from station to station without worrying about traffic. Moreover, in certain cities, sometimes so far under the earth that elevators take people down to it, there will be a great tunnel under our feet. In the tunnel are the tracks of another railroad system. The importance of getting about from place to place in a city has called for three transportation systems.

From Horse Cars to Motor Buses

The oldest of these systems is the street car, which began as the horse car less than one hundred years ago. Only thirty years after the horse car was first used, the electric car was invented and rapidly put the horses out of work. Now the cities are changing from the street car to another kind of transportation, the bus. The bus has the obvious advantage of needing no track. It is not quite so much in the way of automobiles in narrow streets.

The larger cities have elevated or subway systems as well as street cars and buses. These are needed to take people for long distances in the city faster than buses, which must stop frequently. They are simply electric railroad systems built on stilts or in tunnels.

Naturally, city governments are interested in how the transportation system is built and

managed. Some cities own their own street car lines, just as they own their own water systems. But more commonly the various kinds of transportation are in the hands of private companies, subject to rules made by the city. Such a company must use the city street, and its work affects the lives of most of the citizens; so it must get from the city a special kind of contract called a franchise. A franchise is an agreement between a public service company and a city, in which the city gives the company permission to lay tracks, dig a tunnel, build a trestle, or operate buses, in certain streets. The city helps the company by making the necessary traffic and police regulations. The company promises to furnish the citizens service with a certain number of cars or trains a day. It promises not to charge more than a certain fare. Thus the city has control over the lines of transportation without having to operate them.

Fuel to Cook Our Food

We have not by any means come to the end of the things we could find if we began digging in a city street. Among the other important things are the pipes that carry gas to our houses. These pipes are laid under an agreement with the city government, just as are the cables for electricity. Like electricity, gas is sometimes manufactured by the city, but is usually a private business under city control.

In some of the larger cities we should find under the streets another kind of tube about which most of us know very little. The Post

The street car is now giving way to the bus as a means of transport within a city. The bus has the advantage of being independent of car tracks. Many buses, however, make use of overhead wires as a source of power.



Photo by Keystone View Co

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

Office Department naturally has small branch post offices in various parts of the city, and a great many of the letters mailed in them are addressed, not out of town, but to people or firms in other parts of the city. Instead of sending the letters by trucks, the post office sometimes connects the different branches in a city by pneumatic (nū-măt'ik) tubes. They are tubes somewhat like the ones we see in some department stores. Letters are placed in cylinders slightly smaller than the tubes. By suction furnished from air pumps, these cylinders are sent through the tubes at high speed.

How We Keep Our Streets Clean

Before we leave the street we have been examining, we might mention one more thing about the surface of it. That is that it gets very dirty and must be cleaned regularly. So we are likely to meet a man with a broom and other cleaning implements. A certain number of blocks are assigned to him, and he spends his time sweeping them and capturing the stray pieces of paper that careless people are always turning loose. In a large city there will be thousands of men like this, each with his own "beat." But their efforts are not enough. They cannot get all the dirt and dust that is likely to blow in our faces; so early in the morning we may see a large truck especially built for sprinkling. It has a motor, and it squirts a powerful stream of water over the street, washing away the dirt.

This great machine does for a city street what a carpet sweeper will do for a rug. But we are not so familiar with machines like this as we are with the street cleaner in his white uniform, who is always at work brushing and shoveling the dirt from the streets and gutters.

Often the same department of the city that does the cleaning will also collect and cart away the garbage, ashes, and refuse. Large trucks gather the refuse every day. Cities on the seacoast have great barges in which ashes and garbage are carried away and dumped into the sea. Inland cities sometimes have a dumping ground on their outskirts where the waste materials are piled. But this is not a good arrangement, for decaying refuse is a danger to health. Many cities have incinerators (in-sîn'ēr-ā'tēr) where they dispose of everything that will burn.

If we stop digging our hole in the street and begin walking around the city, we shall soon see many more enterprises that the city carries on or is interested in. One of the most important is the school system. In our tour of any large city we shall find many a grade school and several high schools. We can tell something about the spirit of a city, and about how well the people govern it, by the schools. But we must be careful not to judge merely by the buildings. Good school buildings are important, but good teachers are a great deal more important. Good teachers cannot make school work anything but work, as you have doubtless discovered, but they can make it pleasant, interesting work. And well-educated citizens are the first necessity in a democracy.

The management of the schools is usually in the hands of a board who are sometimes appointed by the mayor and sometimes elected by the people. If we add all the money spent

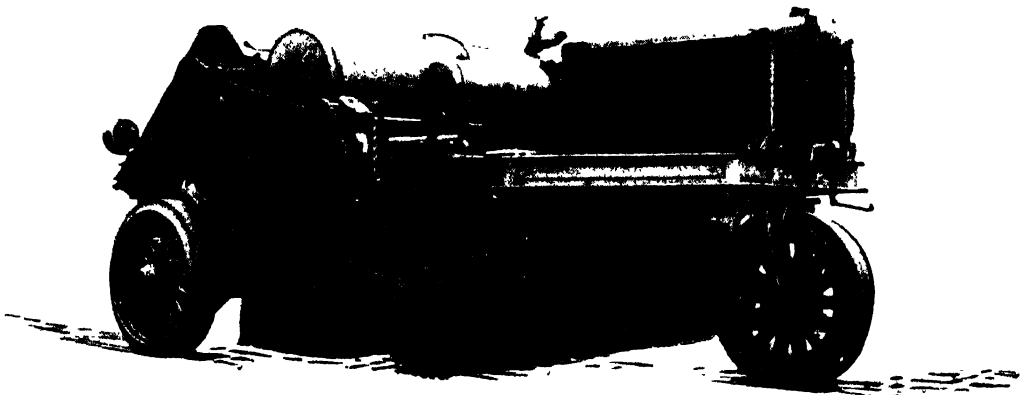


Photo by Charles Phelps Cushing

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

This is a modern high school at Miami, Florida—one of the 200,000 and more public school buildings that are spread over the whole of the United States, so that every child, no matter where he lives, may receive a free education.

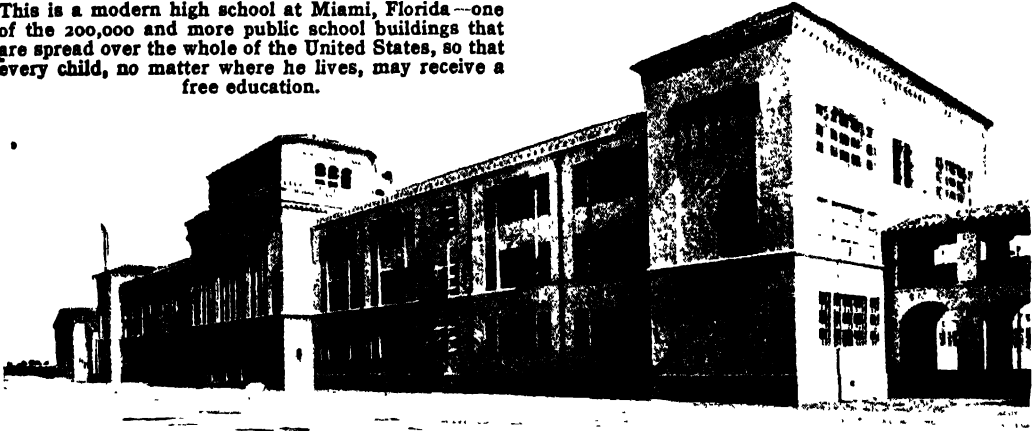


Photo by Richard B. Hoit

in a year by all American cities, we find that about a third of it is spent for education. In many cities the school board is quite separate from the rest of the city government. It can tax people and spend the money on the schools as it sees fit. In others it gets from the council a share of the money raised by the regular city taxes, and must present a budget each year. The school board employs the teachers and buys supplies. It inspects the buildings and puts up new ones as they are needed—and as it can raise the money.

From City Hall to Pleasant Parks

In our city tour we shall discover many other institutions which we shall not have time to look at very carefully. We shall see the city hall where are the offices of the mayor or city manager and where the council holds its meetings. Here also are the offices of many other departments and bureaus. The finance department, called by different names in different cities, takes care of the money of the city. Branches of this department collect the taxes, keep the books, and prepare the budget. The money a city gets is nearly all taken in taxes on the property in the city, chiefly on the land and buildings. That is, the owner of a building and lot must pay the city a certain per cent of their value every year. There is usually a special board to settle disputes about property values.

In the city hall may also be the headquarters of the various boards and commis-

sions which do a number of different things to make life safer and more pleasant for the inhabitants of the city. Cities operate hospitals where poor people can get treatment free or at a very low cost. Some cities have homes and institutions for people who need special care or protection, such as homeless or wayward children. There are also homes for those who are too old to work and who have no children to take care of them.

Among the things that make life pleasanter, perhaps the most important is the system of parks and playgrounds which every city has. Some cities have grown so rapidly that the need of parks and playgrounds was forgotten until the buildings had come so close together that it was very hard to find any open space left. But even the cities that are poorest in parks and playgrounds have some open space with trees and green grass. The ideal is to have parks and playgrounds enough for every person in the city to walk easily from his home to one of them.

The Science of Running a Government

In an interesting book about our government Charles A. Beard says, speaking of the size and complexity of the United States: "Here is work for the financier who knows how to handle billions of dollars, the chemist with his test tube, the expert in poisonous gases who goes down into the depths of the earth to safeguard the lives of miners, the postman who keeps his rounds in summer and

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE A CITY

winter, and a hundred other varieties of specialists all contributing their share in a vast agency created for the common good. If, in the reign of King John, of Magna Charta fame, some prophet had foretold an immense democracy, without king or aristocracy, spread across three thousand miles of territory, governing itself and undertaking such complex services for the public good, he would have been laughed out of court as a jester."

Of course no one would say that this great organization is perfect or anywhere near it. Selfishness and stupidity are still our worst enemies, as they were in the time of King John. There is work for all of us in fighting these enemies. When we look at the worst of our problems the fight seems hopeless, but when we look at what has been done we see that real progress can be made. It is for us to do our part in carrying it further.

The gigantic Statue of Liberty stands at the entrance to New York harbor, as a symbol to all comers of the ideal to which the American nation is dedicated. In her left hand Liberty holds the Book of Law, in her upraised right she bears a flaming torch to light the world. At night the statue is flooded with light, and can be seen for miles.

This statue, which stands 151 feet high from base to torch, was designed by the French sculptor Frederic August Bartholdi. It was paid for by public subscriptions in France and presented by France to the United States. It was unveiled in 1886. Many visitors go to the island and climb the 161 steps to look out from the windows in Liberty's crown.

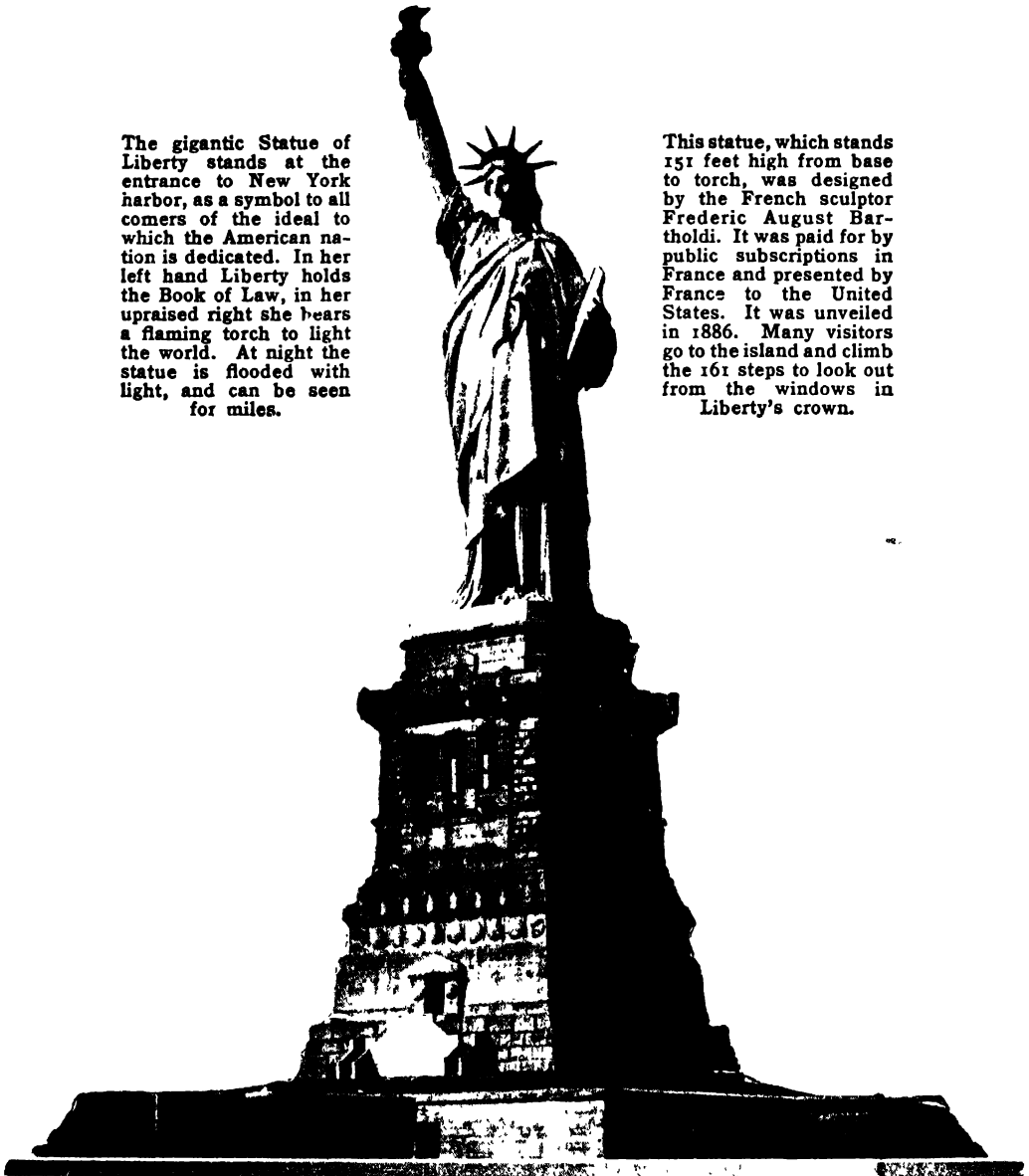


Photo by International News

NATIONAL SHRINES *and* MONUMENTS

Reading Unit No. 1

THE GLORIES OF OUR NATIONAL PARKS

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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The United States government sends an expedition to the West, 7-405
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Things to Think About

Why did no one believe Colter's stories of the West?
What was the first of our national playgrounds?
Where is the highest mountain in North America?

Where is the only volcano in the United States?
What are the oldest trees in the world?
How does a geyser work?

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Summary Statement

Many fantastic and beautiful natural wonders are in our national parks, which provide in-

terest and pleasure. The first park, the Yellowstone, was set aside in 1872.

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Photo by National Park Service

Each year thousands of tourists visit the national parks to marvel at such breath-taking scenery as this. Reaching high into the clouds is Mount Whitney, the highest peak in the United States proper. It towers

nearly 15,000 feet above sea level in the Sequoia National Park in California. Growing on the slopes around it are thousands of giant sequoia trees, the largest and oldest living things in the world.

The GLORIES of OUR NATIONAL PARKS

The World Has No Finer Scenery than Is to Be Found in the National Parks that Our Government Has Set Aside as Playgrounds for the Nation

MORE than a century ago a pioneer trapper named John Colter came home to the little town of St. Louis from a two-year trip among the Rocky Mountains. He had gone west with those famous explorers Lewis and Clark on their memorable survey of the region known as the Louisiana Purchase, and now he was back once more at the western outpost of civilization. Like most explorers, Colter told astonishing tales to his friends who had stayed safely at home. What he related was more fantastic than anything they had ever heard before. First—if he was to be believed!—he had been taken prisoner by the fierce Blackfeet Indians. After a breath-taking escape and more than enough hardships to cause the death of an

ordinary man, he had at last found himself safe from the savages in a region they seldom visited and about which they knew little and cared less. There he came upon the wonders he tried to describe in those tales that were too fantastic to be believed by the good people of St. Louis.

And who could blame them? Colter said he had seen countless roaring fountains that shot jets of water hundreds of feet into the air. He had wandered for miles in a land where springs gushed both hot and cold water throughout the year. Then there had been a stretch of country that he called "the land of paint pots." Here in huge rock-hewn basins mud of every imaginable color bubbled and boiled like freshly made calcimine. The

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mountains round about seemed to have been painted from those very pots, for the hues of crags and precipices surpassed the wild flowers in delicacy and brilliance.

A Wondrous Topsy-turvy World

It was a land of dense forests, pleasant valleys, and rugged mountains. Deep blue lakes nestled among the hilltops. Rushing rivers tumbled from ledge to ledge in foaming, misty waterfalls, or plunged along through narrow gorges a thousand feet or more in depth. Oddly enough, some of the streams flowed eastward, others westward. Here was surely a wondrous topsy-turvy world, if the trapper was to be believed.

But the people of old St. Louis, accustomed to hearing too many fine tales, refused to believe John Colter. Ten years later, in 1829, when another trapper told much the same story, he too was laughed at. Some twenty years after that, Father Peter De Smet (dĕ smĕt'), a Catholic missionary, visited the region and described it at great length. Only then did people begin to put any faith in what had been told them from time to time for so many years.

At last, in 1870, the United States government sent out an expedition to explore that land of marvels. When their report was published two years later, people believed. Scientists and other interested leaders were so eager to keep the region unspoiled for future generations that the land was closed to settlement and set aside as the property of the national government. On March 1, 1872, Yellowstone National Park, the first of America's twenty-nine marvelous playgrounds, was established under an act of Congress. All later national parks have been set aside by the same body.

Playgrounds for a Nation

During the next twenty years scientists, nature lovers, and travelers came to be more and more convinced of the value and importance of national parks as a means of instruction and a place for recreation. At last a National Park Service under the Department of the Interior was established to regulate and care for other parks that were gradually being set aside, as new regions of

scenic beauty and historic interest were more thoroughly explored. To-day our national park system stretches from Hawaii to Maine and from Alaska to North Carolina. The parks are found in about half the states; four of them are in California and two lie across state boundaries. They have a total area of about 11½ million acres, an area greater than Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island combined. Three of them—Glacier, Yellowstone, and Mount McKinley—are each larger than the state of Rhode Island. They are an incomparable playground for the whole American people.

Eleven Million Visitors a Year

How greatly Americans enjoy these priceless national possessions is best shown by the numbers that visit them. Over eleven million tourists and campers recently passed through our national parks in a single summer. Improved methods of transportation and newly built roads bring a larger throng of visitors every year—and every year the National Park Service extends the accommodations. Excellent hotels have been built near points of great scenic beauty. Camping grounds with cabins and eating places have been laid out at convenient spots, and one can now buy supplies of all sorts at stores under government supervision. Buses carry travelers to points of interest; horses, automobiles, and boats are for hire; and everywhere there are courteous, well-informed guides ready to point out interesting spots to visitors and to explain the wonders of mountain and forest that are on every hand.

But, you may ask, is there anything to do besides look at the scenery? You may tramp through forests where the sound of an axe has never yet been heard, or ride for days along slightly trails that lead up and down steep mountain sides or through deep canyons. There are lakes for boating and swimming. There are waterfalls and precipices and sweeping vistas for the amateur photographer's camera. There is fishing in plenty but no hunting, for the national parks are intended to preserve our country's wild life. Elks and buffaloes roam at will in some of the parks. Bears wander through the forests and often come to the tourist

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campers to beg for food. Occasionally one sees mountain goats and other rare animals. On every side are great patches of native wild flowers and great groves of trees. All in all, the parks include nearly every conceivable variety of scenery—deserts and glaciers, mountain peaks and volcanoes, cliffs and caverns, lakes and rivers, geysers, hot springs, and waterfalls. There are endless things to do, but there is even more to see.

The national parks differ so widely in what they have to offer that they are hardly to be compared. Since the Yellowstone is the largest as well as the oldest, we shall describe it first, and see what those wonders are which so impressed John Colter more than a century ago. This beautiful reserve, which has an area of 3,438 square miles, lies in northwestern Wyoming, southwestern Montana, and northeastern Idaho. It is best known for its hot springs and geysers, in which it is richer than any other region in the world. There are more than three thousand of them. Some of the geysers (gī'zēr), or "water volcanoes," erupt with such regularity that one can almost set a watch by them. Old Faithful—for so one of them is called—throws a huge stream of boiling water upward for more than a hundred feet almost every hour. The Grand Geyser, on the contrary, is active only every fourth or fifth day, while the Giantess sometimes rests forty days at a time. We have described these strange spouting monsters on other pages of these books.

Besides the geysers and the mud and mineral springs, with their many-colored deposits—John Colter called them "paint pots"—Yellowstone Park contains the canyon of the

Yellowstone River. There the mighty stream rushes through a gorge some 1,500 feet deep. The delicately colored sides of the canyon have been carved out by the age-long rush of water. At one point the river makes a wild leap of 310 feet—and there clouds of mist float away like a storm of snowflakes.

In addition to these natural wonders, the park includes a petrified (pēt'rī-fid) forest laid bare on a mountain side. In reality it is a series of petrified forests, for there are seven in all, one above the other, much like the layers of a huge cake. Every tree in this strange relic of the long-gone past has turned to stone.

Among the thirty-six beautiful lakes within the boundaries of the park is one lying nearly a mile and a half above sea level. Another, Yellowstone Lake, is almost as high. Well over eight thousand feet above sea level is a lakelet whose waters drain into both the Atlantic and the Pacific, for it lies directly across the continental divide. As might be expected, this vast stretch of

wilderness is the greatest wild-animal preserve in the world. Among thousands of species it contains a herd of more than three thousand wild buffaloes, and gives shelter to more than three hundred varieties of wild birds.

The Grand Teton (tē'tŏn) National Park, one of the finest arrays of snow-covered mountain peaks in the world, lies in Wyoming a short distance south of the Yellowstone. Most impressive of the peaks is Grand Teton itself, a noble landmark to the early explorers of the region. Beautiful lakes whose waters reflect the forest-clad mountains, and numberless tumbling mountain streams add movement and sparkle to this splendid sight.

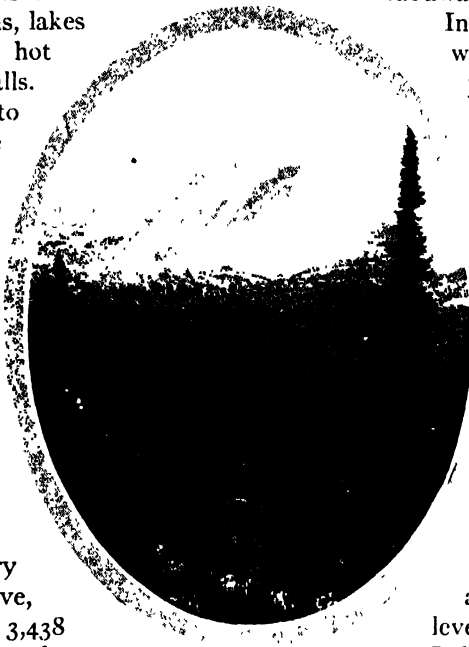


Photo by National Park Service

Glacier National Park, in Montana, takes its name from the glaciers perched high on the sides of mountains of imposing grandeur. Many of these great summits have vertical walls more than 4,000 feet high. Above is Heaven Peak, one of this gigantic company.

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Still farther south, some seventy miles from Denver, lies Rocky Mountain National Park, famed for its peaks and its alpine valleys, some more than a mile above sea level. High as these valleys are, they are enclosed by mountains that tower still higher. The best-known is Long's Peak, with an elevation of more than 14,000 feet.

The People of the Mesa

Colorado contains another national park, known as Mesa Verde (mă'sü vēr'dä). Here the chief interest centers in a community dwelling of more than two hundred rooms. It was built on top of the mesa by a people who lived almost a thousand years ago and left no written records. In the largest of the ruins, called Cliff Palace, one can still see the dwelling places and the tools used by this bygone folk that later wandered southward and, as is thought, peopled New Mexico and Arizona.

North of the Yellowstone is Glacier National Park, a mountainous section of northwestern Montana. It contains 1,534 square miles, far more than the total area of Rhode Island, and is one of the wildest regions in the United States. This park's chief distinction lies in its glaciers, of which there are more than sixty. Only one highway passes through its wild fastnesses. Those who want to search out the rugged beauties it contains must ride on horseback, guided by a government ranger or by a licensed Indian guide, one of the Blackfeet who have their reservation here.

The Highest Mountain on the Continent

Far to the north, in Southern Alaska, is Mount McKinley National Park, containing 3,030 square miles. The chief attraction here is Mount McKinley itself. Towering to a height of 20,300 feet, it is the highest mountain in all North America. Besides, it is perhaps the most nearly perfect in shape of any mountain in the world, since it rises higher in a single sweep from its base than does any other.

In Washington is Mt. Rainier (rā-nēr') National Park, named after amazing Mt. Rainier. Strange as it may seem, this peak, though covered with snow, sends forth hot

steam. For Rainier was once a volcano, and still releases steam from fissures at its summit. In spite of its internal fires twenty-eight named glaciers pour down its sides. A belt of wild flowers that is two miles wide and splendid expanses of untouched forest clothe the giant below the snow line.

In southwestern Oregon lies Crater Lake National Park, where a huge volcano once belched forth smoke and molten stone. After having blown its own peak to bits, the volcano quieted down. To-day the crater is cradle for a lake, perhaps the bluest in the world. It is some six miles long and nearly two miles deep. Within it are two islands: Wizard Island, in itself a small volcano, and the Phantom Ship, which by reason of its strangely jagged sides resembles an old-time four-master in full sail.

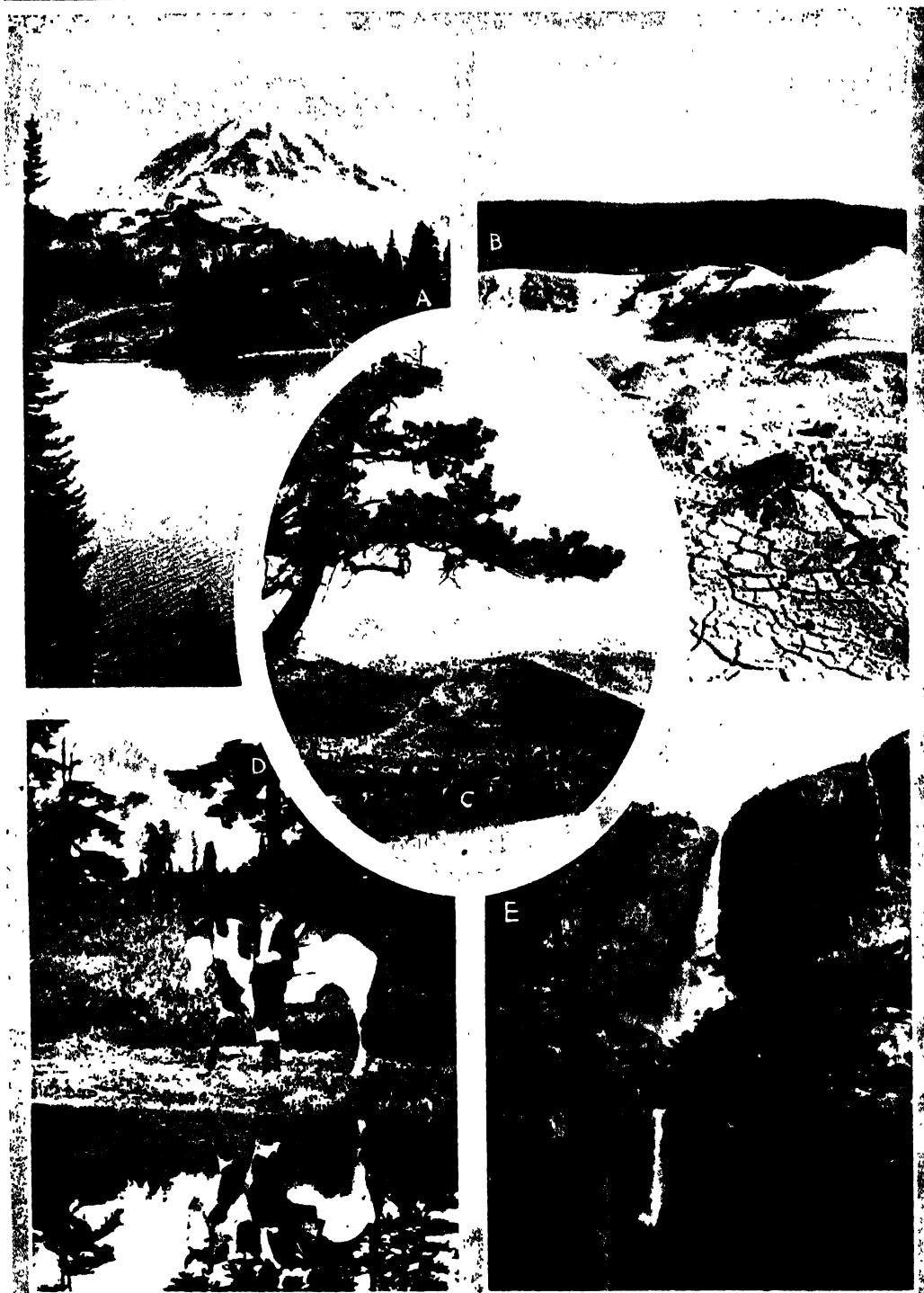
The Only Volcano in the United States

As has been said, four of our national parks are in California. First, there is Mount Lassen (10,453 feet) in the northern part of the state, the only recently active volcano in the United States proper. It was showing signs of life as lately as 1921. Hot springs and geysers that cluster around its base still tell the tale of underground fires.

South of Lassen volcanic National Park, amid California's highest mountain ranges—the lofty Sierra Nevadas (sī-ēr'ā nê-vă'dä)—lie three great parks, King's Canyon, Sequoia, and Yosemite. The first two contain hundreds of sequoias (sê-kwoi'ä), giant trees that once grew in many parts of the world. These, the only ones in existence, are perhaps 3,500 or more years old, the oldest living things on the face of the earth. Some of them, especially those in the Giant Forest, measure more than 20 feet through. The largest, the General Sherman Tree, is 36.5 feet in diameter at a point 6 feet above the ground, and has a height of 272 feet.

California's most spectacular park, the Yosemite (yô-sēm'y-tê), is one of the most visited in the United States. Its 1,176 square miles lie at about the middle of the state, in a region quite properly called a mountain paradise. A range of lofty snow-capped mountains hems it in to the east. Countless streams roll down the steep mountain sides

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A. Mount Rainier, Mount Rainier National Park, Washington. B. Mammoth Paint Pots, of steaming colored clays, Yellowstone National Park. C. Long's Peak, Rocky Mountain National Park, Colorado.

D. Mount Baker, Mount Baker National Forest, Washington. E. Yosemite Falls, Yosemite National Park, California. Scenes such as these are just as they were when first the white man saw them.

NATIONAL PARKS

and tumble over ledges and wall-like precipices sometimes a mile high into the valley below, where they join the Merced (mēr-sēd') and Yosemite rivers. In its descent from the mountains, Yosemite Creek makes three stupendous leaps; the total height of the three falls is 2,370 feet. Even more beautiful is the delicate Bridalveil Falls, which is 900 feet in height and in mid-air spreads into a veil of mist. As one stands in the deep broad valley and looks up toward El Capitan, a towering granite crag that seems to guard the valley's entrance, it is easy to understand why this famous park has been called one of Nature's masterpieces.

A Masterpiece Carved by the Water

The arid regions of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah contain national parks whose chief beauty and interest are a result of erosion (ē-rō'zhūn), the wearing away of the earth's crust by either water or wind. Chief of these is Grand Canyon National Park, an area of more than a thousand square miles in central Arizona, near the Grand Canyon National Monument. The mile-deep gorge cut here by the Colorado River is one of the rare wonders of the world. We have described it on other pages of these books. Bryce Canyon, in southwestern Utah, though by no means so large as the Grand Canyon, is nevertheless extremely interesting, since it was chiseled out by the winds. Shaped like a huge amphitheater, it is filled with fantastic spires and domes of natural rock, in colors rivaling the rainbow. Zion Park, also in Utah, contains a canyon of extraordinary beauty and interest.

A Fairyland Underground

The wonders that have been described do not by any means exhaust the treasures of our national parks. Arkansas boasts its Hot Springs, a group of natural springs whose waters have curative properties. Oklahoma has valuable springs in Platt National Park. In southeastern New Mexico are the famed Carlsbad Caverns, a series of caves reaching down more than 1,300 feet and many miles

in extent. Their splendid vaultings and exquisite lacelike decorations excel those of any other caves known to man. South Dakota too has its caves in Wind Cave National Park. Distant Hawaii (hā-wi'ē) has a park where several volcanoes are still active; and almost at the other side of the world Acadia National Park in Maine has for the visitor a fine display of the varied forms of animal and vegetable life to be found on sand dunes and along the ocean's shore. Several areas were added to the National Park system in the 1930's--the Shenandoah, with its famous Skyline Drive in Virginia; the Great Smoky Mountains in North Carolina and Tennessee; Mammoth Cave in Kentucky; and Olympic Park in Washington. In the 1940's, Isle Royale in Lake Superior, Big Bend on the Rio Grande, the Everglades in southern Florida, and Jackson's Hole in Wyoming became national parks.

Famous Parks in Other Lands

Other nations soon followed the United States in the establishment of national parks, and to-day single parks or chains of parks are to be found in most of the western countries. Feeling the need to provide parks in order to preserve natural scenery and native animals, as well as historic sites, the Dominion of Canada established its first park at Banff in the Canadian Rockies as early as 1885. To-day Canada's twenty-six parks have a total area of about 30,000 square miles. The largest, Wood Buffalo, in north-western Canada, is 17,300 square miles in extent; it is nearly half as large as the whole state of Indiana in the United States.

Most of the states have established one or more parks within their own boundaries, all intended to supplement the national parks by preserving local scenery for the enjoyment of Americans to-day and in generations to come. The crowds who flock to see them will increase with every passing year. Our country is rich in its playgrounds. It is the privilege of every American to enjoy them and to keep them unspoiled.

NATIONAL SHRINES *and* MONUMENTS

Reading Unit No. 2

FAMOUS SHRINES OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Picture Hunt

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Leisure-time Activities

PROJECT NO. 1: Visit or get pictures of national shrines near your home.

PROJECT NO. 2: Read Mary Johnston's "To Have and To Hold."

Summary Statement

Besides the parks which are famous for their natural beauty, the National Park Service has in its care many areas and sites that are cherished for their historic interest. There are close to 100

such shrines—in about half the states. Nearly every year Congress adds one or more sites to the list. As the nation grows older, more spots become memorable

FAMOUS SHRINES OF AMERICAN HISTORY



Photo by the U. S. Department of Interior

This is the west wall of Fort San Marco—now called Fort Marion—in St. Augustine, Florida. It is a fine

example of early Spanish military architecture. Like many old-world forts it has a moat.

FAMOUS SHRINES of AMERICAN HISTORY

Here You May Read of Some of the Interesting Spots Which Our Government Has Taken Over for Safe Keeping

AMERICA is a young nation, as the lives of nations go, but she is old enough to have lived through some great moments in her past, and wise enough to cherish them as noble memories. In order that they may live in the minds of her children, she has for some time been setting aside various spots where important events took place, and will keep them as national shrines for all who are interested in our country's history. These memorials serve as colorful illustrations to the great book of America's historical progress.

Some of these famous places are known as national military parks and some as national monuments, or by still other names. In 1934 the job of restoring buildings and places of historic interest, and of supervising their care was turned over to the National Park Service. Restored and maintained, these spots serve as living reminders of many

famous and stirring events in America's past.

In 1918 there were almost 100 of these memorials, and more are added by Congress nearly every year. They are scattered over about half the states, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Montana to the farthest tip of Florida. Since most of our history has been made east of the Mississippi River, a good many of our historical memorials are to be found there. But the West has also seen great events, and it is near San Diego, California, that the traveler may find one of the smallest of our national memorials. On a tiny patch of land covering barely half an acre is a monument to mark the spot where Juan Cabrillo (hwān kā-brēl'yō) landed in 1542 and raised the Spanish flag. He was the first white man to look upon that beautiful and fertile country.

On the other side of the continent, in the old city of St. Augustine in Florida, is an

FAMOUS SHRINES OF AMERICAN HISTORY

ancient fortress built by the Spaniards in 1656. It is now known as Fort Marion. Outside the town is Fort Matanzas, also with a history that goes back to the days of Spanish conquest in America.

A large number of our national memorials mark the scenes of famous battles. North and South Carolina each boasts the site of engagements that were turning points in the Revolutionary War. At King's Mountain, near Cowpens, South Carolina, the British troops were so badly defeated (October, 1780) that their leaders began to give up hope of ever conquering the southern colonies. A few months later (March, 1781), near Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina, General Nathanael Greene completely routed Lord Cornwallis, the British commander, and sent him hurrying northward, where he finally surrendered to Washington and so brought the war to an end. The birth of the new nation was soon to follow.

Another famous memorial of the Revolution, the Morristown National Historical Park, is at Morristown, New Jersey. Here in a tract of a thousand acres known as Jockey Hollow the Continental army was encamped in the difficult winter of 1779 and 1780, when the colonial cause looked desperate. Here are the earthworks of Fort Mifflin, a fortification thrown up by the Americans to protect this important point on the main road between the northern and southern colonies.

The Home of George Washington

At Morristown is the house where George and Martha Washington lived during that trying winter and where they were visited by Lafayette, Baron von Steuben (fôn stû'bën), and Alexander Hamilton, all of them officers in the Continental army. One likes to people those old rooms with the distin-

guished men who came and went there long ago.

But the visitor who would be carried into the very heart of the eighteenth century, who would live its life again and feel the spell of its dignified charm, should visit the beautiful old colonial town of Williamsburg in western Virginia. There, thanks to the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., a whole village has been restored or rebuilt to look just as it did before the Revolution. Churches, public buildings, houses, gardens, everything is as it must have been when the quaint old place was the colonial capital and Washington, Patrick Henry, and other American patriots trod its narrow streets. Here is storied Raleigh Tavern, "cradle of the

Revolution in Virginia"; here are the colonial Capitol, the Governor's Palace, and the gracious colonial halls of William and Mary College (1693); and here is Gloucester (glôs'tēr) Street, called by President Franklin D. Roosevelt "the most historic avenue in America." The old town is a glowing memorial to the brave colonial days. It only lacks the "dear dead ladies" in powdered wigs and the gentlemen in knee breeches.

Six miles south of Williamsburg, on the James River, are the ruins of old Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America (1607). Here was Virginia's first capital, the home of the House of Burgesses (1619), the first law-making body in this country. Here the first English church in America was built, and here Captain John Smith and Pocahontas were familiar figures.

Twelve miles east of Williamsburg is Yorktown, an old port on the York River. To-day the visitor may wander over the battlefield where Cornwallis surrendered to Washington (October, 1781), or visit the old Moore house, where the terms of surrender were signed. During the Civil War Yorktown again saw fighting when she was besieged and captured



Photo by the American Museum of Natural History

In New York State are the remains of old Fort Ticonderoga, shown above. This fort was built by the French in 1755. Later it was occupied by the British, and then captured by Ethan Allen in 1775—only to be recaptured by the British some time later. The interesting old place is now a museum.

FAMOUS SHRINES OF AMERICAN HISTORY



Photo by the U. S. Department of Interior

Here are some of the shrines that recall famous events in the history of our country. Illinois Monument, at A, is in Georgia, a part of the Kennesaw Mountain battlefield site, where Northern troops under Sherman were defeated by the Confederates in a bitter fight. At B is the old Moore House at Yorktown. A monument in the National Cemetery in the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, is shown at C. At D we see Scott's Bluff, a famous land-

mark in Nebraska. Here, it is said, one wagon passed by every five minutes in the busy days of the Oregon Trail. At E is the New York State Monument at Gettysburg. At F is a view of Washington's Headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey. At G is the Kill Devil Monument, a memorial to the Wright brothers of aviation fame. The statue at H was set up at old Fort McHenry in Baltimore, in honor of Francis Scott Key.

FAMOUS SHRINES OF AMERICAN HISTORY

by Northern troops (1862). The three patriotic shrines of Williamsburg, Jamestown, and Yorktown together form the Colonial National Monument, and are connected by a fine scenic highway.

Famous Old Fort McHenry

A national memorial peculiarly dear to American hearts is old Fort McHenry in Baltimore. It was from this defense that our country's flag, still flying after a terrific bombardment, inspired Francis Scott Key to write "The Star-spangled Banner." The story of that famous occasion is told on other pages of these books.

Many fine national memorials have been set aside to celebrate great battles of the Civil War, that fierce conflict which was waged for four long years between the North and South. Since the war was fought out almost entirely on Southern soil, it is there that the memorials of it are to be found. The largest of them is the Chickamauga (chĭk'ă-mô'gă) and Chattanooga (chăt'ă-nōō'gă) National Military Park a few miles southeast of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Every effort has been made to keep this nine square miles of battle ground exactly as it was on those September days in 1863 when it saw a victory for the Confederate forces in one of the fiercest encounters of the Civil War.

The Battlefield at Gettysburg

Two other famous memorials of the Civil War are to be found at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. One, the Gettysburg National Military Park, covers 2,530 acres and marks the scene of the Battle of Gettysburg (July, 1863), when in a terrific encounter General Meade halted General Lee's invasion of the North. It was the turning point of the entire Civil War. The Gettysburg National Cemetery was dedicated by Abraham Lincoln (1863) in that famous address which has become a classic of our language.

Another national military park and national cemetery are at Fredericksburg, Virginia, where General Lee won (1862) a victory over the Northern forces under General Burnside.

A short distance east of Lynchburg, Virginia, is the little town of Appomattox (ăp'ô-

măt'ŭks), where one may visit the house in which General Lee signed his surrender in the presence of General Grant. The battlefield of Appomattox is three miles away.

Two interesting memorials to deeds of peace are to be found in the Middle West. In the northwestern part of North Dakota on the Missouri River is the Vérendrye (vā'rôN'drē') National Monument, a tract of land containing the butte (bŭt), or high steep hill, from which Louis-Joseph La Vérendrye, a Canadian explorer who had started westward with his father Pierre, first sighted (1743) the great country on the other side of the Missouri River. He was hoping to find the "Western Sea." Scotts Bluff National Monument in Nebraska marks a famous landmark for emigrant wagons going west.

Two of our most precious national memorials are the birthplaces of George Washington and of Abraham Lincoln. Washington first saw the light of day (1732) at Wakefield, on the Potomac in eastern Virginia. Here in a house which was burned during the Revolutionary War he spent the first three or four years of his life. That house has been rebuilt upon the original foundations. Near it is the old family cemetery where many of Washington's ancestors are buried.

The humble one-room log cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born (1809) is standing to-day, and is the chief treasure of the Abraham Lincoln National Military Park in central Kentucky near Hodgenville. Inclosed in a handsome granite memorial, it stands upon land that once was the Lincoln farm, near many scenes connected with Lincoln's early life.

Quite a different sort of interest attaches to the Kitty Hawk National Monument near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. Here on the Kill Devil sand dunes, east of Albemarle Sound, the world's first airplane flight was made (1903) in a plane invented by the brothers Orville and Wilbur Wright. A granite shaft topped by a beacon light crowns Kill Devil Hill.

Many other spots enshrined in the hearts of the nation are in the safe keeping of the various states. Like the rest of our national memorials, they will be treasured through countless generations to come.

NATIONAL SHRINES *and* MONUMENTS

Reading Unit No. 3

CANYONS, CLIFF DWELLINGS, AND CAVERNS

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, 7-416-17
The Craters of the Moon, 7-417
The Devil's Post Pile, 7-421
How the wind and water have made some of our most magnificent national monuments, 7-417, 419
Where most of our borax came

from, 7-419-20
The oldest trees in the world, 7-420
Ferns that are still older, 7-420
How trees and animals have been turned into stone, 7-421
Where the Indians lived in apartment houses, 7-421

Things to Think About

How did Death Valley get its name?
Why did ancient Americans live in cliff dwellings?
How were fossils formed?
What is the difference between

stalagmites and stalactites?
How do we know that Spanish explorers saw the El Morro?
What is the highest point in the United States?

Picture Hunt

An elaborate early American apartment house, 7-95
A flower that scientists made from buds, 7-419
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How can volcanoes make fossils? 3-5
Can you see a difference between Bryce Canyon and the Grand Canyon? 1-18, 46

Related Material

Nature turning wood to stone, 9-315
How drops of water have created beauty, 1-85-87

The glorious work of the Colorado River, 1-46
Nature's memorials, 3-5-6

Summary Statement

Ever since 1889 the government has been buying and setting aside areas of historic or scenic interest. Many of these "national monuments" are in the western states, where water and wind have combined to make some of the most magnificent

natural wonders in the world. Fantastically beautiful caves have been made by water—a river carved out the Grand Canyon. Various forces of erosion account for the natural bridges and arches and columns in which certain regions abound.

OUR NATIONAL MONUMENTS



Desert winds have rippled the slopes of the sand dunes in Death Valley, California. In the distance the Grape Vine Mountains and the Funeral Range rise in stern

contrast with the glistening sands. Good roads have rid this desert of its terrors, and make it possible for us to enjoy the strange but beautiful scenery.

CANYONS, CLIFF DWELLINGS, *and* CAVERNS

*From Ice-bound Alaska to the Burning Deserts of the Southwest,
Our Country Offers in Its National Monuments an Amazing
Array of Beautiful and Interesting Sights*

SOME day many of you who read these words will board your restless automobile, set it upon the open road, and journey to distant corners of our great and varied land. And if you give your metal steed free rein, you will find yourself standing awestruck before some of the most amazing and beautiful spectacles the world has to offer. Many of them the government has set aside and is preserving for us who live to-day and for our children's children. As early as 1889 it began to buy various spots of scenic or historic interest, and to perfect them as vacation grounds and open books of natural history for the American people.

Some eighty-eight of these national reserves are known as "national monuments." Most of them are in our western states. They include regions where one can see some of the

most amazing of the achievements of nature's gigantic forces—fire, water, wind—as they carved out the face of the continent long before the dawn of history. Here too one finds the handiwork of prehistoric men, of early historical races, and of certain tribes that are still in existence. The mere names of all these noteworthy points of interest make an interesting catalogue. Whole books have been written about some of them. Others are even now but little known, since only the hardest explorers have visited them. Here we shall mention only the more famous ones.

The national monuments are set aside by the president, and vary greatly in size. Katn'ai (kāt'mī), a vast region of wild scenic beauty in Alaska, is more popularly known as the Valley of Ten Thousand

OUR NATIONAL MONUMENTS

Smokes, and has an area of almost 4,500 square miles. It is nearly as large as the whole state of Connecticut— a vast wild-life reserve where the brown bear and the grizzly roam at will. Here, about a quarter of a century ago, the volcano Katmai, more than a mile and a half in height in those days, blew off its top and left a great gaping crater nearly three miles in diameter. Glaciers now creep slowly down those lofty mountain sides where sizzling molten rock swept like a flood. In a neighboring valley jets of steam and mineral-laden gases still pour from the earth through wide vents or fissures.

Besides Katmai, a good many other long-dead volcanoes still stand in various national monuments, to tell us of their lusty past. Capulin (kâ-pû' lîn) Mountain, a towering cone of cinders in New Mexico, is all that now remains of a volcano that was recently active. In Idaho is a region at one time opened by fissures like those in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. Through those huge cracks a molten material called lava (lä'vâ) once oozed up, then cooled and formed gigantic seams of black and grayish rock. Here, where the earth looks a good deal as the surface of the moon looks through a telescope, is a national monument called the Craters of the Moon.

Strange Volcanic Formations

A mass of lava a quarter of a mile high juts straight upward from a fairly level plain in northeastern Wyoming. It is known as the Devil's Tower. In eastern California the Devil's Post Pile, a weird lava formation, is

indeed well named. It consists of massive six-sided columns of lava, once thrust upward to a great height through openings in the earth's rocky shell. Standing vertically and at every imaginable slant, these columns look like a topsy-turvy pile of gigantic posts intended for Satan's dark purposes. One other monument of volcanic origin, Sunset Crater in central Arizona, consists of fantastic

lava caves now filled with ice. Queer pranks, these, for Nature to play.

Besides caverns formed by the flow of lava, the national monuments include others worn out by water trickling through crevices in stone. One of these, Jewel Cave in South Dakota, is a series of limestone caverns connected by narrow winding galleries. In eastern Nevada the Lehman (lē'măn) Caves contain a magnificent display of stalactites and stalagmites. The stalactites (stâ-lăk'tit) are enormous stone pendants that hang from the roof of the cave like icicles of stone. They were formed by the deposit of minerals

borne by the water that trickled through the ceiling for countless ages. Water dropping from a stalactite gradually builds up a mineral deposit below. This is called a stalagmite (stâ-lăg'mit). The stalagmites here grew in height until they finally united with the stalactites above to form columns of glittering marble, creamy white alabaster, or many-colored onyx. Besides the caves we have mentioned, the national monuments also include the Lewis and Clark Cavern of Montana, the Oregon Caves in southwestern Oregon, the Timpanogos (tîm'pâ-nô'gôs)



Photo by the U. S. Dept. of the Interior

Some time before white men came to the New World, a band of Indians, looking for a safe place to live, rounded the bend of a stream in Arizona and saw there a huge cave eighty feet above the base of the sheer cliff walls. Here they built their cliff fastness, now called Montezuma Castle, and lived for several generations. Its ruins are shown in the picture above.

OUR NATIONAL MONUMENTS



Photo by the U. S. Dept. of the Interior

These are scenes from a few of our National Monuments. The young people at A are seated on one of the great fossil logs of the Petrified Forest. B shows a view of the Eagle's Nest, an example of desert erosion in the Petrified Forest. At C are some of the craters and cones of Crater of The Moon National Monument. Devil's Tower, at D, was a useful landmark for pioneer explorers, for, itself 600 feet high, it rises 1,200 feet above the river valley. At E is a

view of Inscription Rock, El Morro National Monument. Here many early Spaniards and others paused to carve their names on the walls which prehistoric Indians, who lived atop the mesa, had already decorated with hundreds of picture writings. F shows the lava columns of The Devil's Post Pile. At G is the Black Canyon of the Gunnison. The stately redwoods of Muir Woods in California are seen in the picture at H.

OUR NATIONAL MONUMENTS

Cave in central Utah, and the Shoshone (shō-shō'nē) Cavern in Wyoming. All of these are a good deal alike in many details.

The most wonderful result of water's work in shaping the face of the earth is to be seen in the two great canyons included among our national monuments. These are deep and winding clefts in solid rock, worn out by the ceaseless rush of rivers through long ages of time. The Black Canyon of the Gunnison in western Colorado is one of them. For more than ten miles the river rages through a gorge 1,750 feet deep. But this canyon is scarcely to be compared with the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River, a deep cut in the flat surface of Arizona. The river leaps madly along for two hundred miles through a gorge that averages twelve miles in width and a mile in depth. The many-colored rocks of the canyon walls, together with the shifting play of light from moment to moment, make this perhaps the most magnificent scenic spectacle to be seen anywhere in the world.

These deep gashes worn in the earth's surface by the action of water are examples of what is called erosion (ē-rō'zhūn). It can come from other causes also. Sharp particles of sand borne by the wind may carve the rock as neatly as a file would. Nine of our national monuments, most of them in the western deserts, are the work of wind and water. Several square miles of barren country in eastern Utah abound in fantastic eroded rock formations. They are known as the Arches, for towering high above the surrounding country, they take the form of huge rounded windows or doorways. Only a little imagination is needed to see them as crumbled ruins of some gigantic structure. In the Chiricahua (chē'rē-kā'wā) National Monument in Arizona, named for a tribe of

Indians who once lived in the vicinity, is another fine example of weathered rock formations. Here tall gaunt pillars tower above the desert, while round about, some high, some low, are enormous balanced rocks, many of which can be set in motion by a touch of the hand. In southeastern Utah are the Natural Bridges. There are three of these majestic formations, all beautifully arched. One of them is more than two hundred feet in height, and another has a span of 261 feet. But the most impressive monu-

ment of this type is El Morro, in western New Mexico, a weather-worn rock that resembles a grim and towering castle. Early Spanish explorers of the region must have been struck by this masterpiece of Nature, for high on the sandstone wall they carved an inscription that is still there for us to read to-day.

Besides those national monuments that have chiefly been formed by the action

of fire, water, or wind, there are many others, equally impressive and equally stupendous, that reveal Nature's work in other ways.

Beautiful Death Valley

In southern California is Death Valley, a desert region more than 2,500 square miles in extent considerably larger than the state of Delaware. This, the lowest point in all America, lies 276 feet below sea level. It gets its name from the heavy toll it took of the lives of travelers who tried to cross it on their long westward journey to California about a century ago. So dry and barren is this vast expanse that rivers and creeks flowing into it lose themselves in the sands, leaving only a salty crust behind. Though Death Valley usually impresses passing travelers as being utterly valueless to man it is really extraordinarily rich in minerals.

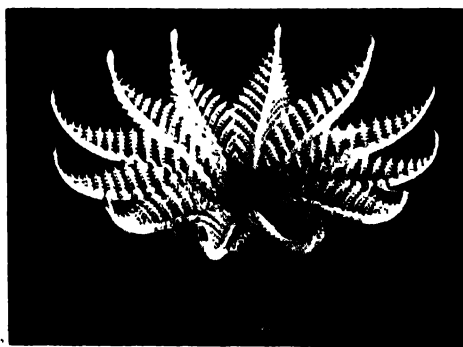


Photo by the U. S. Dept. of the I

The cycads, or treelike ferns, that lived millions of years ago in South Dakota bore flowers like the one above. Actually these flowers were too delicate to make good fossils, but scientists have been able to reconstruct them from the many unopened buds that they have found within the cycad trunks, now found well preserved in the Fossil Cycad National Monument.

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Photo by the U. S. Department of Agriculture

Some of the most beautiful of our national monuments are difficult to reach—and likely to remain so for some time to come. A few of them, in northeastern Arizona and southeastern Utah, can be reached only on horseback. But this serves only to make them more enticing. For who, after several days in the saddle and several nights under the stars, could approach an

ancient cliff dwelling, perched high in a canyon wall, without something of the feelings of a modern Coronado? Above is a view of the Sipapu—the Portal of Life—one of the three bridges carved from massive sandstone in Natural Bridges National Monument in southeastern Utah. It rises 222 feet above the stream, and has a span of 261 feet.

It was once our chief source of borax. As one may readily believe, the highest temperature ever recorded in the United States—134 degrees—was registered there. Yet within this parched valley, with its beautiful display of color, one can at least refresh one's self in imagination by looking toward the snow-clad peak of Mount Whitney, which lies in the same county nearly a hundred miles distant. It is the highest point in the United States.

On the Slopes of Mount Olympus

But not every national monument is so barren and desolate as Death Valley—and by no means all of them consist of bleak rocky precipices or yawning gorges. Many contain vast stretches of forest dotted by fair mountain meadows where wild flowers of dazzling brilliance and every imaginable hue carpet the earth for miles. Such a spot is Mount Olympus (ô-lîm'pûs) National Monument in the state of Washington. To-day the region is one of the wildest to

be found in the United States. To provide such unspoiled retreats, where native flowers and animals may be seen and studied in their natural surroundings, was one of the aims in establishing our national parks and national monuments.

Muir (mūr) Woods, only a few miles from San Francisco, is another such spot. There, in a stretch of land about one-third the extent of Rhode Island, is a grove of giant redwood trees famed alike for their height and girth. Some of them, measuring thirty to forty feet around, rear their majestic crowns more than two hundred feet above the ground. These giants of the forest are among the oldest living things in the world.

Huge Ferns of Long Ago

But the great age of the redwoods cannot compare with the age of the plants whose remains are found in the Fossil Cycad (sî'kăd) National Monument of South Dakota. Here is a region some twenty miles square thickly strewn with huge fossilized ferns and similar

OUR NATIONAL MONUMENTS

plants. Untold ages ago, when the climate there was as warm as it is in our tropics to-day, giant palmlike ferns grew so dense as to be impassable. With the flight of time and the strange changes that nature worked, those plants either turned to stone or were imbedded in mud upon which they left their imprint, even to every delicately veined leaflet. You may find the whole story on other pages of these books.

The Remains of the Dinosaurs

No less interesting are the fossils of the Dinosaur (dī'nō-sōr) National Monument in northeastern Utah, where scientists have discovered countless bones of gigantic animals who lived long before man appeared on the earth. Some of those monsters grew to a length of nearly a hundred feet and weighed several tons. They were terrifying creatures, in shape somewhat like an alligator. Standing upright on their powerful hind legs, they stalked through such fern jungles as have just been described, and fought and fed upon one another or upon smaller reptiles that infested the broad swamps. At some distant time however the dinosaurs were mired in the mud, as were the palmlike ferns. To-day scientists patiently chisel the gigantic remains out of the rocks, cleverly fit the bones together, and so reconstruct the inhabitants of a world that had already grown old before man appeared in it.

But of all fossil remains none are more amazingly lifelike than those in the Petrified Forest National Monument in Arizona. One would swear that some unlucky creature strangely cursed as was the man whose touch turned everything to gold, had wandered this way and turned all these fallen forest giants into enduring stone. They are so lifelike that one feels of them to make sure they are not wood.

The Cliff Dwellings

Men before the dawn of history also left remains and these are perhaps the most interesting sights among all our many national monuments. Certain of them are the Indian mounds in Ohio. Others are commonly called cliff dwellings. In New Mexico are four such national monuments—El

Morro, Chaco (chä'kō) Canyon, Bandelier (bän'dē-lēr') National Monument, and the Gila (hē'lā) Cliff Dwellings. Another, known as Hovenweep (hō'v'n-wēp), is in Utah. Colorado also boasts one. Arizona has six—Navajo (nä'vā-hō), Tonto (tōn'tō), Walnut Canyon, Montezuma (mōn'tē-zōō'mā) Castle, Canyon de Chelly (dā shā'y'), and Casa Grande (kā'sä grän'dā). The Aztec Ruins in northwestern New Mexico and Wupatki (wōō-pāt'ki) National Monument in Arizona are monuments of much the same kind, though the work of men of a later race.

These ancient structures vary in size, and some have proved to be less rich in relics than others. But all of them throw some light on the life and customs of a race that lived before history began in the arid regions of our West. Indeed, when the first Spanish explorers came that way, they found the Indians entirely ignorant of those earlier builders—who they were or where they had gone. But learned men to-day think the cliff dwellers were the ancestors of the Indians who now live in the region, for many customs of the southwestern tribes seem to have come down from the earlier race.

Why the Cliff Dwellings Were Built

The so-called cliff dwellings were as often granaries or storehouses as places of residence. They range in size from one or two rooms to large community houses as much as three hundred feet in length, with more than a hundred rooms. Often there are several deep round chambers which the men of the tribe used for religious ceremonies. Some of the cliff dwellings were dug out of the sides of high steep cliffs; others were rude shelters built beneath lofty overhanging ledges and faced up with well-made mud walls. A few had a shelf at the front, a little like a porch. This was built by laying timbers upon beams thrust into holes bored into the cliff. Beyond a doubt the builders of these houses were trying to find a retreat where they could be safe from their enemies. The only way to reach those inaccessible homes was by climbing a series of toeholds hacked into the face of the cliff, or by clambering up rude ladders that were drawn up when danger threatened.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Reading Unit No. 1

KEEPING A NATION WELL

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

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| Early aims of the public health movement, 7-423 | Our increased length of life, 7-423 |
| A physical examination once a year, 7-423 | Keeping babies alive, 7-423 |
| Our present aim, 7-423 | Making cities safe to live in, 7-423 |
| Organizations now at work, 7-423 | Hospitals and public nursing, 7-423 |
| What the government does, 7-423 | Medical care for the poor, 7-423 |

Things to Think About

- | | |
|---|---|
| Why is an ill person a drag on society? | mothers? |
| How is the health of a community improved by (1) parks and playgrounds, (2) free hospitals, (3) free clinics, (4) the removal of slums, (5) free distribution of milk to children, (6) free instruction for | Are any of these needed in your community? |
| | Why is it that at present the countries ruled by dictators have better public health programs than the democracies? |
| | What could you do to improve your own health? |

Picture Hunt

- | | |
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| A modern insane asylum, 7-441 | A factory's medical office, 7-437 |
| A day nursery, 7-440 | The sweatshop, 7-436 |
| In a summer camp, 7-439 | |

Related Material

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| Solving problems of sanitation, 10-567 | Keeping our armor whole, 2-291 |
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| A life given to the poor, 12-580 | Avoiding rickets, 2-321 |
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Leisure-time Activities

- | | |
|--|--|
| PROJECT NO. 1: Find out the death rate for your community and learn what are the ten chief causes of death. Decide whether it would be possible for the com- | munity to reduce the death rate by taking any sort of general measures. And if so, decide what they should be and how you can help them to work. |
|--|--|

KEEPING *a* NATION WELL

What We Are Doing to Bring Health to Every Person in Our Country

IF A nation is to be strong and survive, its citizens must be healthy. Every person who cannot pull his oar in the boat is just that much dead weight to be carried. Even in times of peace our prosperity depends upon our physical vigor. So what we know as the "public health movement" is being better organized every year, especially in our cities. At first it worked mainly for better sanitation—pure water, a good system for taking care of garbage and sewage, proper quarantine regulations. Later it added to this the great task of educating the public to be careful in matters of health. Since World War I it has been teaching people the necessity of having a thorough physical examination at least once a year, in order to find disease before it goes too far to be treated successfully. In 1922 a National Health Council was held. The meetings made clear the fact that everyone interested in public health must work to bring about the day when every person in our country shall be able to get medical advice and have care in case of illness.

A great many organizations, public and private, are at work on this great task. One of the first was the National Tuberculosis Association (1900). It has accomplished wonders in reducing death from tuberculosis. Soon there were other associations of the same kind—for the care and health instruction of mothers, for the care of babies and children, for preventing and treating cancer, heart ailments, social diseases, blindness, and mental troubles. In all this work the American Medical Association plays an important part, and so do health departments everywhere.

The United States government has a Public Health Service under the Federal Security Agency. It works with the other health organizations to wage the war against disease, to help educate the public, to carry on research in sanitation and such matters, and to bring medical aid when the cases come

within its sphere. It is interesting that this service should be under the Treasury Department. Every year illness costs the American people billions of dollars in doctors', medical, and hospital bills, and in loss of time from work. Only a small percent of this huge sum is spent for public health—though the amount is increasing.

But we have accomplished a good deal. In the last fifty years the average length of life for white people in this country has been increased by perhaps some twenty years. A large part of this is explained by the fact that fewer babies die. Less than fifty years ago one baby in every ten died before it was a year old. Now the ratio is only one in thirty. Then, too, all sorts of epidemic diseases have been pretty well stamped out. Typhoid, diphtheria, dysentery, small pox, and such scourges used to spread so fast that the death rate in cities was greater than the birth rate. To-day the cities have a better record than the country has.

And everywhere people are getting better care. Hospitals have free clinics (*klīn'īk*), where the poor may get care and medical advice. Larger cities have free public hospitals, and smaller ones maintain free beds in private hospitals. Nearly every town of any size has a public nursing service. Many states and cities have tuberculosis hospitals, and some have opened free clinics where people may go secretly for advice in mental ailments. Besides this, cities dispense milk to babies and undernourished children, and give mothers advice as to the care of children. Parks and public playgrounds help to bring health to people living in crowded sections, and countless private organizations send city children and worn-out mothers to the country for a short rest. Of late the doctors themselves have been working out a plan under which everyone, no matter how poor, can get medical aid. So there is a better day ahead.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Reading Unit

No. 2

REPEATED REPEATED

UNDER HUMANITY'S FLAG

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

The battle of Solferino, 7-425-26
Fifty thousand dead or dying, 7-426
Henri Dunant wanted to help 7-426
An enemy wounded is an enemy no longer, 7-426
The idea of the Red Cross, 7-420
The "souvenir of Solferino" is translated into every civilized language, 7-428
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Taking care of the unfortunate, 7-433
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Practical Applications

List the number of disasters that have occurred in the world in the last year or so. Did the

Red Cross help on any of these occasions?

Habits and Attitudes

The horrors of war are reduced by the Red Cross.
Florence Nightingale made pos-

sible the hospitals we have today.

Leisure-time Activities

PROJECT NO. 1: Make a scrapbook showing the interests and activities of a young Ameri-

can girl or boy, and send it to some foreign Red Cross group. Ask them for a similar book.

Summary Statement

The Red Cross grew from an idea in the mind of a young Swiss, Henri Dunant. It is now

an international society in sixty-six nations, and serves humanity in peace as well as in war.

THE RED CROSS



This is Jane Delano, who as head of the nursing service in World War I superintended the 22,000 war nurses. She died in 1919, as surely a victim of the war as if she had fallen on the field of battle. Service such as hers has a value past all calculation.

The work of a war nurse is much more wearing than a nurse's work at home. She must often work under difficult conditions—in tents under shellfire, in blazing heat and biting cold. She must see great suffering, and watch the end of lives she would give her own life to save.

Photo by American Red Cross

Under HUMANITY'S FLAG

*The Noble Idea of the Red Cross Was Laughed at for a While, but
It Has Gone Right On Conquering the World*

IT IS early morning of June 24, 1859. The plains of Lombardy are alive with marching men. Bugles blow, drums beat, banners wave, horses bearing smartly uniformed officers dash here and there. Soon a battle will be joined. A force of 150,000 French and Italians will cross the plain and face the Austrian forces stationed on the hills, 170,000 strong. In the clear morning light the black-and-yellow standards of the Austrians make a brave showing. The brilliant equipment of the French lancers and dragoons glitters in the sun.

The battle begins. The best troops of Napoleon III of France and of Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, fighting together for a united Italy, advance through plantations

of mulberry trees interlaced with tangling vines. From the heights shot and shell rain down upon them from the splendid army of young Francis Joseph, emperor of Austria. Battalions are cut down, others take their places. The sun grows hotter and hotter. The French troops have had only coffee and nothing to eat. There is no time for food now. They kill and are killed. All day long this continues. Gradually the French and Italians take the heights from the Austrians. The dead and wounded cover the plain and choke the ravines. Toward evening clouds gather, a great wind rises, a cloudburst of rain and hail beats and drenches the exhausted troops. The Austrians at last give way and retreat. After fifteen hours of

THE RED CROSS

slaughter, the Battle of Solferino (səl'fě-rē'nō) is over. The French and Italians have won.

The Price of Victory

Victory! But at what a price! For when night came more than 50,000 men lay dead, dying, or wounded on the blood-soaked field. Was it worth so much? What can be done to lessen all this terrible agony that echoes and re-echoes in cries and groans through the darkness? These were the questions that a young Swiss gentleman was asking himself as he went about trying to do what he could for the sufferers. All day he had watched the battle from a hilltop. The shouts of "The enemy retreats! The French have won!" gave him no thrill of joy. For this young Henri Dunant (än'rē'dü'nän') of Switzerland was a neutral, and felt only relief that the awful carnage was ended. Now he must do what he could to help.

Help was indeed needed. In those days there was no protection for the army medical services, so the Austrian physicians and their aides had to retreat with their defeated forces, and with the pursuing allies went nearly all the French and Italian army surgeons. The Austrians had gathered up as many as they could of their wounded and taken them backward on their retreat. But thousands had to be left. The wretched victims on the field of Solferino were almost entirely without any medical care. To their dreadful pain was added hunger and thirst. And with the day, the sun beat down with merciless heat.

When All Are Brothers

Filled with pity and horror, Henri Dunant, who had all his life been interested in helping the poor, the weak, and the suffering, went about the village of Castiglione (käs'tē-

lyō'nā) gathering up volunteers to help him. The peasant women banded themselves together under his leadership. Soon the big church of the village housed five hundred men, while a hundred more were being cared for in the park outside. At first the Italians held back from giving aid to the wounded

Austrians. "We will not help our enemies," they said. "No, no!"

said Henri Dunant. "Can these pitiful, bleeding wrecks, crying in agony, be enemies now? An enemy wounded 's an enemy no longer."

And before long those good women were helping both friend and foe, and saying, like Dunant, "Tutti fratelli"—"All are brothers." Until the worst was over and the men were as well taken care of as he could hope for, Henri Dunant worked on, going from place to place and helping to organize the volunteer nurses and to do all in his power for the sufferers. If he had done no more than this, Henri Dunant would have deserved to be remembered. But he did far, far more. Out of this experience, there came to him a

great idea, one of the greatest ideas of all time.

For it was the idea of the Red Cross. Such scenes as those at Solferino should never come again, said Henri Dunant. To keep them from being repeated, every country should have bodies of trained people ready in time of war to offer their services to the armies. These should be neutral bands of mercy prepared to ease the sufferings of the men of either side. Dunant pointed out how in the Crimean War, fought only a few years before the Battle of Solferino, the Sisters of Charity had nursed the sick; and how Florence Nightingale of England had brought over thirty-seven English ladies to nurse in the army hospitals at Constantinople and Scutari the men wounded in the Battle of



This is the kindly face of Henri Dunant, founder of the Red Cross.

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Photo by the American Red Cross

In an emergency portable hospital set up in a space hacked out of the jungle behind the front in New Guinea, a wounded fighter is being made ready for a transfusion of blood plasma, which has been carried for miles over dangerous paths by native Papuans. Doctors working under fire will administer the precious fluid, the liquid part of blood donated by millions of Americans to save the lives of soldiers. Each donor gives a pint of blood, but only after various tests have been made to be sure that it carries no disease and that its loss will not endanger the giver's health. The operation is not frightening, and should leave no ill effects, though of course it ought not to be repeated often enough to weaken the donor.

Blood plasma is valuable for two main reasons. One,

of course, is its power to make up for loss of blood. But another is its use in cases suffering from shock. For nervous shock as a result of wounds causes a good many more deaths than the wounds themselves. The plasma relieves those dangerous symptoms and saves many a life as a result.

Quite as remarkable in their life-saving powers are the sulfanamides (sul-fan'a-mid), or "sulfa drugs," which prevent the spread of infections in wounds. Every soldier carries them—both to take internally and to sprinkle in a wound. They prevent the spread of the deadly gangrene, which used to cause many more deaths than the mere wounds did. To-day we may rejoice that nearly all our wounded recover. Death results in less than two percent of the cases.

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Inkerman. He spoke, too, of the great work that Florence Nightingale had done in the military hospitals at Balaklava, work that made her forever famous as "The Lady with the Lamp."

What the Red Cross Stands For

All this, with the story of the terrible days and nights after Solferino, Dunant put into a little book called "The Souvenir of Solferino." In the shortest possible time the book was translated into every language of the civilized world. Dunant gave himself up to trying to spread his idea and to get the heads of governments to adopt it. He visited kings and princes and generals and war ministers. Some of them thought him foolish; some said that if he made war less terrible by aiding the victims, he would help to keep wars going on forever; some believed that his idea was a good one. It succeeded. In 1863 an international conference met at Geneva and drew up the plans for his society. They decided, too, on its emblem. Out of compliment to Switzerland, Dunant's country, it was to be the Swiss flag with colors reversed—that is, a red cross on a white ground. That was the beginning of "humanity's flag," everybody's flag, the sight of

which has meant so much to suffering men and women and children all the world over for many decades.

By 1868 thirty-three nations had organized Red Cross societies and were registered with the International Committee of the Red Cross at Geneva. The American Red Cross was not formed until 1881. You must remember that when that first meeting was held in Geneva in 1863, the United States was in the midst of the Civil War. There was no Red Cross to aid our wounded then, but the Sanitary Commission was formed to look after them. One of our great American women, Clara Barton, worked without ceasing—just as Dunant had worked for his idea some years before—to get the Sanitary Commission organized into the National Association of the Red Cross. In 1881 she became its first president. She got the government to recognize it and saw it take its place with the societies of the other countries on the register of the International Committee at Geneva.

It had been Henri Dunant's idea that the societies organized to provide trained workers for their armies in time of war should also, as he said in his book, be able to "render great service at the time of epidemics, floods,

great fires, and other unexpected catastrophes." This is just what the Red Cross societies have done again and again. As soon as it was organized, the American Red

In wartime the Red Cross employs a vast army of workers of every kind. One of their tasks is to help men in the hospitals back to health. The young woman above is not a nurse, but she has had training in what is known as occupational therapy (thēr'ā-pī), or the use of interesting occupation in the treatment of disease. With her skilled help our convalescent soldier is making an airplane model—and is clearly happy and absorbed in his task. It often happens that soldiers learn a brand-new trade or profession while they are getting well, and go back to civilian life better equipped to earn a living than they had been on entering the army. Handicapped soldiers, too, are helped to learn skills that will make them self-supporting, useful members of society.

Red Cross Photo by Elwood Johnson



THE RED CROSS



Photo by Riechgits

This is Florence Nightingale visiting the wounded during the Crimean War. So able was her work among

them that the death rate fell from 40% to 2%. Her success inspired the founder of the Red Cross.



Photo by American Red Cross

Out of the ghastly suffering of the Battle of Solferino, in Italy, the Red Cross was born. Here the artist has

Painted Henri Dunant giving help to wounded men. The misery of Solferino had not been in vain.

THE RED CROSS



Photo by the American Red Cross

One of the hardest things a soldier must face is his desperate longing for home. In its many canteens the Red Cross tries to bring the boys "a home from home,"

Cross found that its help was needed for the victims of great forest fires in Michigan. In the following years it rendered aid to sufferers from floods on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. After a great storm and tidal wave swept Galveston in 1900, the Red Cross was there to help. When San Francisco's great fire followed a terrific earthquake there in 1906, the panic-stricken people turned to the Red Cross and they were not disappointed.

The National Friend of the Needy

The relief work in San Francisco was the first big task undertaken by our Red Cross. Until 1905 it had not been very well organized and had no official connection with the government. In that year Theodore Roosevelt approved a charter which made it the American National Red Cross with the backing of the United States government. The president of the United States is now always the president of the American National Red Cross as well. The charter laid down certain definite duties for the Red Cross to fulfill in our national life.

where fun, friends, and a hearty welcome are always waiting. Here American Red Cross workers are greeting Yankee soldiers outside a canteen in London.

Of course, the big test came when the United States entered the World Wars. If you want to get some idea of how important the Red Cross is to any country and how great was Henri Dunant's idea, just try to imagine the horrors of those cruel wars without the help of the Red Cross. Take only our side of it. Think of the millions of men and women and children who were enrolled in the American National Red Cross. Of course, only comparatively few of these were trained and could go to the front; yet through the Red Cross all could help. Think of the millions of dollars, the shiploads of garments, the millions of dozens of bandages, the many thousands of comfort bags and other things provided by the willing hands at home for the men fighting overseas. Then think of those enlisted by the Red Cross to help in the camps and hospitals both here and abroad. The regular army and navy staffs had not enough nurses and surgeons to meet the need. The Red Cross turned over to the government in World War I 45 base-hospital units, with all their equipment, even

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to the thermometers. It had enrolled 18,000 trained nurses, eager to serve. It supplied 47 ambulance companies with 4,760 men, 564 ambulances, and 141 trucks.

Through the International Red Cross Committee at Geneva, the Red Cross societies of the Allies could send packages of food and clothing to prisoners in the enemy countries. The countries at war with the Allies could do likewise for their own men imprisoned in France and elsewhere. Through the Geneva Committee the Red Cross of the different countries was able, moreover, to find the whereabouts of thousands of wounded and missing men. Imagine what that meant to the families of those men!

The Red Cross Juniors

After the war the American Red Cross helped to feed, nurse, and shelter thousands of the starving, tubercular, and refugee people in many of the war-ruined countries of Europe. In this work the school children of the United States had a splendid share. For on September 15, 1917, after more and more classes had undertaken Red Cross activities, President Wilson proclaimed the formation of the American Junior Red Cross in the schools. Eleven million boys and girls were soon members. They made 15,722,073 articles for soldiers, sailors, and hospitals, and contributed more than \$3,000,000. When peace came the Juniors were unwilling to disband. School and Red Cross officials saw a great chance for international friendships and for services at home that would give every classroom an active part in the world's life. So the members made tables and chairs for the new homes being built in ruined French villages, and provided workers and funds to establish hot school lunches, school gardens, milk stations, clinics, summer and winter camps and playgrounds, and special schools and scholarships for children in nine countries.

Junior Red Cross societies had already formed in Canada and New South Wales. Soon the American Juniors were helping to start others in European countries. To-day there are Junior Red Cross societies in scores of countries. From land to land the members exchange albums of school work,

letters, handiwork, dolls in national costume, and many other gifts and greetings during the school year.

This is the pledge they take:

We believe in service for others, in health of mind and body to fit us for better service, and in world-wide friendship. For this reason we are joining the American Junior Red Cross. We will help to make its work successful in our school and community, and will work together with Juniors everywhere in our own and other lands.

In World War II the American Red Cross enrolled some 6,660,000 blood donors, who contributed 1,665,000 gallons of blood. It recruited nearly 100,000 nurses for the armed forces, and outside the hospitals it provided welfare services of many kinds. Through its aid emergency relief was brought to countries bearing the brunt of enemy attack. It enlisted some 6,500 hospital workers who, though not nurses, helped patients to get well in hospitals in every military zone at home or overseas. Volunteers made over two million surgical dressings and millions of garments and kit bags. For able-bodied servicemen it operated clubs, clubmobiles, and canteens here and abroad, and did everything possible to help maintain morale. Its Home Service aided the families of servicemen whenever they needed help, and offered the same services to veterans and their families.

Tens of millions of men and women and boys and girls belong to the American National Red Cross. Every day all the year round somewhere in this country of ours Red Cross public-health nurses are helping sick people and giving lessons in how to keep well. Other Red Cross workers are giving lessons in first aid, swimming, life saving, and accident prevention. Still others are teaching home hygiene, nutrition, and care of the sick, so that people may know what to do in caring for their babies or making sick members of the family more comfortable. The Red Cross keeps constantly on its rolls the names of hundreds of trained nurses who have promised to come when there is a special need for their services, in disasters, bad epidemics, or war.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Reading Unit No. 3

TAKING CARE OF THE UNFORTUNATE

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Why are "alms" not enough?

Why did "Lady Bountiful" fail?

What did Robert Owen do for

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What is "employers' liability"?

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Summary Statement

A feeling of social responsibility has developed welfare work that tries to get at the reasons for poverty and disease. Laws ensure healthful working condi-

tions. Special work is done among wayward children. Settlement houses provide help and happiness. There is still much to be done.

WELFARE WORK



Photograph by Kaufmann-Fabry

This is Hull House in Chicago, one of the first settlement houses in the world. To-day thirteen of these red brick buildings are needed to carry on the great

work of the founder, Jane Addams, who gave up a life of ease to devote herself to the poor of Chicago's slums. To-day all our large cities have settlement houses.

TAKE CARE of the UNFORTUNATE

As Man Progresses He Comes to Realize More and More That His Happiness as an Individual Depends upon the Happiness of All. His Efforts to Improve the Common Lot Make Up His Program for Social Welfare

TWO thousand years ago Jesus of Nazareth startled the people of the little land of Judea by telling them that all men are brothers. A few believed him—but not many. Most of the good folk who were his fellow citizens were so far from understanding what he meant that they had him seized as a public enemy and crucified him.

But their violence was of no avail. His great message lived on in the hearts of men. Little by little people came to see the beauty of the idea, though perhaps it would hardly be true to say that they actually believed it. For a great many centuries the church has taught it, but one needs only to look about to see that, in spite of all the church's efforts, not very many of those who accept her teaching accept the fact that all men are their brothers and are willing to act accordingly. A great many people have, in one way or another, been "crucified" for spreading this great truth during the past twenty

centuries. Mankind seems to learn but slowly.

Yet little by little, slow decade by slow decade, the idea grows and deepens. And year by year you and I see just a little more clearly that our responsibility does not end with our families, our friends, our fellow townsmen, or even our fellow Americans. The suffering and oppression of people in far-off nations may affect us vitally.

Now of course kindness is nothing new in the story of mankind. Men who lived in caves showed gentleness toward their children and took care of unfortunate members of the tribe. And neighbors in villages or outlying communities always have looked after those in pain or distress. We see this generous consideration everywhere in small towns to-day. No one ever thinks of it as charity. It is a kind of mutual tenderness—a sharing of experience.

But it is not until people are very highly civilized that they begin to realize that they

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Photograph by Milwaukee Public Museum

The cross accompanied the flag of Spain to the New World, and under the leadership of Father Junipero Serra, Franciscan missions were built in southern California in the eighteenth century. Here the Indians were gathered into communities and converted to Christianity. Now the missions are in ruins, but the

picture above shows what they looked like in the old days. The friars built a lovely church, a cloister to meditate in, dormitories and refectories, and a little cemetery for their dead. In the foreground two friars are riding with Spanish soldiers and Indian women are kneeling to ask their blessing as they pass.

are brothers to people they have never seen, to men of different nations and different races, who live on the opposite side of the earth. Only a little while ago the majority of people could watch human suffering without a tremor. They turned out in vast crowds to see a man hanged or burned at the stake. They still crowd a courtroom where a man is on trial for his life. But cruel pastimes like bullfighting, and heart-rending spectacles such as executions, are growing more and more rare. And better than that, an earthquake in Japan or a famine in China brings help from all over the world.

The Mission of the Church

For many centuries it was the church, and the church alone, that had a general care for the unfortunate. True to its teaching, it asked no questions as to who the sufferer was, but doctored him if he was ill and gave him food if he was starving. The monasteries served many of the purposes of our settlement houses to-day. Besides this, the church taught its followers to give to the poor and downtrodden.

A Strange Purpose for Charity

Unhappily, people had not learned to see the full force of the church's pitiful teaching.

They came to look upon the giving of alms (ämz)-or gifts to the poor—as a kind of business transaction. A man who gave to a beggar expected to have the object of his generosity make a return by praying for his benefactor. No effort was made to find out the cause of the man's distress and so to improve his general condition. A penny or so was thrown him and that was the end of it.

How Wealth Increased Suffering

But gradually, as the Middle Ages passed, the face of things began to change. Wealth was accumulating, luxury was increasing. There was a growing demand for beauty and comfort, and trade sprang up on every hand to gratify it. Men who went on the Crusades (krōō-sād')—the holy wars fought in Palestine during the Middle Ages—came home with marvelous presents of beautiful fabrics and embroideries, jewels, and, above all, spices to disguise the taste of the tainted meat that everybody ate in those unsanitary days. People were not content with a few of these delightful wares. A thriving trade grew up between Europe and the Orient—and when we tell you that it was called the "spice trade" you will see how eager people were to have spices to lend a relish to their food.

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Now trade always centers in towns. So with the growth of trade people went thronging into the towns that grew up at important business centers. There was crowding and poverty and disease—and unspeakable filth. Plagues swept over Europe and killed vast numbers of people. There was constant fighting between the nobles and the townsmen who lived on the nobles' land, and there were constant wars abroad. Everywhere there was suffering.

The church continued in its work of mercy, and the guilds (gild) groups of men who labored at the same trade or craft—looked after unfortunate members; but distress was great. In England all the monasteries were closed by Henry VIII and the monks driven out.

Then conditions grew desperate. Not only was the charitable work of the monasteries at an end, but poverty-stricken monks had to go begging up and down the land, with no other means of support. There was starvation and sickness and crime.

When Beggars Were Put to Death

In this crisis the towns were forced to take steps to look after the unfortunate. But it was a drop in the bucket. Each community, as a rule, cared for its own members only,

and beggars who were not its citizens were often whipped and sent out of the parish, sometimes with the provision that part of the right ear should be cut off if they were found loitering by the way. Sometimes upon

a second offense they were condemned to death. Old, crippled, homeless, ill, they must often have welcomed the sentence as a relief from their misery.

At the close of the seventeenth century England established workhouses, where the able-bodied poor were sent to live at public expense and were put to work. Those who would not stay were refused other aid. This provision, called the "Workhouse Test," was one of the famous English Poor Laws. A hundred years later the law was



Photograph by An _____ Museum of Natural History

This sad little peasant girl, just landed in New York harbor, is wondering what will happen to her in the New World. Once girls of her class were exploited by clothing manufacturers, who put them to work in unhealthful sweatshops and paid them pitiful sums for the "privilege" of learning a trade. Finally state legislation put an end to this evil, with Massachusetts leading the way.

changed to provide that only the aged, the ill, or the young should be sent to the workhouse, or "poorhouse." For the able-bodied poor, work was found in their own neighborhood and their wages collected by "guardians," who paid for the support of the workers and made up any lack from relief funds.

Then came the great Industrial Revolution, which we have described on other pages of these books. It brought about a tremendous dislocation among the whole working population. What hands had formerly done

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with painstaking effort, machines now did with speed and ease. But these machines could hardly be set up at home. They were too heavy and expensive for that. They had to be installed in factories, and to the factories people must flock to work, a great impersonal throng.

Now under these conditions it was unavoidable that the relationship between employer and employee should lose its old personal touch. Factory laborers were no longer individual craftsmen who worked side by side with their masters. They were merely numbers on a payroll. Huge cities sprang up where small towns had been; and the people in them, instead of leading the old neighborly life, existed more or less alone, with fewer friends and almost no social contacts. The sharing of trouble that had been so much a part of life in the little village at the castle gate was now a thing of the past except in outlying settlements. The strong labored unceasingly—the weak went to the wall.

The New Spirit of Pity

The general and unintelligent passing out of alms clearly did more harm than good. Even municipal charity with each city acting alone was not enough to meet the growing need. It could not take care of the great numbers of people who, because of the changed economic conditions or their own inability to fit into the life around them, were dependent on relief. Some other method had to be found; and so there arose a group of private charities supported neither by the church nor by the cities but by gifts from mill and factory and mine owners, members of a great new "middle class" that had sprung up between the nobility and the

working people. It is called the bourgeoisie, (bōōr'zhwā'zē')—the word meant "people dwelling in towns"—and had become very powerful in business and politics.

This growth of charities and the donations of money by the rich to help and "uplift" the poor was part of a great movement which in the late eighteenth century began to stir



Photograph by National Child Labor Committee

This is a picture of one of the dark sweatshops where immigrant women once worked making garments. They worked very hard and for long hours, for they were paid by the piece—that is, according to the amount they did. Sometimes manufacturers gave them materials to take home. Then the workers turned their tenement rooms into workshops, where even the children helped. Garments were made there under the most unsanitary conditions, and when put on the market were a menace to public health.

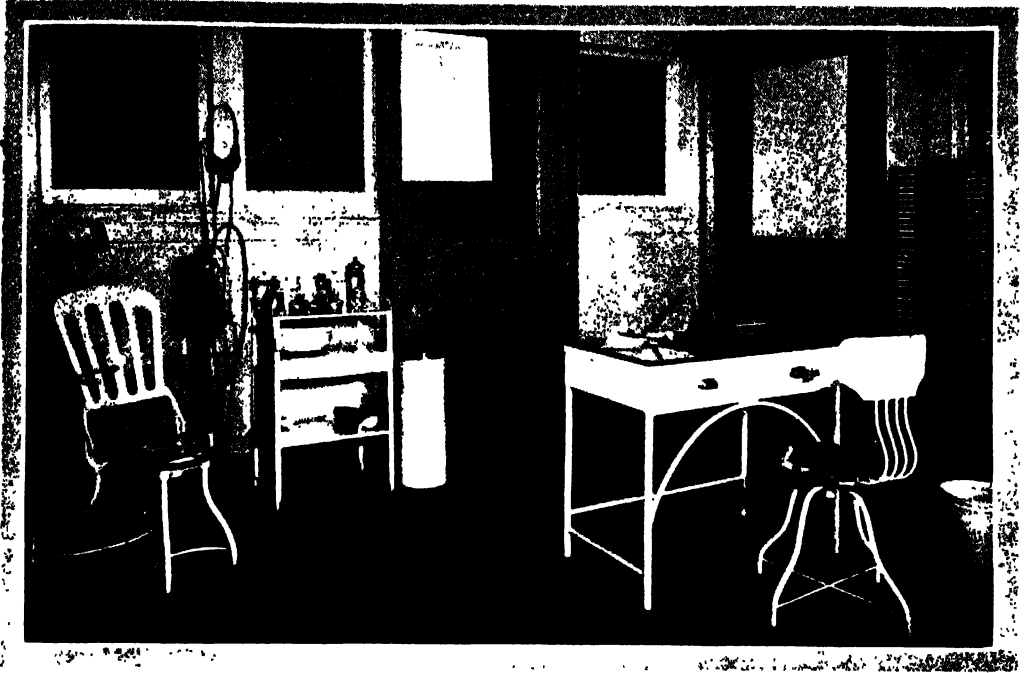
men everywhere. It concerned itself not only with the poor but also with the sick, the criminal, the ignorant, and the depraved. It went into the workhouses, the prisons, the taverns, and out on the field of battle. It interested itself everywhere in the poor and the downtrodden, and no human being was too lowly or too vile to merit its care. This great wave of sympathy for the unfortunate among mankind we call the "humanitarian (hū-mān'i-tā'rī-ān) movement." It is sweeping on with ever-increasing power to-day.

The reasons which led members of the bourgeoisie to take part in the humanitarian movement were varied. With some there was a real desire to help the less fortunate—often, however, going hand in hand with a stubborn refusal to yield the downtrodden any of the rights—such as the vote or an education—which might help them to help themselves. These short-sighted rich men gave donations to charity societies and hospitals, but they would not let the workers, or proletariat (prō'lē-tā'rī-ăt), have a living wage or show any interest in the management of the business.

The Failure of Lady Bountiful

There were other business men who had no sympathy whatever with the poor but who gave money to charity or improved the

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Photograph by Eastman Kodak Company

This spotless, well-equipped office belongs to the medical department of a large industrial plant. How the poor sweatshop worker of years ago would open her eyes if she could see it! In large plants to-day phy-

sicians and nurses examine applicants for employment, give the workers periodic health examinations, and supervise the lighting, ventilation, and sanitation in the plant. Of course they take care of accidents.

working conditions in their own factories simply to keep their employees satisfied, and so, by making working conditions better, increase their own profits. It was a new sort of feudalism with the laborers as serfs and the employers as lords bestowing gifts. Out of it grew, particularly among the women of the bourgeoisie, a sentimental attitude toward the poor. So we have the Lady Bountiful driving up to the door of a tenement in her carriage to leave a basket of groceries or a gift of clothing. It was charity, not brotherly kindness—a stooping from a higher to a lower level, not a meeting on common ground. Of course it was bound to fail.

Helping People to Help Themselves

The working people resented this condescension. Charity was not what they wanted. They longed for a chance to earn a living wage and to be useful and self-supporting members of society. They began to band together in order to work for these ends and for better working and living conditions

for themselves and their families. They succeeded in having some of their members elected to governmental posts, and national government itself began to play an important part in social welfare. The struggle is still far from finished, and there is in the world even to-day a vast amount of unnecessary poverty, disease, and suffering—and the crime that results from them. But we have, nevertheless, come a long way from the serfdom of the Middle Ages and the benevolent humanitarianism and sentimental Lady-Bountiful attitude of the nineteenth century.

Welfare Work To-day

Let us see what is being done in the field of social welfare to-day and how many and varied are its activities, which touch the lives of all of us in a hundred different ways.

Since we have just been discussing the growth of industry and the relation of employers and employees we shall first see what has been accomplished in that field. In the early part of the nineteenth century, when machinery began to come into use and fac-

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tories sprang up like mushrooms after a rain, people crowded into the towns so rapidly that there were not nearly enough houses to hold them all comfortably. Whole families lived in one room in the most unhealthful conditions. It is still the case in certain of our slums to-day.

The factories themselves were built hastily and with no thought for the health or safety of the workers. Most of them were dark, crowded places with tiny windows and no protection against fire. The air was hot and heavy with dust. Many of the workers could not stand the physical strain of such a life and there was much sickness and death. Then too employers found that there were many tasks that could be done better and more cheaply by women and children than by men; so it was not an unheard-of thing to see little children of five working in factories. Women worked in mines, harnessed with mules to carts, drawing heavy loads of ore.

There were no laws in those days to limit the hours of work. If mill and factory owners cared nothing for the well-being of their employees and thought only of the money they might make, they could force their men to work fourteen or fifteen hours a day.

Kind-hearted Robert Owen

Conditions of this sort made Robert Owen, manager and part owner of the New Lanark mills in Scotland, decide that something must be done to improve the situation. During his life he built better houses for his workmen, opened a store where they could buy goods at very little more than cost, and started schools for the younger children. Since he, and the investors in his company, were satis-

fied with a modest profit it was not necessary for him to drive his workers like animals. The conditions in the New Lanark mills were so good for their day that they became widely known and the mills were visited by many social reformers.



Photograph by Parker Pen Co

The dreariness of factory work has been greatly relieved by good lighting, and danger reduced by covering parts of the machines. Compare this lighting system with that of the sweatshop shown on another page.

In the United States welfare work in industry began a little later than in England, but it did begin. At first it was concerned chiefly with making the factories themselves decent places to work in and with providing health service for employees. Rest and recreation rooms were built, medical care was provided, workers were protected as much as possible from the dangers of the big machines. Later, night schools were opened, where the workers might study and fit themselves for better positions. And eventually welfare work reached out beyond the

factory walls and included the families of the workers, seeing that their houses were better built and more sanitary, hiring a nurse to visit the homes where there was illness or where mothers needed to be taught how to care for their children, and providing playgrounds and club rooms for the whole community. Finally, as a real step forward, there were funds, usually contributed by both employers and employees, to be used for pensioning employees who had been with the company a given number of years and were too old to go on working.

At first, as you will remember, the improvement of factory conditions was carried on by the employers themselves, and those of them who had no interest in the welfare and happiness of their workers could treat the men as they liked. But gradually, through the pressure of labor unions and of people who had the progress of mankind at

WELFARE WORK



Photo copyright The Newspaper PM, Inc.

These boys might easily be playing in hot, tenement-lined streets in New York City if it were not that Henry Street Settlement has sent them to this camp. Here

they can swim in a clean country lake on the hot summer days and store up a reservoir of good health and happy memories for the long winter ahead of them.

heart, government began to take a hand and labor legislation was introduced. To-day we have laws relating in many ways to the welfare of labor in industry. In most of the states children are forbidden to work until they reach the age of sixteen. There are maximum hours of work for children who have passed the age limit, for women, and in many cases, for men also. Since the depression of 1929 government has had more and more to say about the minimum (*mín'yí-mǔm*), or lowest, wage that may be paid and about "social insurance" for illness, unemployment, and old age. In 1935 Congress passed the Social Security Act, which contained many of these welfare provisions.

How Workers Are Protected

State and national governments have also enacted laws affecting the health and safety of working people. Factories nowadays are inspected and must meet certain requirements. They must be light and well ventilated, with comfortable rest rooms and lavatories for the employees. There must be proper protection against fire. Dangerous machinery must be inclosed so that workers may not run unnecessary risk of accident. Under the Employers' Liability Acts the

duties of employers are very clearly stated. Employers have been made liable—or responsible—for accidents that happen to their workers while "on the job."

Work Still to Be Done

As these regulations became uniform and widespread, industrial conditions improved. There is plenty of room for still greater improvement, but already a great deal has been accomplished since the day when Robert Owen began his experiment in industrial welfare at New Lanark mills.

What Is a Settlement House?

Along with these changes which began with the humanitarian movement of the nineteenth century there came a growing interest in settlement houses. The founding of settlements was another attempt on the part of the more fortunate to help those less fortunate than themselves and to do everything possible to overcome poverty and ignorance and the exploitation of the weak. Since they wished to work directly with the poor and to live among them, sharing their happiness and sorrows, these earnest people opened settlement houses in the slums of great cities. One of the earliest and most famous settlements

WELFARE WORK

was Toynbee Hall, founded in 1884 by a group of Oxford University students at the suggestion of Samuel Augustus Barnett, a clergyman in the squalid Whitechapel district of London. Jane Addams, whose story you will find on another page of these books, visited Toynbee Hall when she was in England, and was undoubtedly greatly encouraged there to establish a similar settlement in America.

To-day all our large cities have settlements, some controlled by religious organizations, some by colleges, and some by civic groups. The work they do is of many sorts. It includes educational work with immigrants to help adjust them to life in America, classes for mothers in the care of children, classes for young people—and for older ones too—in cooking, sewing, manual training, art, music, and literature. There are playgrounds and gymnasiums, kindergartens and day nurseries, boy and girl scout groups, dances and plays and picnics.

The Varied Work of a Settlement

Often in the settlement house are the offices of a charity organization, a visiting nurses' association, and an association to help newly arrived immigrants from foreign countries. There is frequently a branch of the public library where people in the neighborhood

may read and may get books free of charge.

Settlement workers and others interested in social betterment have, through their efforts, done a great deal to improve housing conditions in large cities. Many tenement houses where four or five hundred people lived crowded together with almost no sani-

tary conveniences, very little light and fresh air, and no protection against fire, have been torn down and new, comfortable apartments built in their place. Landlords nowadays have to keep their houses up to certain standards, and although these standards are still in many cases far too low and are often not enforced, there is a steady attempt at betterment. When we shall have done away with our slums, we shall have done away with our chief breeding places for crime.

Perhaps one of the greatest developments in social welfare has been in our work

with children. When we compare the work to-day with what was done even a hundred years ago we are amazed at the progress. Those of you who have read "Oliver Twist" will remember the workhouse where little Oliver lived for a brief time. It was a horrible place. Unfortunately Dickens did not greatly exaggerate conditions. Nine times out of ten workhouses were indeed horrible places, where small children lived side by side with

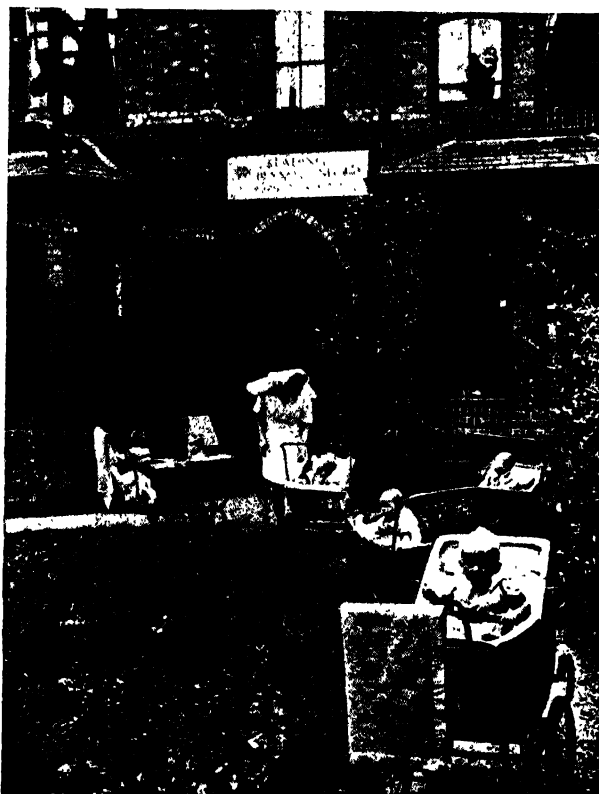
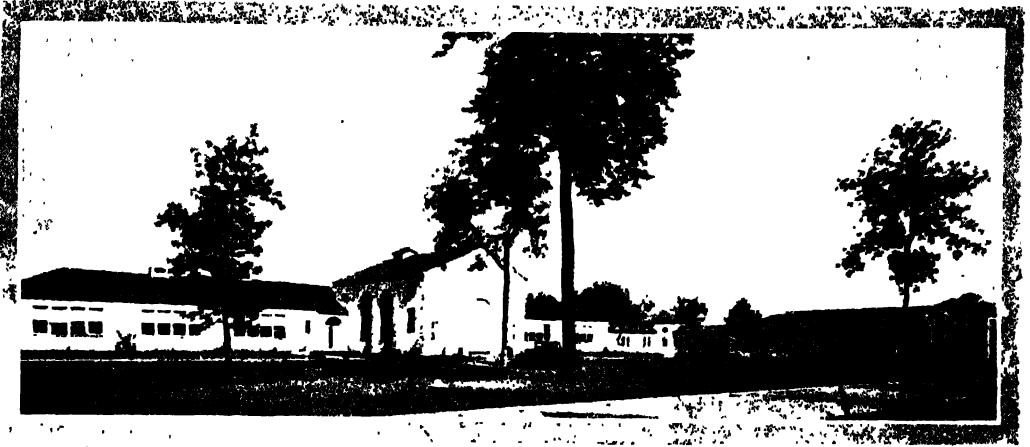


Photo by British Information Services

How our great-grandmothers would have laughed at the thought of sending these infants to school. Yet we know to-day that the opening years are perhaps the most important of all in a person's growth. That is why babies of six months and up are sent to nursery schools, to form habits that will last all their lives. This nursery school is not in Reading, Pennsylvania, as you might think, but in Reading, England—the wartime gift of the American city.

WELFARE WORK



Photograph by New York Department of Mental Hygiene

Great advances have been made in treating the mentally ill. Once they were shut up in gloomy and inhuman insane asylums, where no effort was made to cure them. To-day we realize that their illness, like any other malady, may be cured or helped. So

grown people who were some of them too old to work, some suffering from terrible diseases, and some feeble-minded. There were, to be sure, a few orphanages, but these were hardly better than the workhouses. In them hundreds of children were herded together, sleeping in great dormitories or barracks, eating in a common dining room where the food was both poor and scanty, and doing all sorts of hard manual work. The children were all dressed alike in ugly drab uniforms, and what is worse, were all treated alike, for the men and women in charge were untrained and were too overworked themselves—or too indifferent—to learn to know each child as a person, and to give him the love and understanding he needed.

A Modern Orphanage

A few orphanages of this sort still exist, but since 1900 there have been a growing number of institutions organized on the "cottage plan." In these the children live in small groups in cottages that are made as nearly as possible like homes. In charge of each cottage there are usually a man and his wife, who are "father" and "mother" to the children under their care. The children go to these kindly people for understanding and sympathy just as they would go to their own parents. The older boys and girls look out for the little ones and help with the house-

psychiatrists and physicians seek in the mind and in the body of the patient to find the cause of his distress. One of these modern institutions is Rockland State Hospital of Mental Hygiene, at Orangeburg, New York; a few of its buildings are pictured above.

work. They prepare and eat their meals in the cottage, sleep in single rooms or in very small dormitories, go to school, and have many hours for play and hobbies.

Finding Homes for Orphans

Some social agencies, however, do not approve of even this sort of orphanage, and so place orphaned children in private families where they can have real home life. Before a child is put in a home, the place is carefully investigated to see whether it is suited to this particular child, whether it is the kind of place where he will be happy and loved. After the placement the child is visited regularly by a social worker who finds out just how he is getting along.

Rescuing Children from Cruelty

There are many societies to-day for the prevention of cruelty to children. They were formed to rescue children from homes where they were neglected or cruelly treated. Whenever a report reaches the society that a child in a given home is mistreated, a worker is sent to investigate, and if the report is found to be true the child is taken away from its home and placed in an orphanage or foster home.

In our big cities there are many children who break laws or get into trouble in one way or another. A little girl who has no play-

WELFARE WORK

things, and no money to buy any, steals a pair of roller skates. Or a boy of fourteen who has grown up in a "tough" neighborhood and belongs to a "gang," has joined them in taking a car parked conveniently by the curb and has gone with them for a wild ride. He is caught along with the rest and is brought before the juvenile court.

Fifty years ago children who were found breaking the law received the same treatment as grown-up offenders. They were tried in the regular courts and sentenced to jail, where they lived side by side with adult criminals of the worst type and had careful education in all sorts of evil. To-day, however, there are special courts for children; they are known as juvenile (jōō'vê-nîl) courts, and are presided over by a judge who understands young people and knows how to work with them. He or

she—for the judge is often a woman—does not look upon the child as a confirmed criminal who must be punished, but as an individual who needs help. The judge studies the situation and decides what is the best thing to do to remedy it. If it seems wise the child is sent to a correctional school where he is among associates of his own age. There he may go to school or learn a trade that will help him when he goes back into the world again. While he is in the school he is under the supervision of trained workers who have made a special study of these children and their problems. When they feel he is ready to leave the school he is sent out on probation, which means that for a

certain time he is under supervision by a member of the staff or by a state officer who visits him regularly. If the visitor finds that the boy is not getting along well, the lad is sent back to the correctional school until he is of age.

There are some children who, though they do not break laws, have a strong tendency to get into trouble at home or in school. Because of some inner difficulty which they do not understand they are bad-tempered or indolent or persist in running away. There are special clinics (clî'n'îk)—or centers for giving treatment—where these children are studied by psychiatrists (sî-kî'â-trîst)—or doctors trained to understand these baffling psychological difficulties. Here too are psychiatric (sî'kî-â't'rik) social workers who assist the doctors. Everything possible is done to set the child right

with the world, and to help him and his family and his teachers to understand what the trouble is.

There are, too, special classes and schools for children who are not so well developed mentally as others of their age. Because of this they cannot keep up in school, or play on equal terms with their fellows. Whenever it is possible these children are taught simple tasks that they can master and enjoy. When it is impossible to teach them anything, they are cared for in institutions devoted especially to this work.

Physically handicapped children—the blind, the lame, the deaf and dumb—now have special schools also. The deaf and dumb



Photograph by the Salvation Army

These two boys are spending their hours after school in one of the boys' clubs of the Salvation Army. Their faces show their deep interest in learning to do something useful. Boys' clubs under the guidance of understanding older men answer a very great need in big cities, especially in neighborhoods that are poor.

WELFARE WORK

The community center brings fun and profit of all sorts to the people living within its reach. Athletics, dancing, games, music, lectures, and classes of one kind or another are open to large numbers of people who could not enjoy them otherwise. The children you see here go to a nursery school at a community center. It is during rest periods that they play the phonograph. Incidentally, they are getting an early lesson in social justice, for they must wait their turns to start the machine.

Courtesy of Standard Oil Co. (N. J.), photo by Rubley



are taught to speak, and by means of sign language—or talking with the fingers—are taught to understand what others are saying. They even learn to play on various instruments. The blind learn to read in books with raised letters, and are taught weaving, basketry, the caning of chairs, and other handicrafts. The lame learn all these handicrafts, and others as well.

All of this, you see, is an attempt to give every child a chance to live a normal, useful life and to learn to do something, so that he may be at least partially self-supporting when he grows up.

The work that is done for children is done also, to a great extent, for grown people. Mentally incapable persons—the feeble-minded, whose mental ability is below normal, and the insane, who are not lacking in mentality but have some twist that makes their behavior different from that of normal people—are cared for in institutions where doctors and nurses with training for this work study the patients and treat those whom it is possible to help. The old idea that the insane were possessed of devils or bewitched has vanished. We know now that they are sick people and treat them as such, doing all that we can to cure them.

Prisons for grown-up criminals also have been greatly improved, and some of these too are organized on the cottage system.

There is a parole (pā-rōl') plan—a sort of "follow up"—to help men when they are released and keep them from slipping back into their old habits.

But social welfare to-day is not concerned only with people who are emotionally or mentally unable to look out for themselves. There are clinics where the physically ill can receive medical attention free, or at a very low cost. There are hospitals with free wards. There are public health officers and their staffs who have charge of health conditions in towns and cities and even in country districts. The water supply is tested and kept pure, contagious diseases are isolated, and vaccination serum is given without charge. Many public school systems have school nurses and doctors to care for the children and school dentists to look after their teeth. The National Tuberculosis Association works to prevent and control the spread of tuberculosis.

And there are many other phases of social welfare to-day which we accept as a matter of course, rarely stopping to think how much they have added to our happiness and well-being—public schools with free educational opportunities for all children, public libraries, parks and playgrounds, police and fire departments. These are supported by taxes on property owners and belong to all of us. They are not charity but

WELFARE WORK

a group sharing, far more complex and highly organized than the sharing of small neighborhood communities and without the close contact and personal interest which makes village life gracious. But a sharing they are, nevertheless, and for the general good of society.

What a Social Worker Does

The story of social welfare is not complete without telling you something about the present-day profession of social work and its aims. Until almost the beginning of the twentieth century there was no real professional training for social workers. For centuries, you will remember, the care of the poor rested almost entirely with the church. When city governments first took over the work of public relief charity "got into politics" and was handled by persons with no training and no real understanding of the problems. They worked only for the moment and neither tried to find the cause of the trouble nor to work out a cure. The nineteenth-century humanitarian movement depended too much on "uplift" and sympathy and too little on understanding and knowledge. The men and women who went into social work at that time were sincere and hard-working but they lacked experience. They were pioneers blazing the trail for those who were to follow. Although they had no training schools they did have a sort of informal apprenticeship where workers learned while on the job, and this apprentice system, poor as it was, led to a better one.

As the field of social work developed and more and more private and governmental agencies were opened, the need for professionally trained people became greater and greater, and at last schools were established. The first real training school began as a six-weeks course given by the New York Charity Organization Society in 1898. Later it was made into a two-year course and was called the New York School of Social Work. This school is still in existence and is one of the best in its field. Other good schools of social work are at Simmons College, the Universities of Chicago, Western Reserve, Minnesota, and North Carolina, Smith and Bryn Mawr colleges, and Carnegie Institute.

To-day social work is a recognized profession with many trained workers in the field. And these trained workers are not content merely to distribute money or food or clothing to the needy, to send the insane to institutions, and lawbreakers to prison. They are seeking for the causes of these various difficulties and trying to remedy them. Each person who comes to them is treated as a special problem. They find out all they can about him, what his family is like and how well he fits into the family life, the sort of neighborhood he lives in, his work and how well suited he is to it. They study the person himself, his likes and dislikes, his behavior, his attitude toward other people. This is called "case work," and because it digs below the surface and tries to find the real cause of the trouble it is of far more permanent value than alms giving or sentimental sympathy. Like the giving of alms in the Middle Ages, present-day social welfare is a business, but it is a business that has as its purpose not the selfish desire of an individual to win a reward for himself, but a wider vision—the good of society as a whole and the health and happiness of mankind.

A Nation's Most Valuable Possession

For at last, you see—and now we are getting back to the point from which we started—men are coming to see that they are all brothers. And interestingly enough, they see this because they have come to realize that the many must suffer with the few. When people are ill or for any other reason are unfit to work, the country is that much poorer for the loss of their labor. In our complex modern industry everyone must "pull his weight in the boat." When people are thrown out of employment the rich suffer with the poor, for unemployed families cannot buy clothes and food and books and automobiles, and without their support factories must close down and incomes dwindle. When illness spreads in great epidemics the well-to-do die, just as do the poor, and when vice and crime are rife, all life and property are in danger. In a democracy all men have worth and must be cherished. They are a nation's most valuable possession.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Reading Unit

No. 4

HOW DID YOUR CITY GROW?

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

Why city planning is important, 7-446

How most cities have "just grown," 7-446

How Paris was changed, 7-446-47

The effect of a factory on a growing town, 7-447

How cities grow, 7-447-48

How the railway has affected towns, 7-447

Why new sections of a town are often ugly, 7-448

Why it is difficult to improve slums, 7-448

Why some parts of a town "go down in the world," 7-448

Picture Hunt

What is the style of the government buildings in Washington? 7-446

Primitive Indians planned well for community life, 5-501, 7-447

Where New York's water supply

comes from, 10-550

Why was Thomas Jefferson interested in architecture? 11-514

What is under city streets? 7-397

Related Material

How a city gets its water supply, 10-546-53

When was the plan for the city of Washington made? 12-423

Why did men begin to build skyscrapers? 11-515-16

City sewage systems, 7-397

Building city streets, 7-395

Leisure-time Activities

PROJECT NO. 1: Study a map of Washington and see the way in which the streets are laid out.

PROJECT NO. 2: Learn to know your town or city. Make a survey of it and draw a large-scale plan on which the different areas (workers' homes, residences turned into stores, business sec-

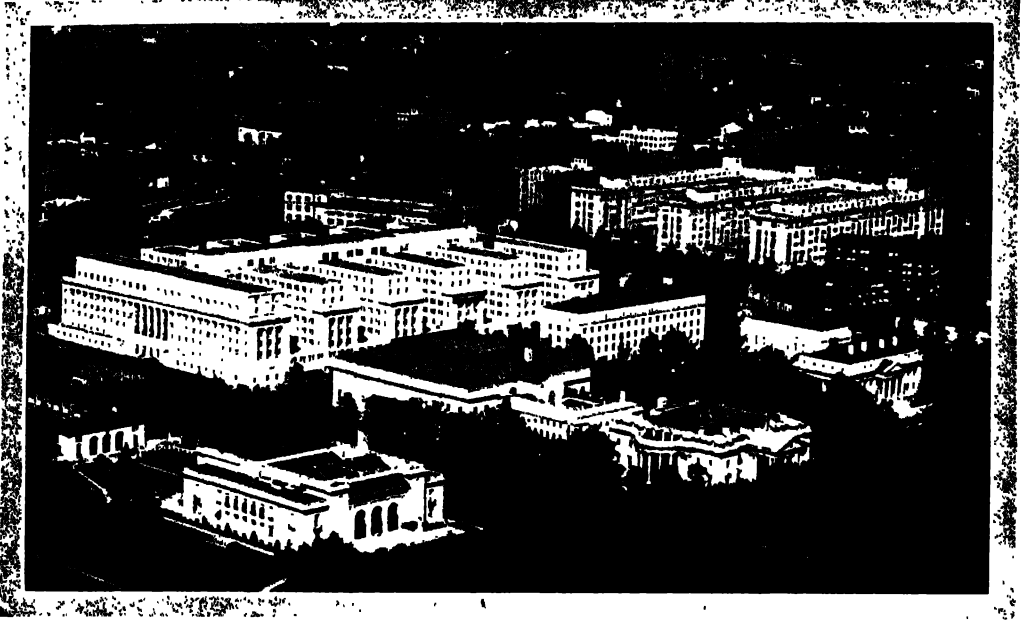
tion, residential sections, etc.) are marked. Think of ways in which the town might be improved.

PROJECT NO. 3: If you can, visit some low-cost housing development and contrast it with a slum district.

Summary Statement

Old cities grew up haphazard. New cities are being "planned." Washington was the first American city to be built on a plan. Paris has been improved by "planning" done centuries after

it was built. Factories and railways have been allowed to spoil water fronts and other attractive locations. Citizens who want an attractive town must "plan" for its future.



Our national capital is constantly growing, but it was planned so well that each new building, and the added thousands of people, can be accommodated without impairing the beauty or convenience of the city.

Above, you see a view of Washington with the great new building of the Department of the Interior showing in the middle distance. Like most of our government buildings it is classical in style.

HOW DID YOUR CITY GROW?

Did It Have an Intelligent Plan, or Did It Just Scramble Up into Its Present Form?

HAVE a plan?" you say. "Why, how can a city have a plan? Surely people can live and build wherever they want to—and no one can tell how much, or where, a city is going to grow."

And of course that is true, but modern cities do have plans, and the better those plans are lived up to, the safer and healthier and happier the citizens are. City planning has become more and more important as our modern life has grown more and more complicated.

As a rule our cities have "just grown," and after a city has grown it is very hard to change. But one that "just grew" is almost never so pleasant a place to live in as it might be. It is because of this that people have become interested recently in city and town planning. At last we have begun to realize in America that when once a city is built it is very hard—that is, very expensive—to alter it, and that if a city is left to grow in any

haphazard way, with chance as the only control, it will more often than not be an ugly and disagreeable place.

The interest that people now have in planning does not mean that it is an altogether new idea. Several cities in the world have been laid out according to a definite plan. One of the most famous is Washington, D. C. A French engineer, named Pierre Charles L'Enfant (lôN'fôN'), drew plans which were approved by George Washington. Many other people have had a hand in developing the city to its present stage, but from the beginning to to-day there was an effort to make the city conform to a plan rather than let it spread out helter-skelter.

If a city is already large and old almost a miracle is needed to make it over. Such a thing did happen to Paris in the middle of the last century. A man named George Eugene Haussmann (ôs'män') was a high official in the French government, and carried through

CITY PLANNING

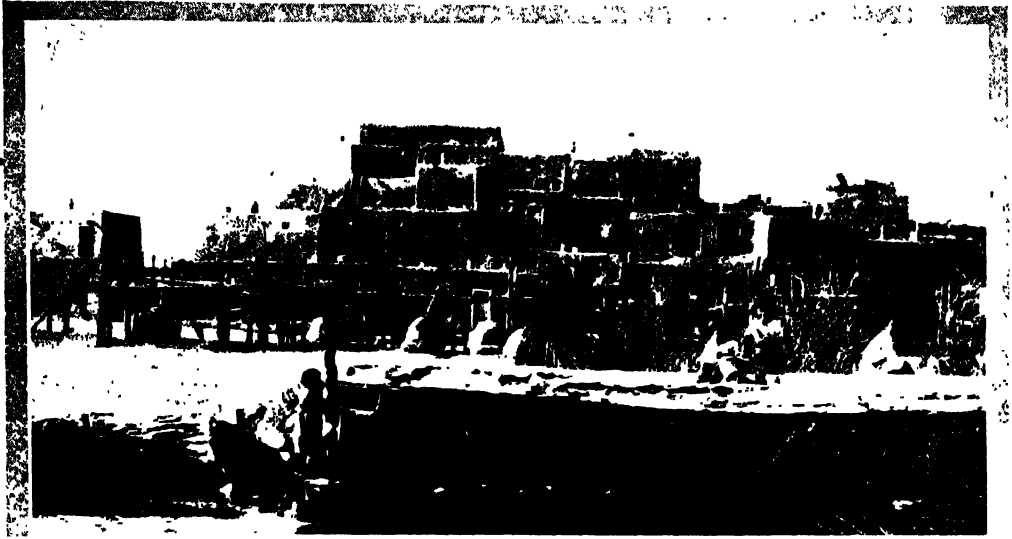


Photo by H. Armstrong Roberts

Primitive and yet strangely modern in appearance, the pueblos of our own Southwest have been built by humble Indians who knew how to design their villages for the comfort and convenience of all. It perhaps

could be maintained that those Indians were the first city planners in North America. Certainly, they calculated so well that pueblos designed centuries ago still serve the needs of the community.

with great energy and foresight some very extensive changes in the city of Paris. He knocked down blocks of old crowded houses and laid out wide boulevards instead. He created parks and open squares where ugly tenements had been. He did all these things with a certain ruthlessness and disregard for the rights, or supposed rights, of property owners, so that he received a good deal of criticism. But to-day Paris is a much more pleasant, healthful, and beautiful city than it would have been without his work.

All too frequently our American cities are not as fine places to live in as they could be, simply because, as we have said, they grew instead of being planned. Experts can read interesting facts about the history of a city by studying the arrangement of its streets and positions of its buildings. Often a modern city started as a trading village on some waterway, a fact which may now be recorded in a tablet fastened to an office building in the center of the business district. The next stage was perhaps a larger village centering around a flour mill and blacksmith's shop. If the right combination of circumstances was present there grew up a small factory or two.

As the town grew, houses were built on all

sides of the factory, and when later the factory was enlarged its managers bought some of the nearby land and tore down the houses. As likely as not another factory appeared on the other side of the town, where land happened to be cheap. With the growth of the town each factory was surrounded by houses, but not by the best kind of houses, because only the poorer people could be got to live near a factory. Soon a railroad was built through the community. This made the town grow faster than ever, but spoiled for residences a strip of land on each side of it. If the railroad did not run close to the river—assuming that our imaginary town is on the bank of a stream—it condemned many of the commercial buildings along the water front to slow death. As more and more freight and passengers are carried by the railroad instead of by boats, the buildings once so advantageously placed on the water front come to be useless and neglected. But it is usually a long time before the town can afford to tear them down and devote the land to parks.

As time goes on our imaginary city grows and finds that the streets which were quite wide enough for the traffic of horses and wagons are now dangerously narrow for

parked cars and streams of motors. Yet this is something that it is most difficult and expensive to do anything about. Besides, as the city grows, houses which were once the finest are invaded by the expanding business section. Many of them must remain residences for years, but now they are lived in by people who neglect them and cannot afford to live decently. The houses turn into slums.

Yet slums are rarely the fault of any one person. The owner of a house in a slum region often bought it when the neighborhood was fine, and has seen it slowly decline in value in spite of everything he could do. The only people who can be persuaded to live in it now, cannot afford to pay enough rent to enable the owner to make the repairs and improvements the house should have. Yet if the business district is slowly moving in this direction, the land values are kept high, and so the taxes are high. Through neglect the house sinks steadily in the scale of decency until it is not even a fit place to live in.

While one neighborhood has been degenerating into a slum because of its nearness to a factory or railroad, or perhaps simply on account of the slow growth of the city, other neighborhoods have been preparing to be the slums of the future. Smart persons with money to invest have noted that the city is tending to grow in a certain direction and have quietly bought up land on that side of town. Then, spending as little as possible, they "subdivide"—that is, they lay out an "addition" to the city. The men who undertake this sort of business may well be highly honorable, idealistic people who perform a needed service to the city. But only too often they work with very little honesty or regard for the general welfare. They cut up the land into blocks like a checkerboard, and divide each block into little lots. Then with much advertising and high pressure they proceed to sell the lots to innocent people to build homes on. Or they may build a string of houses in a row, ready to sell.

There are many variations in what happens, but the result all too often is a whole region of little houses in depressing rows, all nearly alike, too close together, and none of them offering a chance for the sort of

life that even comparatively poor people should be able to live. Even if each house has a bit of grass the yard is too small to be of much use. There are probably no trees or pleasant open spaces in the "development," for parks have not even been thought of. The houses are usually very badly made, so that they begin to need repairs in a short time. Such a region is just as truly a slum, so far as an opportunity for decent living is concerned, as is the better-known kind of slum in the more crowded parts of a city.

We could go on for a long time telling of other things that have happened to our city during the course of its development. They would not all be bad things. There is sure to have been, somewhere, a provision for parks and for other open spaces, like boulevard streets and playgrounds. This has come either as a result of the foresight of some city official or the generosity and public spirit of some wealthy citizen. But in too many cities the bad features far outnumber the good.

At last people are beginning to realize that all this is so, and that it is due, not to inborn evil impulses in city dwellers, but to the fact that we are dependent on one another more than ever when we begin to live in cities. We are beginning to learn that cities can be made pleasant places to live in if people will only act together and make plans on matters that concern all. Making a plan does not mean that the city then has to grow faster than it did before, or even that it has to grow at all. It merely means that, instead of growing haphazard, it can grow to be more comfortable and more beautiful. If the city is not growing it can plan its budget so that parks and playgrounds are slowly made to appear where crowded tenements have been, and so that streets are slowly widened and trees are planted. Intelligent people everywhere are interesting themselves in planning for the present and future of the town they live in, for it is a fascinating thing to imagine how your city might be improved. We shall be hearing more and more, as time goes by, about "slum clearance" and "housing projects." It will all be a part of the efforts of civilized man to make the world a better place to live in.

AGRICULTURE *and* CONSERVATION

Reading Unit No. 1

WITH TRACTOR AND PLOW AND HOE

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

Who the first farmers were, 7-450
The Romans were the first modern farmers, 7-451
How the opening of the West changed farming methods, 7-451, 453
Early farm implements and the first iron plow, 7-452
How factories use farm products, 7-453
New plants and better ones, 7-454
How soil is enriched by fertilizers and "rotation" of crops, 7-

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How experiment stations help the farmer, 7-456-57
Boys and girls of the 4-H Clubs learn to be good farmers, 7-457
A farmer needs capital, 7-457-58
When farmers grew too much, 7-458
When farms ceased to pay, 7-458
Farms and the banks, 7-459
How farmers have joined together to buy and sell, 7-460
Stages of farming, 7-460-63

Things to Think About

How do we know that the Romans were interested in farming?
What new crops were grown in Europe in the Dark Ages?
Why is American farming the most productive in the world?

Why does soil get "tired"?
How did World War I affect American farmers?
What is bad about the "tenant system"?
What are the different "ages" of farming?

Picture Hunt

How was this hoe used? 7-451
Compare these two farming scenes, 7-450, 457
How is it that some farmers need not look for rain? 7-310, 460
Why is dairying good for an "exhausted" farm? 7-459

What is the best crop in a crowded country? 7-462
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Machines that load hay and milk the cows, 10-530, 532
How the government lends money to the farmers, 7-316
The world's great granaries, 9-97-102
When soil needs nitrogen, 1-538

THE HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE



Photo by Victoria & Albert Museum

"Seed Time" is the name of this picture by the English painter, John Frederick Herring (1795-1865). Here a plowman of 1850 steadies his plow while stalwart horses pull a heavy roller over the newly turned earth.

In the distance the sower scatters his seed by hand, of course—and overhead a cloudy spring sky promises rain to start the new seeds sprouting. Four men and eight horses are needed for the work.

WITH TRACTOR *and* PLOW *and* HOE

Here You May Read of All the Things the Farmer Has Found Out since the Stone Age, and May Learn Something of the Pressing Problems Which He Faces at Present

ONCE upon a time, so long ago that we have no way of knowing just when it happened, one of the more enterprising women of the tribe decided to save some of the seeds of grain that grew wild farther up the valley and plant them in the rich earth down by the river, near the spot where her family liked to camp. "If it grows, it will be ripe when we drive the flocks back this way," she said to herself; "and that will save me no end of trouble—to have it right here close at home."

It turned out as she had hoped. There was the grain when they came back again, and very good grain it was, for she had been clever enough to clear away the weeds and brush before she sowed the seed. The other women were delighted at the idea—it saved them a vast amount of work to have the grain growing thickly right at the door. They had always had to hunt for it over all the country

round—and when they could not find it they had sometimes had to see their children die of starvation before their very eyes. Now the crop would be more dependable.

It was almost certainly in some such way that agriculture began. Women of the Stone Age were the first farmers, and their crops were the grasses that grew wild around them and gave them food. After a time they learned to prepare the earth and to cultivate it by scratching the ground with a crooked stick. While the men were off hunting or tending the flocks, their wives experimented with all sorts of plants to see which would give the best yield. With the exception of fishing, agriculture is the oldest industry in the world to-day—the mother of all other arts. Upon it we all depend for existence, and if it should cease mankind would doubtless return to savagery. A fifth of the people in America are engaged in farming, and

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the land they till is worth more than all the gold and silver mined here since Columbus discovered the continent.

When history began, all the early peoples already knew how to farm. It was a necessary step for progress. Before they learned to raise their food they had had to wander about in search of it—with the dread of famine always hanging over them. No people can make much progress in culture when they never can stay in one place; but once they can settle down in homes, they can begin to experiment and to beautify their surroundings and to invent all sorts of things to make life more comfortable and interesting.

The people in Mesopotamia (mēs'ō-pō-tā'-mī-ā), at the head of the Persian Gulf, learned very early to irrigate their land, and the people of Egypt, using the hoe and plow as early as 3000 B. C., had already become famous wheat growers by the time of the early Hebrews. But it was the practical Romans who laid the foundation of our modern agriculture. Some of their greatest poets wrote long poems on how to farm.

When Agriculture Stood Still

The Dark Ages that followed the fall of the Roman power were dark for the farmers as well as for other people. For centuries they kept on using the same tools and the same simple methods. The upper classes spent all their time hunting and fighting, and the serfs and peasants, slaving from dawn to dark, with poor food and no education, had no way of carrying on agricultural experiments or spreading what little knowledge some of them might have.

The Moors in Spain and the monks who worked the monastery fields and gardens were the only ones to forge ahead at this time. They brought in plants from Asia and Africa—rice, cotton, and sugar cane—and they planted grapes in the rocky soil of Southern Spain, in France, and along the valleys of the Rhine and Moselle (mō-zēl') rivers. Grad-

ually the monks taught the people around them how to improve their crops, until by the sixteenth century agriculture was beginning to pay. The first English book on the subject was published in 1534. But two more centuries passed before there was any widespread interest in improving the awkward methods of farming.

On other pages we have told of the hard struggle of the first white settlers in America to raise the grains they had brought with them from the old country. Luckily the Indians could teach them a great deal, for those simple savages were successful at growing

beans and squash, corn and pumpkins, tobacco and sunflowers. As the rich lands of the West were opened up, old-fashioned methods gave way to more modern ideas, machines were invented for working those vast stretches of prairie, railroads came to carry the farmers' produce to market, and the "extensive" agriculture of the present day was in full swing. Farms came to be of enormous size, for much less labor was necessary to till them. By using the various new inventions the farmer of to-day can cultivate 750 acres as easily as a farmer two centuries ago could cultivate 50 acres—and more easily and successfully than a primitive farmer could till a single acre. This means that large numbers of people have left the



Photo by the Metropolitan

Paintings in tombs and other ancient records show us every detail of farming in the early days of Egypt. After the land was plowed—by oxen yoked to a crude wooden plow—the clods were broken up with a hoe, such as the one shown above. In those days a hoe was simply two sticks of wood, one driven into the other.

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Photo by Gramstorff Brothers

The Egyptians were the greatest farmers of their day, but their methods were very crude indeed. Threshing was done by oxen who were driven across the sheaves

in order to free the grain. Winnowing was even simpler; the grain was tossed into the air to allow the wind to carry off the chaff.

farms and gone to the cities to work in factories. So the world can have a great many more manufactured products as well as more food.

What Was the Ancestor of the Plow?

We have told elsewhere of some of the more important farm inventions. Although men have been farming since the Stone Age, more progress has been made during the last hundred years in developing farming tools than in all the thousands of years before. At the dawn of history the hard-working farmer was still tilling the soil with a crooked stick, and even up to the seventeenth century most farmers still used only the clumsiest wooden implements. In early times the principal crops were cereals and flax, a fiber crop which was used to make linen. Harvesting was done with sickles, the earliest ones just a wooden handle fitted with a flint blade. During the early history of farming the greatest mechanical advance was the development of the plow from the hoe. It is hard to realize how important this step was. The plowman could hitch up the beasts to help him. That meant that he could cultivate a great deal more soil and lay in a much larger supply of food at harvest time. During the

Middle Ages few new tools were invented. It was not until the seventeenth century that better agricultural implements began to come into use. During the colonial period in America farming was largely done by hand. Crude plows, harrows, and wagons were the only agricultural machines of the time. It is said that in 1636 there were only fifty plows in the whole Massachusetts Bay Colony.

One of the most important inventions was the cotton gin, made by Eli Whitney in 1793. It brought a great growth in prosperity to the South. In 1797 a cast iron plow was patented by Charles Newbold, but even with this added improvement the plow did not take its modern form until Joel Morse took it in hand in 1840. A few years later John Deere and James Oliver made plows of iron and chilled steel.

What If We Had No Reaping Machines?

Until the opening of the nineteenth century there was little advance in developing machinery for planting or for reaping. The early American colonists used hand scythes for reaping, just as men did in the Middle Ages. But by 1802 threshing machines run by hand power were in use, and crude horse-

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drawn rakes had made their appearance before 1812. About 1850 Cyrus McCormick, who had invented a reaping machine in 1831, began making the machines by the hundreds. Other inventions followed. With the McCormick reaper western farmers were able to grow and harvest vast fields of wheat. McCormick's machine was one of the most important factors in bringing about the rapid growth and development of the Northwest in both the United States and Canada.

The World's Most Progressive Farmers

Though the yield per acre is lower here than in some other countries, the yield per farmer is the greatest in the world. In the use of labor-saving devices American farmers are more scientific and progressive than those of any other country. Since World War I they have turned more and more to machines, until to-day a well-equipped farmer can, in a given length of time, get nearly fifteen times as much work done as a farmer could a century ago. Not only in the West but also in other parts of the country where it is practicable, machinery is replacing both human and animal labor on both big and little farms. It must be kept in mind, however, that machines are not always suitable for certain kinds of farm work.

The invention of the tractor, which is used instead of horses as a source of power, has been quite as important as the improvement of mechanical farming implements. For the farmer's purposes the tractor is better than horses in a number of ways. It can be used twenty-four hours a day and in all weathers. It needs no feed except when it works and only rarely does it need attention. And in the work it can do it outstrips the horse beyond all comparison. For example, a rotary plow drawn by a tractor can break the sod over more than fifty acres in a single day—more than a team of horses could accomplish in two weeks' time.

What Are the Farmer's Machines?

Modern agricultural machinery is of many kinds. There are gas engines, a source of power for almost every purpose; drills for boring deep wells; pumps for water and mixers for concrete; machines for digging

ditches and laying tiles. To-day many farmers own their own electrical generating plants, which supply power for dairies, poultry farms, orchards, and truck gardens. Electricity from these plants runs milking machines, cream separators, feed choppers, and the many other devices which increase the output of the farm and shorten the hours of labor for the farmer and his wife.

Over 70 percent of our farms already have electric power, and more are using it every year. It will have far-reaching results. Especially, it will once more make it possible for the farm to be the scene of small industries, as it was when farmers used to carve or weave or work at some other trade during the winter months. And this will mean that people will no longer have to be herded together in gigantic factory towns, but can live in the open, holding two jobs, and raising their food on the land.

Other inventions that have helped the farmer greatly are improved methods of preserving foodstuffs by means of canning and refrigeration. These processes make it possible to ship foodstuffs all over the world, for canned goods will keep a long time. For the first time in history men can have a varied diet all the year round.

Automobiles and Potatoes

And more than that, the scientist is teaching the factory owner how to use the farmer's goods. We have told elsewhere of this new development. Many people think that some day, when our gasoline gives out, we shall have to turn to alcohol to run our motors. This alcohol will be made from plants—and the growing of those plants will be an enormous task for the farmer. Already Germany, a country that must import oil, has developed a very large potato that has no flavor but yields heavily. She grows these potatoes in great quantities and makes them into alcohol.

Not only do our farm implements differ from those used hundreds of years ago, but so too do our plants and animals. Centuries of selection and careful breeding have brought into existence many varieties of both that are vastly better than those of the earlier days of agriculture. During colonial times in America the settler never thought of

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taking special care of his live stock. The animals were allowed to run loose even during the winter. Later, American planters who went abroad were impressed by the fine quality of European live stock and plants, so they brought specimens of the improved varieties back with them and began to experiment here in the New World. Vines from France and the Mediterranean countries were brought to America by 1780, and in 1819 Mediterranean wheat was planted here. Twenty years before the Civil War other varieties of grain, including Siberian wheat and Black Sea wheat, had been brought to America. To-day the national government keeps expert agriculturists in many parts of the world merely to seek out plants that might be of use to the American farmer. The soy beans they have brought us from the Orient are raised in millions of bushels, and every year their value grows by leaps and bounds. It has been estimated that this work of introducing suitable new plants will increase the total production of our country as much as if we were to add a whole new state. And the scientific breeding of plants to increase their yield and their range will probably do still more.

Science Comes to the Farmer's Aid

Modern science has also taught the farmer how to grow cattle that will give more and better beef and milk, hogs that will gain more weight on less feed. The improved dairy cow will give fifteen times as much milk as a common cow will. Experiments carried on with poultry have produced a breed of hens that average as many as 120 eggs a year, though a wild fowl lays only twelve or thirteen eggs in that time. From the wild apple a thousand different varieties have been

developed; the tart wild grape has given rise to endless varieties of sweet and seedless grapes, both large and small, white and purple; the potato has been so perfected that it is now possible to grow a better quality of larger ones with a greater number in every hill. Discoveries in plant chemistry have also helped the farmer. This science tells

him the characteristics of the soil and helps him to find out what plant foods are present there and what kinds of fertilizer he should use to get the best results.

On other pages you will find a discussion of the common elements necessary to make soil grow good crops, but most land, to be thoroughly productive, needs a good deal more than nitrates (nī'trāt), phosphates, and potash. Various minerals, such as iron, should be added in order that the people who eat the crops may get the necessary elements to help them resist disease. Plants too

grow better and can withstand disease better on a "well-rounded diet."

How to Enrich the Soil

A large part of the commercial fertilizer used in this country is sold in the southeastern states, where the soil is constantly being exhausted by cotton and tobacco. Many of the people there have not learned to rotate crops or to raise animals to enrich the exhausted soil. The expense of buying fertilizer is a heavy drain on their incomes. Elsewhere truck gardens need a great deal of such enrichment. Common commercial fertilizers are nitrate of soda, sulphate (sŭl'fāt) of ammonia, cottonseed meal, the refuse from the rendering of fats, and fish scraps—these are in the nitrogen (nī'trō-jěn) group. Acid phosphate and ground bones are widely used in the phosphate (fōs'fāt) group. And



Farming on the vast scale we know to-day would be quite impossible if all we had to help us were old-fashioned hand implements like the scythe the man in the picture is wielding.

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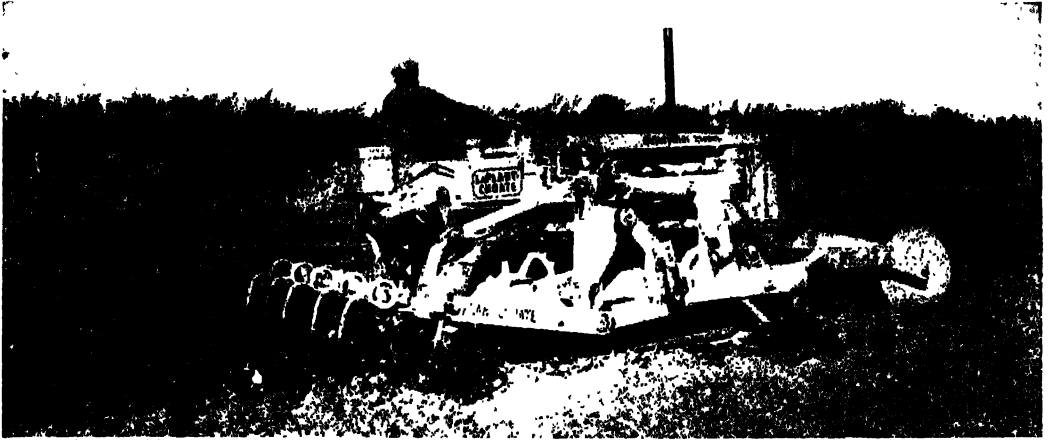


Photo by the Caterpillar Tractor Company

In spite of the fact that much of the farm land in America has lost a part of its fertility, American farmers can still make more money than those of other lands because they use machines. The contrivance

above will clear the weeds from the most untidy soil, and the tractor which is pulling it will haul a variety of machines, which can plow or plant or harvest or thresh a grain crop, no matter what it may be.

kainite (kī'nīt), muriate (mū'ri-āt) of potash, sulphate of potash, and manure salts supply the farmer's needs in the potash group. Ground limestone is excellent to produce a fine clover crop. Of course manure, wood ashes, and decaying garden refuse are fine natural fertilizers. Clover, beans, peas, and alfalfa when plowed under make "green manure." The means by which they restore nitrogen to the soil has been described on other pages.

The Tragic Waste of Our Soil

When the early pioneers came to America they found land, trees, minerals, wild life, and all other natural resources in amazing abundance. So they took what they wanted and destroyed whatever they had no immediate need for, as if no one would ever come after them. To stop this shameful waste and to develop our tremendous natural resources in a thriflier way, a movement was started in the United States in 1908. President Theodore Roosevelt appointed a National Conservation Commission that published a report on our national resources the following year. This report led to the passage of laws designed to save our natural wealth. Such laws were badly needed and still are. Of the desperate need of saving our soil you may read on other pages of these books. It is one of the most pressing problems before our country to-day.

To make crops grow a farmer must have water as well as soil. Now nearly a third of our land that might be planted to crops is "arid" or "semi-arid." In general the arid lands have less than ten inches of rainfall a year, and the semi-arid have between ten and twenty inches. In other words 587,000-000 acres is either hopeless desert or must be irrigated before it can be planted to crops. Much of it is now in cattle ranges.

The Dangers of Over-grazing

On these grazing lands the farms must be large—at least 2,500 acres to a farmer, the experts say. Otherwise the farmer and his family will starve and the soil be ruined by over-grazing. This has already happened over large areas of our country, where, in spite of warning, the government allowed people to settle on farms of only 160 acres. The pitiful tragedy of the great American Dust Bowl is the result. About 51,000,000 acres of our arid or semi-arid land can be put under irrigation—we have explained elsewhere just how this is done. Some 20,000,000 acres—largely in California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming—are already irrigated; in other places where the soil is fertile the people have turned to dry farming. Of course wherever there are more than twenty inches of rainfall, ordinary farming methods are used.

Your dry farmer never looks at the sky,

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sniffs the air, and wonders if it will rain to-morrow. He knows that it probably will not. Instead he does all he can to use every drop of moisture that does fall. His plan is to keep the surface soil loose and powdery and the subsoil free from lumps but firm and compact. Then, when the snows of winter melt, the water sinks down through the loose soil on top into the subsoil and is held there waiting to be drawn up by the roots of the plants the farmer will grow.

As soon as the ground is dry enough, he sows his seed in drills that reach into the moist subsoil. The top layer of powdery earth keeps the moisture in, and lets any rain that falls sink down where it will not evaporate too fast. As long as the plants are small enough, the surface soil is cultivated often. In many places crops are put in only once in two years, in order that the moisture in the subsoil

may have a chance to accumulate. Wheat grown in this way is said to be better than wheat grown on irrigated land, but in certain districts the farmer runs the terrible risk of having all his rich soil blow away in times of drought, and seeing his farm added to the other thousands that make up the great Dust Bowl. Most of the dry farming in this country is in the Columbia River Valley, the Great Valley of California, parts of the Great Plains, and the Great Basin—that part of the West lying between the Wasatch (wō'säch) Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas.

Although farming is man's greatest and most important industry, until quite lately a farmer had to pick up his agricultural knowledge wherever he could find it. There

was no school that could teach it to him. To-day all that is changed. The modern farmer, who is fast becoming a reader and a thinker, realizes that agriculture is a science as well as a business—and sometimes even an art. He has found out that it pays to go to school to learn farming. Various things have helped bring about this change in the farmer's

outlook. One was the establishment by our national government of a Department of Agriculture in 1862; another was the passage of the Land Grant Act in the same year. This act provided that certain lands should be granted to the various states in order to furnish a fund to set up state agricultural colleges. Within the last few years this fund has reached a total of several millions of dollars. As a result of this act and the Morrill Act (1890), some seventy state colleges of agriculture have been founded throughout

the United States. These colleges make it their business to try to improve methods of farming and country life in general. Besides the colleges, many high schools now give agricultural education.

The Work of Experiment Stations

The various state agricultural experiment stations, connected with the state colleges though maintained separately, have also been of the greatest service. The first of these was opened at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, in 1875. They conduct experimental farms where trained scientists work to solve all sorts of farm problems. The work is supported by money contributed in part by the state, in part by the national government. These stations



Courtesy U. S. D. A. Extension Service photo by G. W. Ackerman

Over the whole United States young people interested in farming belong to the 4-H Club. The young member above is getting advice about a sick chick from his county agent.

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Photo by the Caterpillar Tractor Company

There is no going to bed with the chickens on this Illinois farm! Powerful headlights on his tractor en-

able the farmer to turn night into day. Attached to the tractor are a plough and a drag.

were greatly helped by the Hatch Act of 1887, which provided that \$15,000 should be spent each year for an experiment station in connection with each of the agricultural colleges established under the Land Grant Act of 1862.

Agricultural extension work is a form of education that is carried on in the farming districts. New facts that have been learned about farming are explained to the farmers by means of bulletins, articles in the local newspapers and in farm journals, radio broadcasts, and farm demonstrations. Each state has a director of extension work who is assisted by supervisors, boys' and girls' club workers, and experts who are specialists in the various agricultural subjects.

What Are the 4-H Clubs?

In many states "4-H Clubs" have been formed for farm boys and girls. These are organized with the cooperation of the United States Department of Agriculture, the state agricultural college, and various county societies. Nearly a million boys and girls, from ten to twenty years of age, are members. The aim of the 4-H Club is to develop "Head, Hands, Heart, and Health." The club's members work out farm projects and so learn to do by doing.

Growing crops and raising live stock are by no means the only problems in a farmer's life. He must pay taxes on his land - or rent, if he is a tenant—and must have enough cash on hand to carry on his work. In addi-

tion, he must have enough in reserve to meet drought, dust storms, locust plagues, and falling farm prices. Farming has now entered the realm of Big Business. It is a group of industries, and if it is to make money, must compete with other industries. It is no longer the simple occupation that it used to be, when a farmer with a horse or two, a couple of cows, and a bit of seed to plant was as well off as any of his neighbors.

Why Farming is "Big Business"

The modern farmer must have large quantities of capital, perhaps a truck or two to take his produce to market at the right time, and a knowledge of market conditions, not only over the state or over the country but throughout the entire world. If he is a cattle farmer he must be able to buy cattle he has never seen - a thousand or two thousand miles away—and he must be able to pay transportation costs on them and buy their feed for several months. When they are ready for market, he must be able to rush them to the buyer on a few hours' notice, in order to take advantage of sudden price changes. If the price of even high-grade cattle falls, he must be able to sell at a loss and start the same process all over again. The grain farmer faces much the same problems. He does not have to do so much advance buying, as a rule, but unless he has unusual storage space he must sell his grain at the same season as all the other grain farmers - in the fall. He cannot wait for a

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good price. Often a farmer has to gamble on a market several years ahead. Fruit trees, for instance, do not bear the first year; the price may be good when they are set out, but the market may be glutted when they begin to yield. So farming nowadays is not a quiet, peaceful occupation; it is a hazardous and exciting business, and it is above all else a big business. Little men with small capital are quickly swallowed up.

When Farming Did Not Pay

Between world wars farmers in the United States found it about impossible to make both ends meet. Once they had depended on the size of their crops to bring them prosperity. But in the depression years a big crop was almost a calamity, for it is the price of farm produce and not the size of the crop that counts. Big crops drove prices down so far that sometimes the farmers could not even afford to market their goods. For many years the number of farms and the size of farms and the income of farmers fell off steadily. The late thirties saw a little improvement, but it was not very impressive. The government took a firm hand in trying to better conditions, but it was hard to turn the tide of economic forces.

The Golden Age for American Farming

The story goes away back to the opening of the century. The period between 1900 and 1915 was the golden age of American agriculture. This does not mean that the farmers made more money in 1915 than at any other time. The time when the farms grew fastest and when farmers made the most money was during the World Wars. But from 1900 to 1915 the farmers could buy a great deal with the money they got for their crops. Their farms were growing and were producing more and more; and the market which bought their crops was one which would continue to buy for a long time.

During World War I the price of all the things the farmers had to buy went up almost as fast as the price of the goods they had to sell. And since our farmers were growing their wheat and oats and corn and rye to feed the people of Europe as well as the people of America, they had to grow larger

crops. Prices of farm goods went up because so much food was shipped abroad that there was not enough left here. Naturally more men wanted to turn to farming in order to take advantage of the high prices, so the price of farm lands went up too. That meant that the men who bought new farm lands or new tools or built new buildings in order to raise larger crops, often had to go in debt. They paid a part in cash and hoped to pay for the rest out of their profits. American agriculture was growing too fast.

Then the war ended (1918). All over Europe soldiers put down their guns and helmets, and started to raise wheat and rye and oats. And here was America, producing far more than she could ever use and having to sell her huge crops in order to pay for all that new land and those new tools which had been bought on credit.

A Terrible Decline

A few figures will show us what happened to the farmers of Indiana alone. Their fate was the fate of all. In 1920 the average value of an acre of Indiana land was \$104; in 1910 it had been \$62. By 1925 it was almost where it had been fifteen years before, at \$63. And in 1930 this same acre was worth only \$48. Nobody wanted to buy farm land, for so much grain was being produced and the price was so low that farming did not pay. In 1910 the number of farms in Indiana had been 215,485; in 1920 there were only a few less—205,126. In the next five years as many farms disappeared as had been given up in the ten years before. Yet between 1921 and 1926 farm production in the United States was fourteen percent greater than during the five years just before, although the population increased only nine percent. So the decline in farm values kept on. Indiana had 195,786 farms in 1925, and only 181,570 in 1930. If the farm wages of the whole country in 1914 were represented by the figure 100, those of 1920 would be 237; those of 1925, 167; those of 1930, 150, and those of 1933, 80. Meanwhile, during all these years a tariff on manufactured goods had helped the manufacturer to keep prices from falling greatly in most of the things the farmers had to buy. The result was that

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Photo by the Milwaukee Railway

The farmers who have added dairying to their various other enterprises have found it well worth their while. Many a crop-exhausted area can be made to grow

grass and hay to feed a number of cows. And those animals will yield a fine return by producing milk as well as by enriching the soil.

the farmers could not make enough money to pay off their loans.

The Farmers and the Banks

There was no way out. For a number of years before the great depression beginning in 1929 the banks and business men who had lent the farmers money in 1920 had been taking over many of the farms in order to get their money back. But the farms were not worth anything unless somebody worked them, and the bankers could not run farms in their offices. The bankers might sell the farms, but nobody wanted to buy them. And more than that, the other farmers in a region did not relish seeing their neighbor evicted—that is, turned off his land. In many cases when a banker did try to sell at auction a farm that he had taken over, all the buyers agreed that no one would pay more than a few cents for it. So the farm would sometimes be sold for as little as fifteen or twenty cents, and the new owner would give it back to the man whom the bank had evicted. The banks did not try to sell many farms at auction in this way. And of course they hated the whole situation as much as the farmer did. No bank wants its money tied up in unsalable property. During the depression many of them failed—and merchants and wage earners lost part or all of the savings of years.

Sometimes the bankers, when they took over a new farm, would hire men to work it for wages, or for part of the season's crop. Often it would be the same man who had

owned the farm before the bankers took it over. These new farmers were called tenants, and such a system of farm management is known as the tenant system. It has long been recognized as a bad thing in general, for a tenant farmer is not interested in improving the farm unless he can hope to buy it. He does not own the land. The more he improves it, the higher rent he has to pay. So naturally he does not worry much if the house falls to pieces or the fields fall off in the size of their yield. It is not his property. "Let the owner take care of it, if he wants to," he says to himself.

The Growth in Farm Tenantry

By 1935 fifty percent of the farms in the United States were in the hands of tenants, many of them men who had once owned their holdings but were constantly sinking in the economic scale. In Iowa alone, one of the richest farming states in the Union, 47.3 percent of the farms were worked by tenants in 1930. The situation was much worse in the South, where the "sharecropper" dragged out a pitiable existence. The name tells you how he paid his rent. He was always in debt, rarely tasted meat or milk or butter or eggs, was ill clad, ill housed, and more miserable than any other class of worker in the United States.

The problem of farm tenancy was somewhat helped by government loans to farmers. And World War II, with the starvation that followed it, raised the price of farm products so high that the farmers had a good income

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Photo courtesy Idaho State Chamber of Commerce

The greatest construction the world has ever seen is going on in the United States today. The Bureau of Reclamation is building a series of dams to bring water for irrigation to fifteen of the largest states. If you fold a map of the United States in half, you will see just which states these are, for all the area west of the fold will benefit, with the exception of Kansas and Nebraska. Regions where now only low brush and cactus grow will be turned into orchards or fertile fields like

this potato field in Idaho. Since it first began its work the Bureau of Reclamation has built a good many useful dams, including the three largest concrete dams in the world. Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River in Washington, Hoover Dam on the Colorado between Nevada and Arizona, and Shasta Dam on the Sacramento in California. The last, together with the Friant and Keswick dams, is part of a large project for watering 2,000,000 acres in California's Central Valley.

and many were able to own their farms once more. But the whole question needs serious study. For high farm prices can hardly last forever, and when the small farmer cannot earn a living all farming people are likely to sink to the level of the peasants of Europe—undernourished, overworked, uneducated, and too poor to buy the goods that the factories turn out. The whole country will be poor and the whole of American civilization will suffer.

Farmers' Coöperatives

Naturally, the farmers have not seen all this go on without trying to save themselves. It is hard for the individual farmer to act alone when the stockyards, the grain elevators that buy his grain, the men who buy his cotton and his tobacco, and all the other "middlemen" are organized into gigantic combines. So the farmers in many places have founded coöperative associations for marketing their goods and buying at whole-

sale such things as farmers need. We have said more about these associations on other pages. Today there are over 10,000 of them in the United States, and their more than 4,500,000 members make up nearly a half of the active farmers in the country. It is the farmer's answer to the problems finally brought him by the Industrial Revolution, which began about a century and a half ago and is bringing us all so many puzzling questions today.

For there is no doubt that farming must now be thought of in the same terms as other industries. To understand this we need to know a little about its stages of growth in relation to the development of the country. It passes through various phases as a nation grows, and finally reaches the "ultimate" (ül'ti-mât), or final, stage in very old and crowded countries like China and Japan. There the "farms" are little gardens, the work is done by hand, and meat is left out of the diet of the people.

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The very first resources that settlers make use of in a fertile, well-watered land are the game and furs of the forest. The next stage soon follows, when people begin to chop down the trees for their lumber. In the third stage they turn their herds and flocks to graze on the newly cleared pastures. In treeless countries this will follow directly after the first stage, when the great grassy stretches are used for hunting. All new countries—Western Canada, Australia, Argentina, and our own Great Plains—raise large numbers of animals in proportion to the population; and the products shipped away are cattle, hides, tallow, wool, and frozen meat.

What Is "Extensive Farming"?

As people increase, the process gradually passes into the fourth stage, when the ground is plowed and crops are raised. As a rule grains are put in first—planted in wide fields and cultivated by machinery. This is known as "extensive" farming. It suits the needs of a growing population better than cattle or sheep raising, for it costs more to feed plant products to a steer or sheep and then eat the animal than it costs for man to eat the plant products to start with. The grass that will make a pound of meat takes up as much land as will grow five or ten pounds of grain—enough to make from eight to fifteen loaves of bread.

As people are more and more crowded together, fewer and fewer animals can be raised in proportion to the population and people are likely to eat less and less meat. The sheep will probably vanish first, for its wool and meat are of less value than the milk and meat of the cow. The pig holds his own the longest, for he gives the largest return in meat for the grain it takes to feed him, and he is accommodating enough to live on scraps from the table, acorns in the forest, and such roots and juicy stalks as he can turn up in the dooryard. Chickens are the last resort of a crowded people, and are the only meat many poor farmers in China ever have a taste of. Crowded peoples are lucky if they can fall back on fish.

In Germany, Holland, and Belgium cows are still kept in large numbers, but mostly

they live their lives in the stables and are fed in large part on feed shipped in from other lands. A certain amount of hay is harvested for them on the meadows that cover the lowlands along the North Sea, and turnips are grown in many fields to add variety to their diet. Those cows, of course, are raised for their milk. Denmark, the leading dairy-ing and poultry country in Europe, still has room to turn her cattle out, but she is blessed with unusually rich pastures.

Farming in Crowded Countries

Holland and Belgium have gone the farthest of the European countries in the process of "intensification"—that is, in making the land yield the greatest possible return; but all the crowded lands of Western Europe have an intensive agriculture and all must import some of their food. Naturally they do not grow much wheat, which, to be profitable, needs large fields and expensive machinery. Their little plots of land—crowded right up to the road with never an inch to spare in any direction—are planted as a rule to other crops—potatoes, beans, sugar beets, turnips, cabbage, and similar vegetables. It is more or less a "garden agriculture." It takes a great deal of work, but where people are so crowded, labor is cheap and the land must be made to yield as much food as possible. Farther south, the people around the Mediterranean grow the grape and the olive. Hungary, Roumania, and Russia still have an extensive agriculture and sell grain to their more crowded neighbors.

The Tiny Farms of the Orient

China and Japan have moved still farther in the process of intensification. They are the most crowded countries in the world, and must treat their land as they would a garden; many of the hillsides are terraced, and several different crops are sometimes raised on the same land in one year. Parts of Italy are approaching this stage of agriculture. And even in some parts of the Southern United States potatoes will be followed in the same year by a crop of corn, and cowpeas will be sown among the hills of the second crop. In China a family of twelve will get its living off two and a half

THE HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE



Photo by Calif. Fruit Growers Assn.

These orchards in the West were desert until they were irrigated. As the world grows more crowded more and more land will have to be reclaimed. The yield of crops

acres of land. But its animals will probably be only a few pigs and chickens, possibly a cow; its food will be chiefly beans, sweet potatoes, millet, a little wheat or barley, and perhaps a little corn. Tea is always grown in the dooryard, but rice is a luxury. Millet is grown to use for winter fuel—and little enough is used, at that! No single scrap of anything is wasted—even human excrement is used as fertilizer.

The "standard of living"—that is, the level of comfort that people can provide for themselves—is probably as low among the masses in China and Japan as it is anywhere in the world. The crowded lands of Europe can give their people a much better living because factories have been established and the people have turned to industry. By selling the manufactured products to less crowded countries they can buy the food they need from abroad. None of them have so high a standard of living as we have in the

will be increased, and people will probably have to eat new kinds of foods, for cereals take up a great deal of land for the amount of nourishment they yield.

United States, but they are better off than they would be if their people lived entirely off the land. China and Japan are gradually turning to this new way of life, Japan more rapidly than China.

The Best Crop for Crowded Lands

The very best use a crowded country can make of its land is to plant tree crops—olives, nuts, and fruits. The yield in food per acre is larger than in any other crop, and the cost of cultivation is very low. For instance, walnuts or pecans on a given area will yield much more nourishment than wheat will—and the farmer has the lumber besides. Wherever tree crops have been planted—as in Italy, where chestnuts cover the mountain sides in certain sections—an amazing number of people and animals can live on the crop. But it will take a long time to persuade people to rely on trees instead of grain, for men are slow to change their food habits.

THE HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE

Experts say that large sections of our American lands—hillsides, abandoned farms, and stony tracts—should be planted to fruit or nut trees. New England, for instance, is badly in need of some such scheme of agriculture. Her soil was never suited to ordinary crops, except in the valleys, but trees flourish in many places. And lumber everywhere is rapidly rising in price.

What Is "Crop Rotation"?

It usually happens that when a new country is first opened up to agriculture, the farmers depend on a single crop—in the United States it has been wheat or cotton or tobacco. All goes well for a time, but at last the land begins to give out. Then the farmer has to turn to crop "rotation" (rō-tā'shūn)—that is, he plants a succession of crops on the same land. This is the second step in economical farm management, and marks a great advance. It not only saves the land; it also makes the farmer less dependent on the price of his single crop—he has not put all his eggs in one basket. All skillful farmers rotate their crops. Through the great American corn belt they put in a succession of oats, corn, and hay—an excellent combination to feed the stock that the farmer makes it his business to fatten. It may be that he relies on his hogs or his steers to bring him in his money. They will be his "cash crop," and will make it possible for him to buy his clothes, his furniture, his farm implements, and perhaps a radio or an automobile.

This addition of live stock is the third important step in scientific farming. The creatures may be sold on the hoof or kept for their milk or wool. They take more care than grain does—but also they yield more money and they greatly enrich the soil. Our more prosperous farming sections all raise hogs or cattle and often keep cows. If they have gone into dairy farming they have reached the fourth stage in scientific farm development. The farm is now a kind of factory. In its fields it raises the feed which its cows will turn into milk. Still more labor is necessary than for raising meat, for the milk must be cared for as well as the cattle.

But it is well worth while, since \$1,000 in feed will yield only about half as much when turned into beef as it will when turned into milk. As a final stage in wise farm economy the farmer will some day have machines for manufacturing his own products—into butter and cheese and such—or for manufacturing raw materials that he will buy elsewhere.

Many of our exhausted farms will raise good hay and support a number of cows. It is to be hoped that some day the farmers who now struggle to earn a meager living on them will be able to turn to dairying. This is especially true in the South, where the climate is so mild that cattle do not have to be housed in barns. This rich section is only beginning to loosen the grip of "one-crop farming"—it is still suffering from the results of the Civil War. Cotton and tobacco were long the chief cash crops, and corn furnished much of the food, with an occasional hog for meat. "Hog and hominy" was the main diet of many farm families that did not even have chickens or a garden to piece out. They were undernourished and ill and discouraged. But today they are fast learning to rotate crops, raise animals, plant a garden, and in many cases to start a dairy. They are learning how to make better use of chemical fertilizers. To learn these new farming methods is hard, and it is still harder for people already poor to find the money for new ventures. But the government has helped. And gradually that section of the country which was most favored by nature—which was meant to be a Garden of Eden—is being saved from appalling poverty.

Whose Problem Is It?

Now all these are problems that the lawyer and the business man, the school teacher and the mechanic, the factory worker and the office clerk, will have to help solve. The prosperity of the whole country depends upon the skill and prosperity of the farmer. He must be energetic, resourceful, and intelligent. Luckily for our great nation, the American farmer has all these qualities. Given a fair chance he will surely be able to weather future storms.

AGRICULTURE *and* CONSERVATION

Reading Unit

No. 2

CAN WE SAVE OUR CROP LANDS?

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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A rich land that is now a desert, 7-465
The American Dust Bowl, where the wind blows our land away, 7-466
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What the "C.C.C." boys did, 7-470
Maps for the farmer, 7-470
Cunning plowing helps keep the water from carrying soil away, 7-470

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How does rich land become barren?
How has the blowing away of our topsoil been made possible?

What are our "sub-marginal" lands?
How do grasses protect soil?
What are "windbreaks"?
What do we mean by the "balance of nature"?

Picture Hunt

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Summary Statement

Once-rich lands have become barren in many parts of the world, and if care is not taken the same thing may happen in America. In the Dust Bowl soil has been swept away by the winds. Water carries away even

more in other sections. Americans have been wasteful of their natural heritage. Now they realize that they have destroyed many of their forests. The government has stepped in to conserve our woods and fields.

CONSERVATION



Photo by Bureau of Reclamation

Why has the farmer abandoned this house, and what has killed the trees? The answer is lack of water—long droughts that never seem to end. Houses like this one are scattered over the whole Columbia Basin, where farmers planted orchards in a period of abundant

rains. It would be hard to find more fertile soil, but without irrigation it cannot produce in dry seasons. Scenes like this tell why our government goes to great expense in building dams and reservoirs to prevent floods and store water for use in droughts.

CAN WE SAVE OUR CROP LANDS?

The Soil Is Our Most Valuable Possession, Yet We Are Losing It at an Appalling Rate. With It We Shall Lose All Hope of Remaining a Great Nation

COME with us to Asia—across the thousands of miles of forest and field, mountain and sea that lie between us and the Gobi (gō'bē) Desert. Here, in the center of a vast unwatered tract of more than half a million square miles, we shall pause to watch the winds tirelessly whip up the barren sand and drive it, like an enormous file against the naked rocks. Dust darkens the air. Our throats are parched. Around us on every side is an appalling desolation. In many places no green thing grows, no living creature can survive. Across the waste the sand dunes march with slow, relentless pace; they are the only moving things on the face of the desert. They have buried fields and cities

that flourished here in ages long gone by.

Now come with us to the storied land of Mesopotamia (mēs'ō-pō-tā'mī-ā), that famous region between the Tigris (tī'grīs) and Euphrates (ū-frā'tēz) rivers, where centuries ago man spread one of his great civilizations. Sumeria, Babylonia, Assyria—they ruled the world with a magnificence that astounded the races beneath their sway. To-day they too are desert, haunted by the hare and the jackal. Their teeming cities are heaped-up mounds of sand, where learned men come to dig for relics of the great days of the past.

"But how can it be?" you ask. "Why should there be a desert here to-day where the land once was fertile?"

CONSERVATION

Come with us on another journey—not such a long one this time. In fact we shall not even be leaving our own native land. Come with us to the great plains that sweep eastward from the Rockies—to eastern Colorado, western Kansas, western Oklahoma, or parts of Wyoming. We shall be in the famous American Dust Bowl, where land that was once green with grass and dotted with vast herds of cattle is now fast turning to desert such as we saw on the barren plains of Mesopotamia. The very process that caused the great civilization of “the two rivers” to vanish from the earth is going on over vast tracts of our own country, and at terrific speed. In 1934 over 300,000,000 tons of rich topsoil was blown out of the Dust Bowl in a single day. Much of the land that remains is unfit for any kind of crop. Even wild grass will not grow on some of it.

The trouble here came from the fact that land suited only to grass had been plowed a few years back and planted to crops. Then came droughts, when the parched earth turned as dry as a bone. Without the grasses to protect the soil and hold it together with their fine mat of roots, the wind could have its way. Terrible dust storms followed. Millions of tons of topsoil were blown away, a loss which it will take generations to replace. Farms to eastward were buried. Live stock perished. Vast tracts of land went back to desert. For it is only in topsoil that crops will grow. Subsoil is unproductive.

Now what is to be done? For surely something must be done and done quickly. The National Resources Committee reports: “The fact is that most of the territory of the United States is not naturally suited for a permanent civilization. It is like the land of the Mayas of Yucatan, or the land of Babylon—a rich country where civilization can flash into a

blaze of glory and then collapse in a few generations into ruin. Our soil is not enriched by the usual methods of cultivation, but impoverished. By the normal processes of our farming, our mining and our lumbering, we create a desert. . . . Any nation whose land naturally tends to turn into desert must take measures to preserve the land or it will surely die.”

And it is not the wind alone that is robbing us of our soil. Water is doing even

more. Wherever it can get to work on a cultivated slope it filches away the topsoil. It has utterly ruined 100,000,000 acres of land that was once in thriving farms.

And 100,000,000 acres is a very great deal. It is equal, roughly, to New England, New

York, and Pennsylvania combined. Another

125,000,000 acres of fertile topsoil has largely been washed out of farms that the unhappy owners are still trying to work. These

are our much talked-of “sub-marginal” lands. And still another 100,000,000 acres are gradually losing their topsoil. Experts say that 3,000,000,000 tons of our richest soil are washed

into the rivers every year—an annual loss of \$400,000,000!

The Tragedy of Our Abandoned Farms

And besides this yearly loss, much of the land that is not being washed or blown away has been so exhausted that it will not raise crops. All along the eastern seaboard are these “abandoned farms,” where the early settlers, drunk with what seemed the never-ending riches of this new continent, farmed the soil without any care for it and then discarded it for new land farther west. Who in that day ever dreamed that sometime all the fertile acres would be taken? Who could foresee the teeming millions who would one day inhabit this “land of opportunity”?

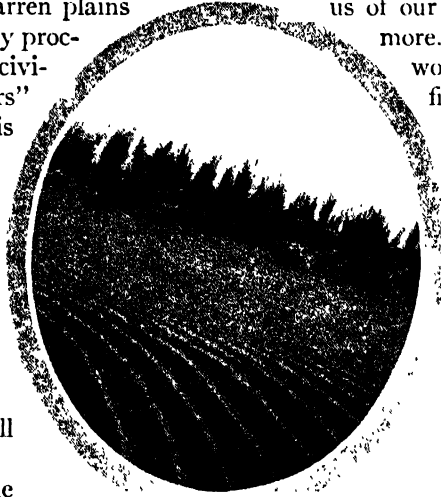


Photo by Resettlement Administration

This strange vegetation is sand-binding Holland grass planted on the dunes of the Oregon coast, where the winds play strange tricks with the sand, as you may see in the foreground. The tough roots of the grass will hold the sand in place and keep it from blowing over the cultivated land.

CONSERVATION



Photo by U. S. Forest Service

Think how beautiful and useful a forest is—then study the terrible desolation of this scene. And do not overlook the gully which may grow until the whole region is eaten away. Fire has finished the work

of men who have laid bare the region with destructive logging. The government is saving many of our forests to-day by including them in national forest preserves, and is setting out trees in cut-over land.

As a result of all her carelessness and waste the United States to-day finds herself with just half the available farm land she had when the Pilgrims landed. She is faced with the terrible fact that, if things are allowed to go on as they are going at present, she will be hopelessly on the decline as a great nation in another hundred years. And more than that, people who know—people like the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States—tell us that unless we take vigorous steps at once, it will be too late. Another thirty years of carelessness, and the soil, our most important source of wealth, will be gone past recall.

Nature Always Takes Her Time

Now if you will read what we have said elsewhere in these books as to how the soil is made and what it consists of, you will understand why, once this precious stuff is gone, it is gone forever—or at least “forever” as we reckon human time. Under natural conditions five hundred years are necessary to make only an inch of soil. You see, in the calendar of Nature “a thousand years are but as yesterday when it is past.” Only

man is impatient. Nature takes her time.

Now our early settlers—and for that matter many of the farmers who are exhausting the soil to-day—had no notion that the things they were wasting were priceless. Having such wealth ever ready to hand, it was easy for Americans to become a nation of wasters. Nobody gave a thought to the future of our farms and forests, our streams, our wild life. Our natural resources were left to take care of themselves. But that they could not do in the face of man’s carelessness and greed. As a result it finally became necessary for our national government to take a hand in the management of these affairs. Beginning in 1871, with the establishment of a United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, governmental activities were enlarged and multiplied till in 1909 President Theodore Roosevelt appointed a National Conservation Commission whose business it was to take stock of America’s natural resources and to propose means of keeping them for future generations. Since that time new bureaus and commissions have been organized and put to work as needs have arisen, and to-day those arms of the gov-

CONSERVATION

ernment that look after the protection and conservation of natural resources are among the most active of its many departments.

When We Disturb the Balance of Nature

Even before our government made its first survey of the country's natural resources, it was well known that the conservation of any one natural resource is a matter closely related to the conservation of nearly all others. For example, the draining of swamps and marshes where wild fowl feed and nest eventually leads to the extinction of the birds. Turning prairie lands to agricultural purposes meant the wiping out of buffalo and other wild creatures. Cutting down forests for their timber not only robs us of valuable lumber supplies but brings flood and disaster to people living on the banks of distant rivers.

Before conservation had become a matter of concern to the nation ruthless timber cutters went through the forests and literally stripped them. For this greed the whole nation is now paying handsomely. With the heavy growth of timber gone, winter snows melt and flow off more quickly. The sudden torrents of water swell thousands of tiny streams beyond their banks, and this overflow tears away the precious topsoil and hurries it on to the sea. Besides this, rivers bear their burden of soil and coarse gravel to the fine farm lands in the rivers' lower courses and dump their burden there to the ruination of the land. They pile sediment up behind dams, fill reservoirs, and even clog the rivers' natural channels. The horrors of floods such as the country saw in the winter of 1937 and the tragic losses of the drought the year before

—these we know only too well. Both were caused at bottom by the cutting of timber lands that had formerly held back the water from melting snows and had fed it out gradually to the streams over a period of many weeks.

But floods and drought are only a part of the havoc worked by such careless deforestation. An even greater damage is the tearing away of the topsoil from thousands of square

miles of fine farm land. Only a moment's thought will show us the importance of conserving the soil. Without proper soil there can be no satisfactory agriculture. And farming is one of the main occupations in the United States. Nearly 30 million people—about one-fifth of the population—are engaged in it. In the 1940's, the value of principal farm crops ran as high as 20 billion dollars annually. No other business produces anything like that much in a single year. And on what the farmers grow, the rest of us must depend for food. There is no

soil without life and there is no life without soil.

What Is "Sheet Erosion"?

Of course wind and water are always at work tearing away the soil. The process is called "erosion" (ē-rō'zhŭn), which simply means "wearing away." Natural erosion goes on so slowly that the balance of Nature is not disturbed. Fertility is built up as fast as fertile soil is carried away. But when man steps in, things begin to go at a terrific rate—and it is this man-made erosion that must be prevented.

Now there are various stages in water erosion, and all take place on sloping land



Photo by U. S. Geological Survey

Here is good land that is fast being eaten away. Georgia once had a fertile coastal plain, but now 60,000 acres have been washed and gullied beyond repair. Gullies are the work of water, and often start when sloping land is plowed with the furrows running up and down hill. Proper methods of plowing and strip cropping—that is, growing crops in strips with grass between—help to keep our soil from washing away as this Georgia soil has done.

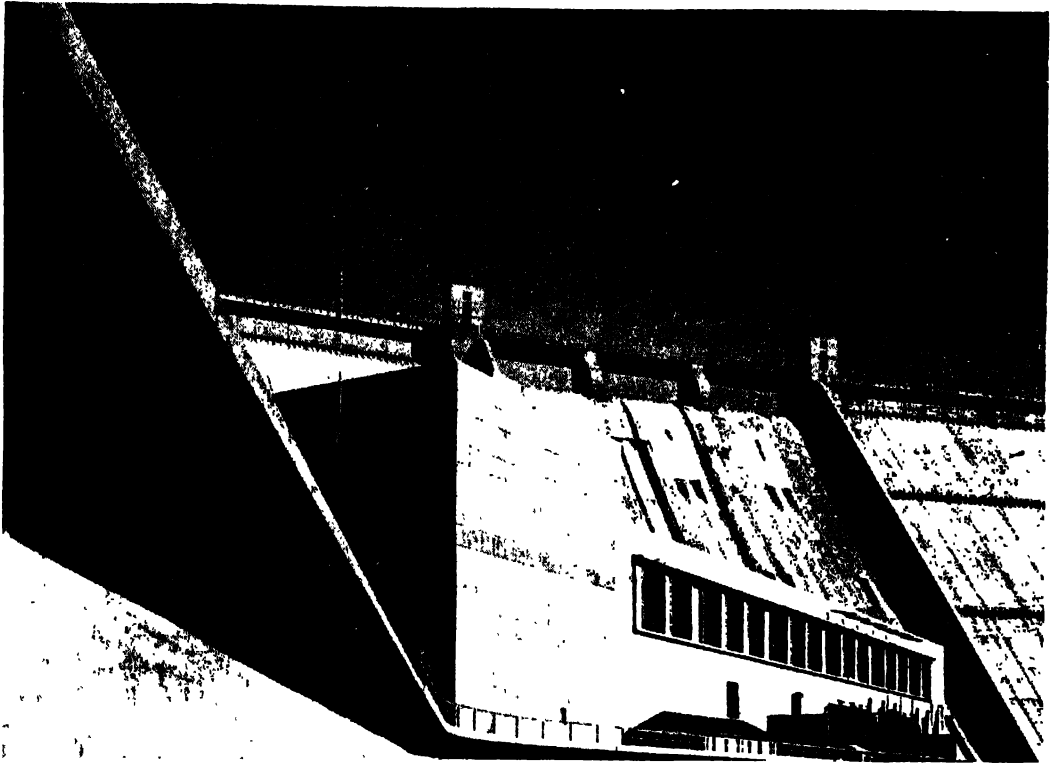


Photo courtesy of U.S. Bureau of Reclamation

This fine structure is part of Shasta Dam, the third largest concrete dam in the world. Built across the

Sacramento River in California, it controls floods and stores water for irrigation and for electric power.

that is not well protected by plant growth. The first kind is called sheet erosion. It results when rain falling on tilled land mixes quickly with the fine loose soil on top and forms a thin mud or film that stops up all the tiny holes by which water usually sinks into the earth. All the rest of the shower has to run off, taking its burden of rich soil along with it. This is the first step in erosion. It cannot take place when the ground is thickly covered, for grass and close plant growth keep this film from forming. The water that filters through them is clean. Dig into the earth an inch or two on any forest floor. The soil is almost like a sponge. There is no loose earth to make a cementlike film to stop the millions of tiny entrances.

What is "Shoestring Erosion"?

Now sheet erosion is hard to see, but the next stage is evident enough. It is called shoestring erosion or finger erosion. Thousands of little rills rushing down a plowed

slope after a rain leave countless tracks or tiny furrows behind them. Given time and a wide enough area to work in, these furrows will grow into gullies and once a gully is formed, the land is gone for good.

Naturally, all these stages of erosion are to be found on American lands, in some places worse than in others. Nearly everywhere there is a certain amount, but perhaps the most tragic example occurs in Georgia, where gully erosion is widespread and has taken the whole of a once-fertile county. It is interesting to know that the most mighty of these gullies was started by nothing worse than water dripping from the roof of a farmer's barn.

What Are We Doing to Save the Soil?

Now what are we going to do about it? What steps are Americans taking to save their great land from the twilight that threatens to close in upon it? In 1933 our national government established a bureau of

CONSERVATION

experts known as the Soil Conservation Service. It is part of the Department of Agriculture, and with the help of a number of other agencies, especially those whose duty it is to protect and increase our water resources, it aims to do everything in its power to save our valuable crop lands.

Mapping the Farmer's Land

What is being done? The first step is for the government to persuade the farmer to cooperate. This of course is largely a matter of educating him to see the situation. Once he has agreed to help, a map of his farm is made and experts tell him what to do with every acre he has. No steep slopes are planted to crops. They are put into pasture or, if very steep, into woodland. No slope of more than ten to every hundred feet is plowed, and sometimes land that slopes as little as five feet to every hundred is planted to grass. Slopes of more than twenty feet to a hundred are usually planted with trees. Besides this plan for his land, the farmer is given a plan for rotating his crops, so that the land may not be worn out with nothing but cotton or tobacco or wheat or corn. Sloping land is not planted entirely to crops that do not permit of grass being grown between the rows.

Sometimes mildly sloping crop lands are terraced--for even a very gentle slope can wash badly, once the land is plowed. Channels are made between the terraces to carry the water downhill. Farmers everywhere are urged not to plow their land up and down the hills, but instead to plow along the hillside horizontally. Then the furrows will serve for terraces and so keep the water from running off too fast. Sometimes broad strips of grass are left on a hillside to stop the downward flow.

Where small gullies have already been washed out, check dams are built of lumber or cement or even loose stones and gravel. The earth fills in behind the dam and the washing is stopped. In other places vines that make a rapid growth are planted on the sides of a gully and by their firm roots keep the soil from washing.

On level land the soil can lose its valuable properties through what is known as leaching.

Minerals that serve as plant food are dissolved out of the soil and sink far down into the earth. Leaching can be stopped by never allowing plowed land to be bare. If possible, grass is planted between the rows of a crop and over a field when the regular crop is harvested. Naturally leaching goes hand in hand with sheet erosion. Planting between the rows is also of use in keeping topsoil from blowing away in dry areas. On lands in the Dust Bowl, desert weeds are coaxed to grow--and grass, where it is possible. To protect farms that are still fertile, windbreaks of trees are planted. It is important that grasslands should not be grazed too close. That is one of the causes of present conditions in the Dust Bowl.

Intelligent Use of the Land Pays

The Soil Conservation Service is not the only agency that works to improve the soil. There are others in the federal government that devote effort to keeping it in condition so that Americans and many people in other countries may have more and better products from the land. The Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, and the Department of the Interior have divisions that are always at work to bring about all sorts of improved methods of farming.

When World War II came, the program of the soil experts was well under way. The achievements of the American farmers in producing "food for victory" was due in no small measure to this program. In addition to feeding American civilian and military citizens better than ever before, they produced enough to send the Allies a billion dollars' worth of food a year--and much other farm produce besides. To do this, some land that was being allowed to "rest" was put back into cultivation. But with all its demands, World War II took less toll from the land than did World War I. Conservationists did not relax their efforts during and after the war. And American soil experts are also working with men in other nations to help solve farming problems in many parts of the world.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Reading Unit No. 1

PROTECTING THE UNITED STATES

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Summary Statement

The winning of wars has come to be more and more a matter

of intelligence, skill, and steady moral character.

SOLDIERS OF UNCLE SAM



Tanks are of different sizes depending upon the work they have to do. Small ones, like the one at the left, are useful in clearing machine-gun nests and are very easy to maneuver on the field of battle. Their armor is lighter than that on the larger ones, some of which carry frontal armor six inches thick. All tanks must be lined or padded, for they give a crew a very rough ride.
Photo by U. S. Army Signal Corps

SOLDIERS of UNCLE SAM

*The United States Has Never Wanted a Big Army
in Times of Peace, but Has Built Up
Vast Forces in Wartime*

THE first army the United States ever had was the one that fought in its Revolution. It consisted of militiamen from the various colonies, and they had been authorized by the Continental Congress, in June, 1775, to fight for the defense of the country. The command was given to General George Washington, who became its first commander in chief.

The militia units which formed that army had been in existence many years before the Revolution. They were colonial troops, patterned on similar troops in the mother country, and serving mainly as protective forces for the various colonies against the Indians and the French. Since each colony had its own system of raising and organizing its militia, there was little uniformity among the independent units. In all, however, the militiamen were enlisted for short

periods, varying from two weeks to six months, and were commanded in general by inefficient officers, largely chosen for their popularity or appointed by colonial governors for political reasons. Under these conditions there was little chance of producing a well trained or well disciplined body of men.

General Washington was faced with the serious problem of bringing order into this rather motley army. He soon found he could not expect much help from the Continental Congress, which had far too little influence over the separate colonies. The colonies were jealous of their former sole command of their own troops and they struggled against giving any of it up to the commander in chief. Some went so far as to dictate the conditions under which their militia should serve.

For such reasons Washington soon saw

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that if the war was to go on Congress must give him a more permanent force and one more directly responsible to his command. This Congress did when in January, 1776, it took measures to raise and govern a small body of troops independent of the militia. This force, our first Regular Army, was enlisted for a short-term and its officers were chosen for command. Thus came the beginning of an efficient small army, and one which largely determined the successful end of the Revolution.

After the war the militia returned to their own states and Congress set about disbanding the Regular Army. Struggling under the burden of a huge war debt, and faced with no immediate foe, Congress looked upon a standing army as a needless expense. It even passed an act declaring that to keep any armed force in time of peace was against the principles of the new republic; and it felt that in such an army, under an unscrupulous leader, lay a dangerous threat to the liberty of a free people. Indeed, our Army at this time (1784) would have disappeared entirely but for the fact that eighty soldiers were needed to guard valuable army stores at Fort Pitt and at West Point. So those eighty soldiers made up the entire army of a new-born

nation, with its government not yet established and with foes within and without ready to take advantage of its weakness and confusion!

Of course the need of a somewhat larger force was soon evident. Indian wars and internal rebellion broke out. Having first called on the states to furnish militia, with the same poor results that marked the Revolution, Congress finally resorted, though reluctantly, to an increase of the "Regulars."

When our present constitution was adopted, the Continental Congress gave way to a government that had far more power. With a duty of providing for the common defense, the new government found it had an army of about

five hundred men. It did not want a large army, but it was

forced by unsettled conditions to maintain some semblance of a force. Congress then adopted a military policy which has remained fundamentally the same to this day. The policy is to maintain only a very small regular army in time of peace

which will be increased, in the event of war, by a much larger force of citizen-soldiers, the latter to serve with the Army only for the period of trouble. In this way Congress felt it



If you will study these three uniforms—the top-most worn by an officer in the Revolution, the next in the Civil War, and the third by a noncommissioned officer after World War I—you will notice that each is more practical than the one before. War has been progressively losing its color and romance, becoming ever more of a grim, practical business.

Photos by United States Army

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Photo Copyright by Milwaukee Public Museum

Through most of the nineteenth century the Regular Army was all too frequently called upon to act with the militia in putting down Indian uprisings. This picture shows the end of one of the most tragic of these, the Black Hawk War fought in Wisconsin and

Illinois in 1832. Black Hawk, leader of the Sauk Indians, is being turned over to the white men by other Indians with whom he vainly took refuge after the terrible battle, or rather massacre, of Bad Axe River, when his people were nearly wiped out.

provided an adequate army that was still consistent with the wishes of a peace-loving and democratic people. That this policy is still in force may be seen from the character of our army before the Second World War. By an Act of Congress it consisted of three forces, the Regular Army, the National Guard—when called into the federal service—and the Organized Reserves.

The Men Who Belong to the Regular Army

The Regular Army is our first line of defense in peace time. It is made up of professional soldiers who all go into it of their own free will. Before 1940 our country never knew compulsory military service for its citizens except in time of war. We felt that to demand it in peace time was an infringement upon individual rights. Now, however, the ways of making war have changed so greatly that a nation suddenly invaded could not train up a new army in time to ward off defeat. So even in peace time we are teaching our young men to fight.

The National Guard, or Organized Militia,

as it was long called, is still mainly a state organization. Only in the event of war or other serious emergency is it called to serve with the Regular Army. In the various states it gives service in quelling riots in prisons or elsewhere, in helping to maintain quarantine, and in giving aid in disasters such as floods, earthquakes, and fires. Older than the Regular Army, it long differed greatly from this body in its organization, discipline, and training; but since 1900 it has become more and more "regularized" in these matters. At present Regular Army officers are detailed as instructors with the various state units, and there is more federal supervision.

The Work of Organized Reserves

The third line of the nation's defense, the Organized Reserves, is a rather new departure in our defense system. Among the nations of Europe a reserve has long been an important part of the Army, but our country was late (1920) in making any real provision for such a force. The service now

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consists of a Reserve Officers Corps and an Enlisted Reserve Corps, both voluntary. Possible future reserves, both officers and men, are provided for in the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) in schools and colleges, and also in a large number of Citizen Military Camps in different sections of the country. In peace time all train civilians, warrant officers, and enlisted men for possible reserve commissions.

How the Regular Army Has Kept Busy

Since the Revolution our army has served in five major foreign wars and in one civil war. These are the War of 1812 against the British, the Mexican War (1846), the Civil War (1861), the Spanish-American War (1898), and two World Wars (1917, 1941). In all these the small Regular Army made the nucleus around which the necessary citizen-soldiers could be enlisted and trained, whether militia, volunteers, or conscripts. In the intervals between wars, until 1894, the Regular Army was busy fighting Indians, pushing our frontier westward, building and maintaining the numerous forts which dotted the new area, exploring and mapping the

wilderness, building roads and bridges, aiding in the construction of railways, and at all times giving protection to the pioneers, who followed fast as settlers in the lands which the Army opened up. This "Winning of the West" was a difficult service, and the burden fell mostly on our small regular forces.

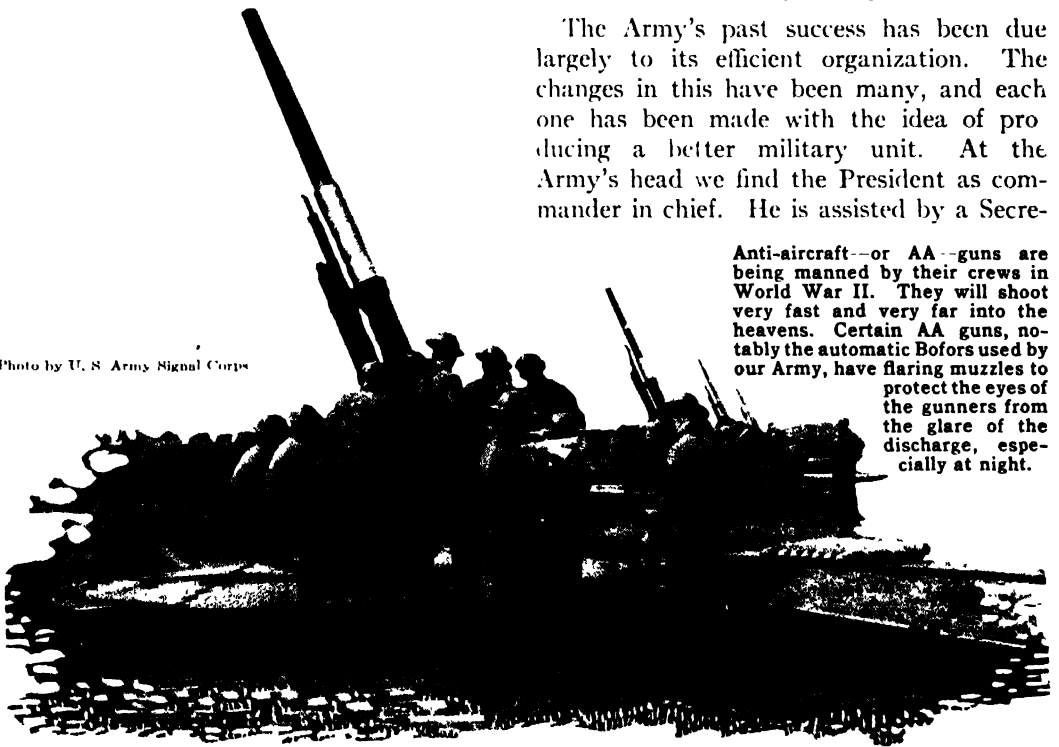
After the Spanish-American War our nation had a rather new military problem. We then became a world power, with a need for a larger standing army. Congress now reversed its former policy of reducing the Regulars at the end of each war, and increased them to 100,000—four times their former number. In this period the most efficient peace-time army in the nation's history was built up, and one that was prepared to train and organize the four million soldiers who served during World War I, which came all too soon. After this war Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1920. But in peace our Regular Army was a small one, consisting of about 165,000 men. It ranked seventeenth in size among the armies of the major nations.

How the Army Is Organized

The Army's past success has been due largely to its efficient organization. The changes in this have been many, and each one has been made with the idea of producing a better military unit. At the Army's head we find the President as commander in chief. He is assisted by a Secre-

Anti-aircraft—or AA—guns are being manned by their crews in World War II. They will shoot very fast and very far into the heavens. Certain AA guns, notably the automatic Bofors used by our Army, have flaring muzzles to protect the eyes of the gunners from the glare of the discharge, especially at night.

Photo by U. S. Army Signal Corps



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Photo by U. S. Army Signal Corps

Army discipline includes a good deal more than smart saluting and instant obedience to commands. It is keeping every boot and button polished, seeing to it that the fine Garand rifle is immaculately clean and perfectly oiled, and that every other article of wearing

apparel and equipment is always in order and condition. When the commanding officer comes by on a tour of inspection, whether in the barrack or in the field, it will go badly with the soldier whose kit shows signs of carelessness or whose possessions are found in disorder.

tary of Defense, who heads all the armed forces. Under him are the departments of the Army, Air Force, and Navy. Topmost authority in the Department of the Army is the Secretary of the Army, a civilian appointed by the President and responsible only to him and to the Secretary of Defense. Second to him is the Chief of Staff, the highest ranking Army officer. He commands all branches of the Army of the United States and is responsible for their use in war and for insuring their readiness in case of war. He also represents the Army on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the joint planning group of the Army, Air Force, and Navy. The Chief of Staff has general charge of planning and carrying out the military program. Assisting him is a group of officers who make up the Army General Staff.

The Old and New Infantry Divisions

Of late the General Staff has given the organization of the infantry division a thorough overhauling. In the First World War

the men who were sent to France fought in what is known as the "square" division, which contained two infantry brigades--or four regiments and one brigade of field artillery. All together the unit contained about 28,000 men. For modern warfare such masses of men are much too cumbersome. It takes five or six hours for an order from division headquarters to reach the last man in the ranks and be acted upon by him, and by that time the enemy is upon him with airplanes, machine guns, and tanks.

Accordingly, the officers on the General Staff invented the new "triangular," or "stream-lined," division, which has gradually replaced the old square division in the army. The number of men has been cut down to 15,000 or 16,000 war strength, a size that makes for speed and much greater ease in maneuver. The old-fashioned organization of troops into brigades has been done away with. There now are four battalions of field artillery, and the four infantry regiments have been cut down to three.

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Though the infantry in the new division has been reduced in size, it has been reinforced by a large number of men from supporting arms—such as the signal corps and the corps of engineers—and has been given a tremendous firing power—quite as much as the square division had. What has happened is that men have been replaced by guns. Each of the three infantry regiments has its own battalion of artillery, with which it has been thoroughly trained. The light artillery contains 36 105-millimeter howitzers—guns which send a projectile 4 inches in diameter in a high arch instead of in a straight line. The heavy artillery contains 12 155-millimeter—6-inch—howitzers.

Besides the artillery we have just mentioned, there are, of course, the various guns in the heavy-weapons units of the infantry. A division has over 440 of these automatic weapons in all. Many are used as anti-aircraft guns as well as for ground fighting.

And over and above all this heavy fire every infantryman carries either his fine semi-automatic Garand rifle—with its rapid fire and its deadly bayonet—or else an automatic or a semi-automatic carbine. Also he has a grenade (*grê-nād'*)—a bomb to be thrown by hand—and usually he is provided with a short sharp knife. He is a fighting unit of terrific power.

Much greater speed has been given the division by putting its equipment and supplies in motor vehicles. The quartermaster's company alone has fifty motorized trucks, which can soon outdistance the old-fashioned

supply train with its teams of sweating horses. This means that the fighters will get their food on time.

So far we have spoken of the infantry, which is the most important part of any army. No matter how swift and brilliant the air force and how powerful and deadly the tanks, in an infantry engagement they both have it as their main purpose to support the men who fight on foot with a gun. War grows always more complicated as more and more ways are found to help the infantryman.

In the past one of the most important arms of the service was the cavalry, made up of soldiers who fought on horseback with sword and lance, or—after the time of our Civil War—rode into battle on horseback and then dismounted and fought on foot with rifle and bayonet. It was the cavalry's business to

hurl itself at the enemy's ranks and throw them into confusion by the shock and surprise of the attack. Now tanks and airplanes serve that purpose much better, and a man on horseback is not much good against barbed-wire entanglements and machine guns. But the cavalry is just as important as it used to be. It is now mechanized and is used



By U. S. Army Sign

Comfort is one of the first considerations in equipping a modern soldier. His clothes will be durable, of a color that does not show dirt, of easy cut and fit, and of the proper weight for the weather and climate in which they are to be worn. Above are shown two uniforms given out in our Army—the cool summer khaki at the left and at the right the heavier olive-drab woolen uniform for winter. The shoes at any season are the best that experts can design, the finest and most comfortable of any soldier's in the world. It is interesting to contrast these uniforms of the Second World War with those of the First World War, shown on the opposite page. The modern recruit would be a good deal annoyed if he had to wear the stiff felt hat his father wore in 1917.

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mostly for getting information as to the enemy's movements—that is, for reconnaissance (rè-kôn'-à-sàns)—and for screening the movements of its own side, so that the enemy will not know the plan of battle. Sometimes cavalry must stay on its mission for days or weeks at a time when reconnoitering (rèk'-ô-noi'tër)—that is, when getting information as to the enemy's whereabouts.

No country to-day tries to defend itself without a large assortment of big guns—or artillery. They are of many shapes and sizes—as you will learn from our story of armaments—and are of four general types, seacoast, anti-aircraft, and field artillery, and tank destroyers. The coast artillery has to defend permanent positions, such as forts at the entrance to harbors or important railways. It must defend our long coast line—mostly, of course, against hostile naval vessels—and it must defend our land against air attack.

The coast artillery also attends to laying mines—or floating bombs—at the entrance to important harbors or at any point where an enemy may be expected to make a landing. Mines set by the coast artillery are controlled by electricity so that they may be set off whenever the order is given.

The "King of Battles"

Big guns that go with the army into battle belong to the field artillery, which has been called "the king of battles." It accounts for a large percentage of the killed and wounded among the enemy. But also the field artillery saves the lives of many of its own men by pounding the enemy's fortified positions before the advance of the infantry, which follows the fire forward and destroys the enemy. Artillery used to be drawn by horses,

but nearly all of it is now motorized. As a rule, the gun is hitched to a truck, in which the gunners and the ammunition are carried.

The Importance of the Supply Line

Modern artillery must be served by a very active supply line, for the modern gun fires much faster than the guns of even twenty-five years ago, and supply trucks must shuttle back and forth as fast as they can to keep their giants supplied with ammunition.

The infantryman has another valiant helper in the army engineer. That highly trained specialist will go under deadly fire into the most exposed positions in order to repair a bridge or roadway or to throw up a defensive position. Without the corps of engineers the infantry could not do some of its most important work.

Besides building roads, bridges, and fortifications, constructing landing fields for the air force and attending to their camouflage, the engineers also have charge of military mining—one of the most dangerous things a soldier can do. The sapper, or military miner, digs a long tunnel under the enemy's positions and blows them up with dynamite. Often he gets valuable information from conversations he overhears in this way.

The corps of engineers is just as useful in peace as in war. It builds and takes care of all the harbors, locks, and dams along our inland waterways, and does us many other services. It was a military engineer, General Goethals (gò'thàlz), who built that masterpiece of engineering, the Panama Canal.

Still another specialist who comes to the aid of the man who carries the gun is the Army signalman. Without him our Army would find itself deaf and dumb. For one

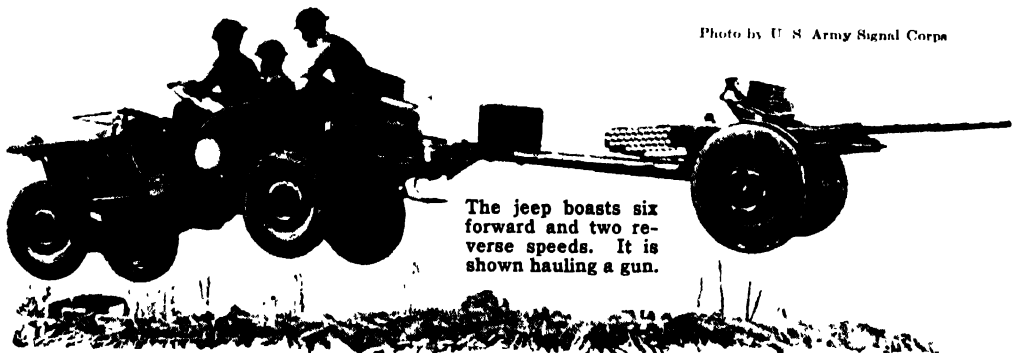


Photo by U. S. Army Signal Corps

The jeep boasts six forward and two reverse speeds. It is shown hauling a gun.

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Photo by U. S. Army Air Corps

The engineers must build their roads and bridge their rivers no matter how impossible the task may seem.

Here they have laid a heavy pontoon, and are placing the last treadways to join it with the shore.

of the most important necessities for winning a war is an efficient system of communication. Experts in radio, telephone, and telegraph keep all branches of the service in constant contact while fighting is going on. Merely by speaking into a radio telephone an officer in a plane up aloft can issue orders that will show how to drop the shells on the target, even though the gunner cannot see what he is aiming at. Because of the efficient organization of the Army Signal Corps the chief of staff can sit at his desk in Washington and direct the strategy that in two or three hours will be carried out by an army of men fighting on the other side of the globe. Modern warfare would cease to exist if it were not for our system of rapid communication.

Who Trains the Messenger Pigeons?

The signal corps also trains homing pigeons for messenger service and develops equipment for taking weather observations and for finding directions. It takes motion pictures of the Army for use in training. And

it intercepts and decodes enemy messages. On other pages we have told how to send messages in code and how to puzzle them out. In an engagement the signal corps must work near the front lines, and set up and repair its radios, telephones, and telegraphs under heavy fire. When the line of radio or telephone communication is hopelessly broken, the signalman must get his message through in some other way—by signaling with flags or lights or, if need be, by word of mouth.

A Battle Zone in Three Dimensions

So far we have been speaking of those arms of our military service that have been in existence for many years. But there are two new arms that came into being as a part of modern warfare - the United States Air Force, now a separate branch of the defense services, and the armored force, or tank corps. They have changed our whole method of fighting by giving warfare great speed and a third dimension. The battle zone now has thickness as well as length and breadth.

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Though in many ways less picturesque than the Air Force, the armored force takes a powerful hold of our imaginations and has done much to revolutionize the character of modern warfare. In a sense it makes a land battle a little like one at sea. When those great fortresses move on their tractors across a battlefield, spitting fire and overriding every obstacle, they remind one a good deal of battleships going into action, and they may be maneuvered in somewhat the same way. For battles may be fought between groups of tanks, with no infantry units present.

When the Tanks Go into Battle

But the primary business of the armored, or mechanized, force is to support the infantry by clearing away obstacles and also by breaking through the enemy's lines and spreading a deadly fire in long columns well to the rear. An armored division will sometimes be stretched out as much as ninety miles along an enemy's highway. It will seize important points, destroy supply lines, and, with the help of planes, throw the opposing forces and the civilian population into complete disorder. In doing this it can call for help from motorcycles and the various other vehicles that go to make up a mechanized unit. If need be, airplanes will give it aid.

As you must have noticed, a modern army must contain a great many specialists of one kind and another. Over fifty percent of the men in the armored force are trained specialists, such as mechanics, gunners, drivers, and radio operators; and over thirty-five percent of the soldiers ground forces—must be trained in what we think of as skilled

labor. The men who man the machine guns must know how to fire and take care of a number of kinds of guns, and many of the Army's specialists, such as the engineers, must be able to pick up a rifle and fight with the infantry whenever it becomes necessary.

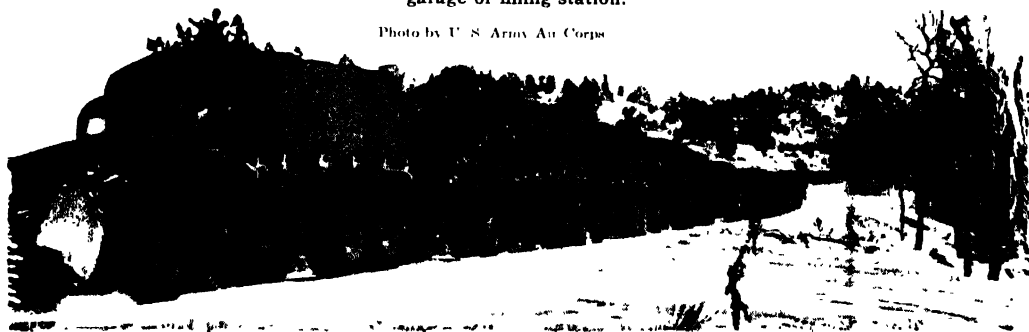
Every soldier in the Army must have a long hard training. No matter in what branch of the forces he may be going to serve he will be taught to handle his rifle with speed and precision. He will learn how best to protect his own life under every condition of warfare, and how to deal the enemy the deadliest blows. He will even be trained to actual battle conditions, in order that he may not be frightened when he first finds himself under enemy fire. He will have several weeks of sham warfare, when real bullets whistle around his head and he marches at night in the dark with planes roaring above him. He will be taught high standards of conduct and be given clear instruction in the cause for which he fights. For in an army it is, at bottom, the courage, intelligence, and character of the common soldier that will count most in the long run. We have said a great deal about machines and about the important place they fill in an army, but no machine will ever be so important as the soldiers who man it.

The Rangers

All the qualities that the enlisted men must have are to be found in their highest degree in the men we know as the Rangers, who are organized into battalions and task forces in time of war, and are the American equivalent of the famous British commandos.

Army trucks, like their small relatives the jeeps, are made for hard service. This long line of motor vehicles is carrying supplies along a rough mountain trail, far from any garage or filling station.

Photo by U. S. Army Air Corps



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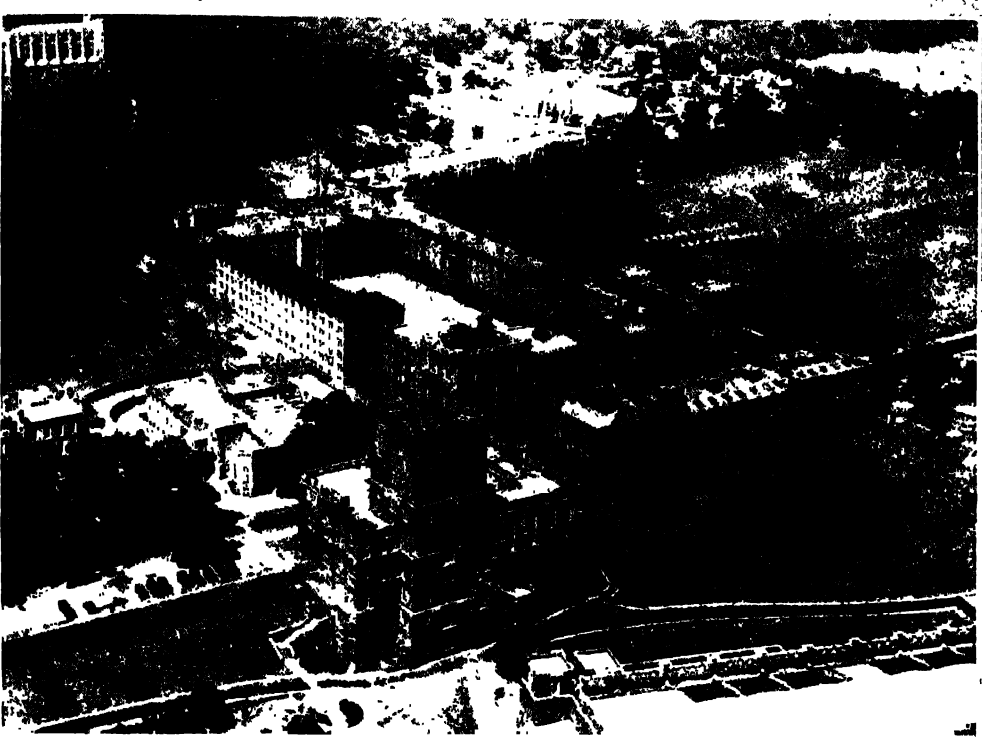


Photo by United States Signal Corps

From an airplane the United States Military Academy at West Point looks like this. Its gray stone buildings, surrounded by lawns and trees, are spread out below

They are highly trained in all sorts of military accomplishments, but their great specialty is hard and skillful fighting.

As more and more men are used for fighting and as warfare grows more scientific, the officers need more training and more expert knowledge. For that reason, since 1881 a series of general and special service schools have been established, with the result that an Army officer now has a continuous education throughout his career. The advanced schools are the Command and General Staff School, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Army Industrial College and the Army War College at Washington. The last is the postgraduate school of the Army. The special service schools are the technical schools for each branch of the service.

A Famous Military School

The most famous American Army school is the United States Military Academy at

us. From the Hudson River, which flows at the foot of the bluff on which they stand, they look almost like one of the castle fortresses of medieval Europe.

West Point, New York. And it is the oldest. It was founded in 1802 purely as an engineering school for the instruction of the "cadets" then attached for training as officers to the engineering troops stationed at West Point. The "cadet" (ká-dět'), a grade in the Army very much like the grade of "midshipman" in the Navy, was established by Congress in 1794 at the suggestion of President Washington, who also desired a military academy to train young officers. In 1812 "cadets" of other branches besides the engineers were admitted to the school, but not until 1866 were the superintendents of the Military Academy chosen from any other branch of the service.

The early years of the academy were exceedingly hard. The teaching was elementary and was often interrupted. There was little discipline or system. Once Congress even failed to provide funds. A Secretary of War tried openly to ab-

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Here are West Point cadets parading on the main parade ground. It takes long hours of drill after-
lasses every day, except during the winter months,

as well as strict discipline and careful athletic training, to attain the erect carriage and perfect form for which West Point men are famous.

school. In 1812 there was a period when there was neither instruction nor student body. But soon after this the system was started which still rules in large measure at West Point.

Under that system the academy has advanced until it is now one of the greatest schools of its kind in the world. The wisdom of its system has been proved by the service rendered by its graduates to our country in every war since the Revolution. This "cradle of the future generals of the army" has given us such soldiers as General Robert E. Lee, General Ulysses S. Grant, Stonewall Jackson, Sherman, Sheridan, Bliss, Jefferson Davis, who was the president of the Confederacy, General Goethals, General Pershing, our commander in the First World War, and Eisenhower and MacArthur.

The academy is controlled by the Department of the Army, whose Secretary appoints a soldier-administrator of high rank as its head. He is called the superintendent. There is also a commandant (kōm'ān-dānt') of cadets, who is charged with discipline and tactical instruction. He has a number of tactical officers as his assistants. The aca-

demic instruction is given by professors and instructors who are, with few exceptions, former graduates of West Point.

How Appointments to West Point Are Made

Appointments to the United States Military Academy are made in several ways. Of the 172 appointments from the United States at large, 89 are made upon the personal selection of the president, 3 upon recommendation by the vice president, 40 from among honor graduates of "honor" military schools, and 40 from among the sons of deceased veterans of World Wars I and II. Besides these, 180 are appointed from among the enlisted men of the Regular Army and the National Guard, 384 upon the nomination of senators (4 for each senator), 1,740 upon the nomination of representatives in Congress (4 for each Congressional district), 4 from each territory (Hawaii and Alaska), 6 from the District of Columbia, 4 from natives of Puerto Rico, and 2 from the Panama Canal Zone. The total authorized strength of the United States Military Academy is 2,496. In addition, appointments for which no quota has been established are reserved for the sons of win-

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ners of the Congressional Medal of Honor. As a result West Point is sure of a very democratic student body.

The candidates are required to meet certain physical and mental standards, and they must be between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two.

From Cadet to Commissioned Officer

Once admitted, a cadet enters upon four years of rigorous study and training. Academic classes run from September to June, and much the same subjects are studied as in the same years in civilian engineering schools, with the addition of the purely military studies. Tactical instruction fills the period between June and September. Since class rank at graduation largely affects the branch of service to which a cadet will be assigned as a second lieutenant, there is plenty of reason for study.

The courses of instruction and training are designed to develop character and the personal qualities necessary in an officer, to give a balanced education in the ordinary subjects, and to furnish a broad basic military education. For instruction in infantry drill and military police duties and discipline, the Corps of Cadets is organized into a brigade of two regiments, made up of three battalions each, under the commandant of cadets. Cadet officers and noncommissioned officers are generally selected from among those cadets with the highest rating in military efficiency and conduct. Captains, lieutenants, and sergeants are chosen from the first class (fourth year), and corporals from the second class (third year). All through their, four years the cadets are

given instruction in boxing, fencing, wrestling, swimming, and other forms of athletics. It is such training, along with his drill, that gives the cadet his smart military appearance.

Each cadet is paid \$9.36 a year plus the cost of his rations, which varies with the cost of food. With the deposit of \$300 which each cadet makes at the time of his admission, the total of such pay and allowances is large enough to cover his needs.

Life at West Point

Although their academic course is exacting and their military training takes much time and study, the cadets find chances for plenty of fun of all sorts. They stage their own plays, give many dances throughout the year, have their own golf course and tennis courts, their clubs and publications. The academy is beautifully situated on the west bank of the Hudson River, where the stream winds through majestic mountains. Its Gothic buildings seem almost a part of the natural setting, so much are they in harmony with the rocks from which they rise. This is all historic ground. Washington, Lafayette, and Kosciuszko were connected with West Point's early history as a Revolutionary fort. It was the scene of Benedict Arnold's sad treachery. A huge cast-iron chain once stretched across the Hudson here to keep the British fleet from proceeding down the river to capture New York City. With such historic associations growing as the years went on, with its own graduates adding deeds of honor, there has grown up among the cadets a fine spirit of bravery and loyalty.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

The Army officials in order of rank are: the President of the United States, who is commander in chief of the Army, the Air Force, and the Navy; the Secretary of Defense, the principal assistant to the President in all matters relating to national security; the Secretary of the Army, head of the Department of the Army, one of the three coequal defense departments; the Under Secretary of the Army; the Assistant Secretary of the Army; the Chief of Staff, who is a general with authority over all military matters by reason of the power conferred on him by the President through the Secretary of the Army. Under him are the Deputy Chief of Staff, a number of advisers, and the Department of the Army General Staff. The General Staff is divided into five divisions, each headed by a director, as follows: Personnel and Administration, in charge of the

procurement, classification, and assignment of the individual soldier; Intelligence, in charge of collecting and making available information of military value; Organization and Training, in charge of preparing general policies for the organization, mobilization, training, and demobilization of the Army; Service, Supply, and Procurement, in charge of planning and supervising the purchase, storage, and distribution of Army supplies; and Plans and Operations, in charge of planning and coordinating Army operations.

The Chief of Staff also has a Special Staff of ten divisions, each headed by a general, as follows: Public Information, in charge of furnishing information about the Army to public and private agencies; Legislative and Liaison, in charge of furnishing Congress with requested information about the Army and

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its needs and preparing the department's recommendations for new laws; Troop Information and Education, which furnishes information to soldiers and supervises non-military education throughout the Army; the National Guard Bureau and the Executive for Reserve and ROTC Affairs, the department's liaison with the National Guard and the Organized Reserved Corps in the states and territories and the ROTC units in schools and colleges; the Inspector General, who investigates and reports on the efficiency of the Army; the Historical Division, which plans and supervises official Army histories; the Manpower Board, which is interested in the efficient use of military and civilian personnel in Army installations within the United States; the Budget Division, which supervises the Army's financial policies; and the Civil Affairs Division, in charge of Army policy and operations in the civil and military governments of the occupied areas.

Besides the General Staff and the Special Staff, there are also the Administrative and Technical Staffs and Services, the chief of each service acting as adviser to the Secretary of the Army, the Chief of Staff, and the General Staff for his special job. The Administrative Services are the Adjutant General's Department, in charge of general administration; the Judge Advocate General's Department, in charge of military justice and law; the Corps of Chaplains, in charge of religious welfare; the Provost Marshal General's Department, in charge of military prisons and police; and Special Services, in charge of athletics and recreation. The Technical Services are the Ordnance Department, the Signal Corps, the Quartermaster Corps, the Corps of Engineers, the Transportation Corps, the Medical Department, the Chemical Corps, and the Finance Department.

For purposes of administration and command, the United States is divided into six Army Areas. The commanding general of each area is in charge of Army units in that area. In addition, there are a number of overseas departments and commands.

COMBAT UNITS

The actual fighting forces of the Army are divided into units of various sizes, each of which may act independently or as a part of a larger unit. From the smallest to the largest, the infantry units are: the "squad," containing 9 men if it is a rifle squad and 5 to 10 men if it is a mortar, machine gun, or recoilless rifle squad; the "section," containing 2 or 3 squads; the "platoon," (1) containing 3 squads if it is a rifle platoon, together with 1 officer and 4 enlisted men in platoon headquarters, making 1 officer and 40 enlisted men in all, and (2) containing 2 sections if it is a "weapons platoon"—1 section of 17 men to man three 60-millimeter mortars and 1 section of 17 men to man three 57-millimeter rifles as well as 1 officer and 39 men in platoon headquarters, making 1 officer and 39 men in all; the "company," (1) containing, if it is a rifle company, 3 rifle platoons, 1 weapons platoon, and a headquarters staff of 2 officers and 44 men, or 6 officers and 203 men in all, and (2) if it is a heavy weapons company, containing 3 platoons—one manning .30-caliber machine guns, another manning 75-millimeter mortars, and a third manning 81-millimeter mortars—as well as 2 officers and 44 men in company headquarters, making 5 officers and 151 men in all; the "battalion," containing 3 rifle companies and a heavy weapons company, together with a battalion headquarters and headquarters company, making 34 officers and 863 men in all; the "regiment," containing 3 battalions, together with headquarters, service, mortar, tank, and medical companies, making some 3,700 men in all; the "division," containing 3 infantry regiments, 4 field artillery battalions, 1 battalion each of anti-aircraft artillery and tanks and medical and engineer troops, a headquarters and headquarters detachment, a band, and signal, military police, quartermaster, ordnance, reconnaissance, and replacement companies, or

more than 18,000 men in all; the "corps," containing 2 or more divisions combined for large-scale operations; and the "field army" or "army," made up of 2 or more corps. A corps normally includes 2 infantry and 1 armored division; an army normally includes 1 or more airborne divisions for special missions.

The headquarters, service, and artillery elements of the armored division differ in combat organization from those of the infantry division. Instead of regiments, the armored division has 2 "combat command" headquarters, "A" and "B," and a reserve command headquarters, 3 medium tank battalions and 1 heavy tank battalion, and 4 armored infantry battalions. One or more of these battalions, with artillery and engineer support, may be attached to the combat commands as the situation demands. Because the armored division has greater security, supply, and maintenance needs than the infantry division, its reconnaissance, quartermaster, and ordnance units are battalions rather than companies. The armored division's artillery is self-propelled instead of towed, and its total strength is about 15,500.

The airborne infantry division is closer to the standard infantry division in organization, but because its combat elements are transported by plane and glider, it has fewer and smaller units, totaling less than 14,000 men. When it engages in sustained combat, it is reinforced by non-airtransported "standard attachments," including 2 heavy tank battalions, a medium artillery battalion, and reconnaissance, ordnance maintenance, and quartermaster field service companies, to bring its strength to over 16,500.

In 1948 only one cavalry division remained in the United States Army—the famous 1st Cavalry Division, on occupation duty in Japan. It was dismounted, as it was throughout World War II. In effect an infantry division, it still kept the former cavalry and "square" infantry division organization, with 2 brigades of 2 regiments each.

Artillery is organized in "batteries," which correspond to infantry companies. In the field artillery each battery has 6 guns and 140 to 148 men. Three firing batteries, a headquarters battery, and a service battery make up a battalion. In the anti-aircraft artillery there are 4 firing batteries and a combined headquarters and service battery. The role of the coast artillery has been reduced; it is generally organized in detachments varying in size with the harbor and similar defenses which they man.

GRADES

Rank in the Army begins with the private and private first class, who has had a certain amount of training. In order of rank, come the "corporal," who commands a squad; and the "sergeant," who commands a squad or a section. These officers do not get their appointments from the President of the United States, as do officers higher up.

Just above these "noncommissioned officers" are a certain number of "warrant officers," especially qualified men to whom a warrant, or permit, has been given allowing them to act as commissioned officers. Their duties are usually administrative.

It is usually the commissioned officers that we have in mind when we speak of an army's officers. They have received their commissions, or appointments, from the President of the United States. In order of rank they are "second lieutenant," commanding a platoon; "first lieutenant," commanding a platoon; "captain," commanding a company in the infantry, a troop in the cavalry, or a battery in the artillery; "major," commanding a squadron in the cavalry; "lieutenant colonel," commanding an infantry battalion; "colonel," commanding a regiment; "brigadier general," commanding a brigade; "major general," commanding a division; "lieutenant general," commanding a corps; "general," commanding an army or group of armies; and "general of the Army."

UNCLE SAM'S AIR FORCE



United States Air Force Photo, Washington, D. C.

This strange batlike plane is the Northrop Flying Wing (YB-49) of the United States Air Force. It is 53 feet

long and 172 feet wide, is powered by eight jets, and has crossed the continent at 511.2 miles an hour.

UNCLE SAM'S AIR FORCE

His Newest Fighting Force Comes of Age As an Equal Partner in the National Defense

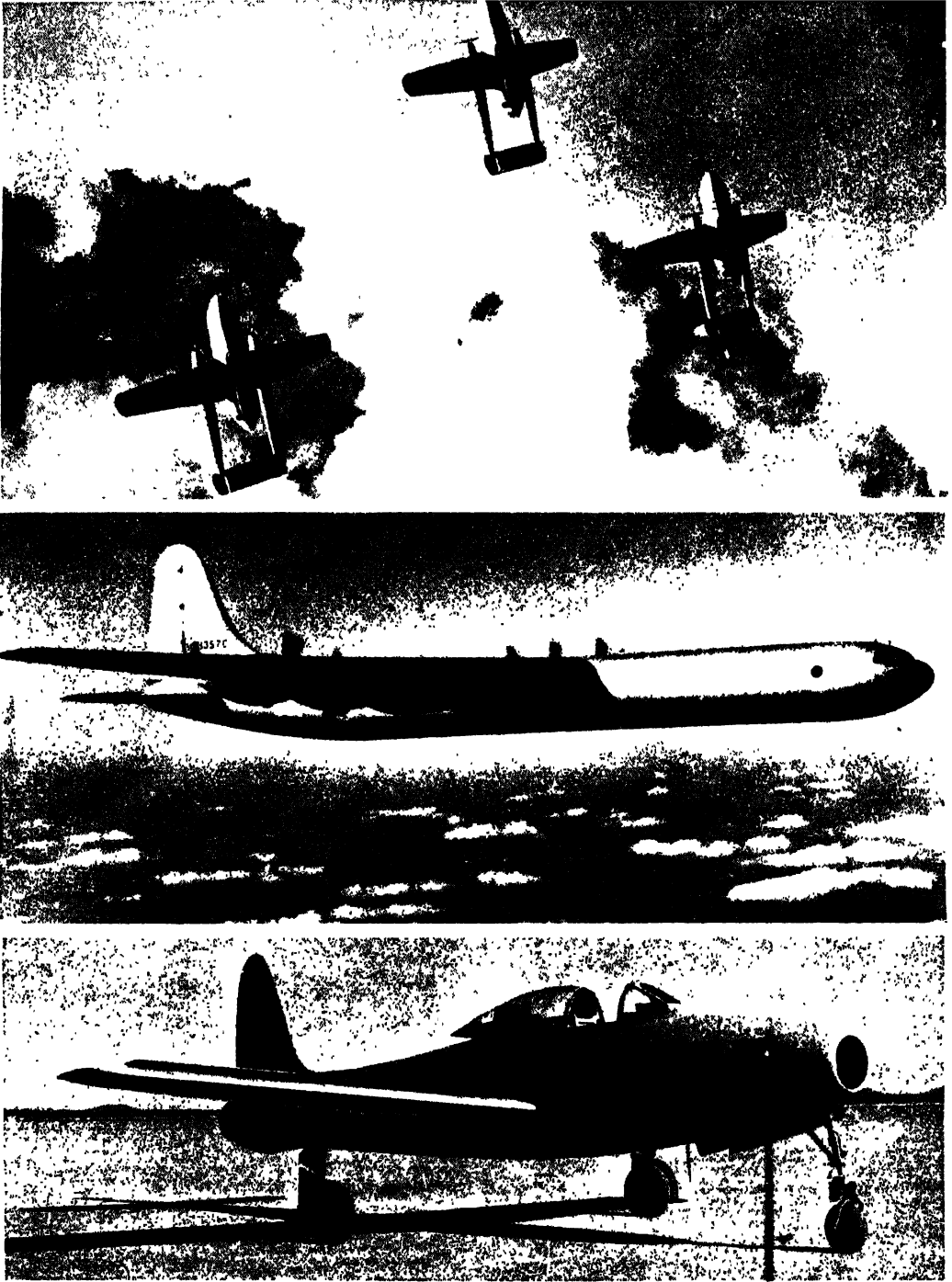
THE first air force Uncle Sam ever had was made up of one officer and two enlisted men. That may not seem very large, but it was probably large enough, for it did not have a single plane. This was in 1907, four years after the first flight of the Wright brothers. Two years later (1909) the Army bought the air force a Wright biplane that could reach the dizzy speed of forty-two miles an hour.

By 1945 the Army's air arm had grown to a force of over 2,400,000 officers and men, with 80,000 planes capable of flying hundreds of miles an hour. Then, in 1947, the Air Force became a separate arm of the National Military Establishment, under the Department of the Air Force. In time of peace the Air Force now has hundreds of thousands of

men and flies tens of thousands of combat planes.

The youngest of the defense services, the Air Force has changed tremendously since 1907. At first it was just an arm of the Signal Corps, acting as a scout for the ground forces. Then, in World War I, Captain Edward Rickenbacker and other famous aces developed air combat tactics in dog-fights over the battlefields of France. Between the wars the Air Force, then known as the Army Air Corps, experimented with new planes, weapons, and tactics. It adopted the monoplane and the supercharger, developed instrument flying, and increased the size, range, and speed of its planes. The idea of air power as a force separate from land and sea power gradually took hold. One

UNCLE SAM'S AIR FORCE



Photos by U. S. Air Force and Air Materiel Command

Here are three of the most interesting planes in the United States Air Force. The Thunderjet (F-84), at the bottom, is one of the Force's fastest jet fighters, with a range of 1,100 miles, a ceiling of over 40,000 feet, and—it is believed—a speed of some 600 miles an hour. Its air intake is in the nose. Above it is the B-36,

the world's biggest bomber, capable of making 300 miles an hour and flying at 46,000 feet. It can carry atomic bombs to any continent. The Packet (C-82) is a two-engine cargo plane designed to carry 42 fully equipped combat troops and 20 parachute cans of supplies suspended from an overhead monorail.

UNCLE SAM'S AIR FORCE

of the first to urge that air power be used as a striking force in its own right was General William Mitchell, whose ideas influenced our use of air power in World War II.

• In 1941 the Army Air Forces had only 3,000 combat planes, and less than half of these were usable. But after the United States entered the war, the airplane industry grew rapidly. From the forty-fourth industry in the United States, it came to be first, and at its peak employed 2,000,000 men and women and turned out 100,000 planes a year. These were the planes that bombed Germany and Japan, supported the Army ground forces in campaigns in Europe and the Pacific, and carried men and supplies to all corners of the globe.

Experimenting with Planes

Today the Air Force is experimenting with new weapons and new types of aircraft. It is perfecting guided missiles, atomic weapons, rockets, jet propelled planes, ways and means of protecting men and equipment in Arctic weather, and planes that can fly faster than the speed of sound. It works closely with the airplane industry so that plants and tools to produce the new weapons will be ready if they are needed.

The Air Force has a great many different kinds of work to do, and so needs a great many different kinds of planes. It must do sentry duty, scout duty, protect troops

and important military positions, carry troops and supplies, get pictures and other information about the enemy, destroy factories, airfields, railroads, harbors, ammunition dumps, and anything else that can be of use to the enemy's war effort, drive off his planes and his armies, and destroy them all if it can.

Specialists Who Serve a Plane

And there must be coöperation on the earth as well as in the sky. A modern plane must have, first and last, 100 men at work on the ground to keep it in the air—all of them specialists of one sort or another. The regular ground crew, which must have ten men for every pilot, are in constant service at the airfield. There must be armorers to take care of the machine guns, engine mechanics, electricians, hydraulic engineers to keep the landing gear in repair, propeller experts, installation men, instrument mechanics, and radio specialists. Then, as part of the civilian group that puts a plane in the air, there are the airport engineers, civil engineers, surveyors, machine set-up men, and toolmakers of all kinds—riveters, welders, grinders, broachers, operators of drills, and all the rest. Besides all these, the great air bases will house a medical staff, photographers, and a weather bureau, and will have schools, hospitals, and other services for its hundreds of people.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

The officials in order of rank are: the President, commander in chief of the Army, the Air Force, and the Navy; the Secretary of Defense, head of the National Military Establishment; the Secretary of the Air Force, a civilian appointed by the President and responsible to him and to the Secretary of Defense; the Under Secretary of the Air Force; two Assistant Secretaries; and the Chief of Staff, United States Air Force, who commands the Air Force and represents it on the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

For purposes of administration and command, the Air Force is divided into three overall combat commands and five other commands which back them up, as follows: the Strategic Air Command, in charge of developing long-range combat flying; the Tactical Air Command, designed to work closely with the Army's forces; the Air Defense Command, in charge of defending the United States; and, in addition, the Air Materiel Command, which gets equipment and supervises experimentation and research; the Air Training Command, which supervises individual flight training and technical instruction; the Air Transport Command, now working with the Military Air Transport Service; the

Air Proving Command, which tests new weapons; and the Air University, which supervises Air Force schools and colleges, including the Air War College, the Air Command and Staff School, and the Air Tactical School. Connected with the Air Force are the Air Reserve, the Air National Guard, and the Civil Air Patrol.

COMBAT UNITS

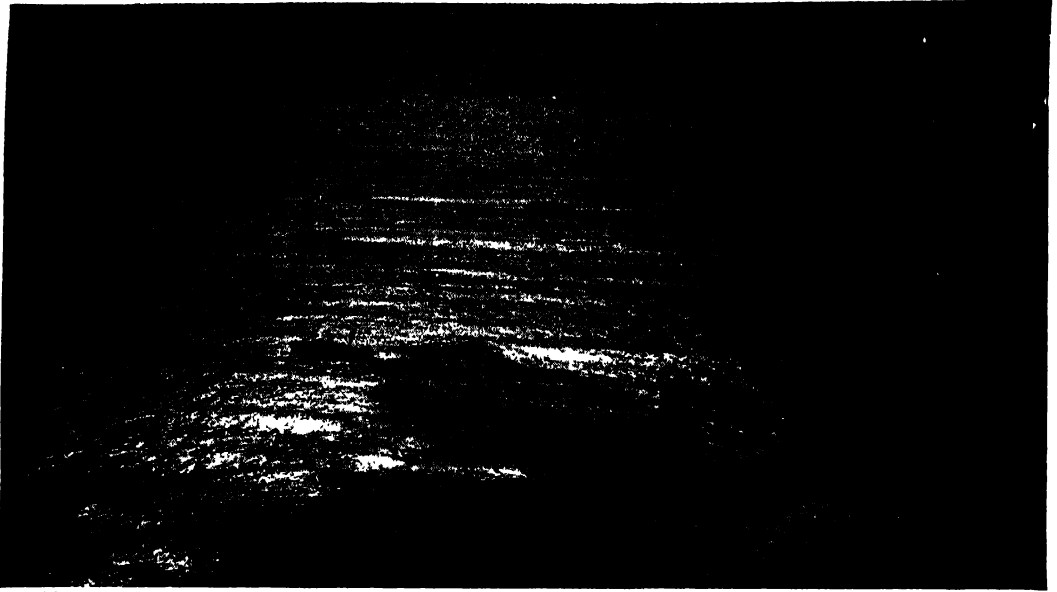
In bomber units, three or four aircraft make up an element, three or four elements a squadron, and three or four squadrons a group. A group with its supporting activities forms a wing.

In fighter units, two aircraft form an element, two elements a flight, three or four flights a squadron, and three or four squadrons a group.

GRADES

Rank in the Air Force follows that in the Army, of which it was formerly a part. In the Air Force a captain commands a flight—not a company and a major commands a squadron. A lieutenant colonel or a colonel commands a group, and a brigadier general a wing.

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS



Official U. S. Navy Photograph

In a war fought across vast ocean expanses one of the most important tasks which fall to the Navy is that of keeping open the supply lines to bases and fighting

fronts overseas. Above is a part of a huge formation of cargo vessels steaming under the protection of ships and planes of the United States Navy.

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS

This Is the Story of the Men Who Live a Life on the Ocean Wave in Battleship, Cruiser, or Destroyer

THE United States Navy, like the Army, had its beginning at the time when the nation itself was beginning—during the Revolutionary War. When the fighting broke out, the colonies had not a single war vessel to pit against the strong fleet of Great Britain. Early in June, 1775, the Continental Congress took steps to organize a naval force, and on the advice of John Paul Jones and other captains of merchant vessels, purchased two ships and two brigs. These were equipped with guns and formed our first naval fleet. Esek Hopkins was named commander in chief and Paul Jones shipped as senior lieutenant on one of the converted merchantmen. This fleet did not accomplish a great deal. It did, however, blockade Boston, and it cruised early in 1776 to the Bahamas, where it captured some ammunition before returning to New London.

Meanwhile Congress, on December 13, 1775, had ordered built 13 frigates (frig'ât)—

five of 32 guns, five of 28, and three of 24 guns. These were our first real naval vessels. Most of them were named for American patriots, Washington, Hancock, Randolph, Warren, Trumbull, and others; the rest bore the names of colonies or cities. During the course of the war all these ships were destroyed in naval battles or burned to keep them from falling into the enemy's hands.

Throughout the war our official sea fleet totaled only 47 vessels—ships, brigs, schooners, and sloops. There were countless other colonial cruisers and privateers, but these were not a part of the regular Navy, although they carried on war operations of their own. Since we had no really organized navy, properly directed, there was little accomplished. Yet there are stirring, romantic tales of the Revolutionary War on the sea, such as the story of Nicholas Biddle's brave attack upon the British ship "Yarmouth," Paul Jones's victories over the "Drake" and the "Serapis," and Benedict Arnold's chal-

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS

lunge to the British fresh-water fleet on Lake Champlain. John Paul Jones in particular was adopted as the first hero of the Navy.

Two years before the end of the Revolution we were practically without a navy, and at the end only one of the 47 vessels remained. This, the "Alliance," was sold in 1785 as a merchantman; for Congress felt that to keep any armed force, navy or army, in time of peace was an unnecessary expense and a threat to the liberty of a free people.

But unluckily the world was not yet ready for naval disarmament, and it proved necessary to build the Navy up again rather soon. For pirates were still doing a thriving business along the coasts of Tripoli and Algeria, preying on the shipping of all nations and demanding tribute. And during the Napoleonic Wars, as we have told elsewhere, both French and British treated American ships with scant courtesy. It took a revived Navy and three wars to right these matters. First there was an undeclared commerce war on the seas with France (1799-1800), then a war against the Barbary pirates (1801), and lastly the War of 1812 with Great Britain. In all three wars the Navy won renown, but especially in the War of 1812, in which American gunners earned a world-wide reputation for their straight shooting.

Between 1815 and 1861 the Navy was not called upon for much war service. This period was marked, however, by a great revolution in shipbuilding. Up to this time

all men-of-war were sailing ships, built of wood, and carrying muzzle-loading guns which fired cannon balls. By the end of the period, steam, used first as an aid to sails, had almost replaced sails as the chief motive power on naval vessels. Ericsson's screw propeller had also replaced the early steam-propelled paddle wheels. Guns of larger caliber were being made, that is, guns with larger barrels; these guns were capable of

greater destruction and longer range, and fired shells as well as shot. As the use of shell increased the danger of fire to wooden ships, the sides and decks of naval vessels began to be covered with plates of cast iron armor. So at

the end of the period we enter the era of the "ironclads."

When the Civil War commenced the federal Navy had less than fifty vessels in commission. As the plan was to blockade all the Confederate ports along a 3,500-mile coast, as well as to capture the major forts, one can understand something of the job that faced those fifty ships. Fortunately for the Union cause, the Confederate navy was scattered in small groups which cruised as commerce destroyers; so there

was time to build and buy the additional ships necessary to make the blockade effective. Finally Farragut (fär'ä-güt) captured the strong forts guarding New Orleans and Mobile. The most famous naval battle of this war was the fight between the "Merimac" and the "Monitor" off Hampton Roads in 1862, the first battle between two ironclads.

At the close of the Civil War the United States had perhaps the strongest navy in the



If you are very learned in these matters you can tell what war naval officer fought in by the style of his uniform. Above, you may see how he looked in the War of 1812.

And this is the way he looked in 1864, at the close of the Civil War.

Photos by United States Navy

And this was his uniform in the Spanish-American War, in 1898.

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS



Photo by Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

Most famous of the naval victories of the War of 1812 was the Battle of Lake Erie, pictured above. Perry's flagship, the "Lawrence," bore a banner with the motto: "Don't give up the ship." In the midst of the fierce battle Perry had to give up that particular ship, which had been badly disabled. But he was far from

giving up the fight. Instead, he rowed in an open boat under heavy fire to the U.S.S. "Niagara," and brought the battle to a triumphant conclusion. His modest report of the victory is still famous—"We have met the enemy and they are ours." This battle changed the whole course of the war in that region.

world. But its strength was not kept up, and in eight years we had dropped to the bottom of the list among naval powers. Meanwhile European nations were increasing the size of their ships, plating them with heavier armor, and replacing their muzzle-loading guns with breechloaders. Most important of all, between 1871 and 1875 they introduced steel as the material for warship construction in place of cast iron.

The Beginning of Our Modern Navy

Finally, in 1881, Congress appointed an advisory board to look into naval needs. This board recommended the formation of a fleet of 100 vessels, 20 of which were to be battleships of the largest size. The "Oregon," first of these big ships, was begun in 1890; she was indeed a great ship for her day, over 10,000 tons—that is to say, displacing more than 10,000 tons of water—equipped with a major battery of 13-inch guns, and capable of a speed of 15.5 knots—a knot being 1.15+ miles per hour. This marked our entrance into the battleship era of the 1890's.

The Spanish-American War (1898) created further interest in the Navy, and the fleet gave very valuable service both at Santiago

in Cuba and at Manila in the Philippines. In fact, this was above all things a naval war, and was won on the seas. And the new territories taken over as a result of this war brought the responsibilities of a scattered empire, and made a first-rate navy almost necessary. By 1903 we had at least 27 vessels, totaling 353,000 tons, only two of which were less than 10,000 tons.

A vessel, we may say, is measured by the number of tons of water she displaces; of course that is equal to her own weight.

From then on to World War I there was a great race for naval supremacy on the part of the most powerful nations of the world. Year after year larger and faster battleships were built, with the latest equipment in guns and armor. Great Britain, so long "mistress of the seas," now found her leadership challenged by Germany, Japan, and the United States. In 1904 she built the "Dreadnaught," a battleship which gave its name to a succession of ships of its kind, built not only for England but for the other naval powers as well. Finally the "dreadnaught" type gave way to the "superdreadnaughts" of to-day, even bigger and more deadly than the "Dreadnaught" herself.

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS

In 1916 Congress appropriated over \$500,000,000 for the building of ten battleships, six battle cruisers, and other small naval craft—to make the Navy the equal of the most powerful in the world. But when the United States entered the World War in 1917, this vast construction program was stopped, or rather changed. For what the Allies needed most was not battleships but destroyers. By a mighty effort we produced 260 of these. They won much fame for their service as escorts to troop and supply ships traveling back and forth to Europe. Over 2,000,000 troops were thus safely conveyed.

The Navy as It Is To-day

After the war our 1916 program of naval building was resumed. But now people had come to fear that this mad race to build navies could end only in every nation's going bankrupt, and in 1921 the United States invited the four other great naval powers, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy, to a conference held at Washington for discussion of the limitation of armaments. The result was a treaty by which the powers agreed, among other things, to limit the size or tonnage of battleships, battle cruisers, and aircraft carriers, the size of guns carried by these, and the naval bases and fortifications in certain areas. We usually call this the 5-5-3 treaty, because that is the ratio in which, according to the treaty, Great Britain, the United States, and Japan might build capital ships—that is, ships which displace more than 10,000 tons of water, or carry more than one gun of eight-inch caliber or bigger. That treaty Japan denounced.

Our Navy's principal fighting ships are battleships, aircraft carriers, light and heavy cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. Its auxiliary ships, those that aid the fighting fleet, are transports, supply, hospital, cargo, fuel, ammunition, and repair ships, tenders, fleet tugs, mine layers, mine sweepers, small motor torpedo boats—or "PT's"—for patrol, gunboats, net layers to set steel nets across the mouths of harbors, and landing boats of many types.

Battleships are ships of the largest ton-

nage, from 30,000 to 45,000 tons, with the thickest armor and biggest guns. The "Missouri" has a displacement of 45,000 tons and a speed of 30 knots. She is 887 feet long, has 16-inch armor, mounts nine 16-inch guns—besides many smaller ones—and can concentrate 18 one-ton shells a minute on a target 20 miles away. She cost over \$100,000,000 and has a hundred times the firepower of the best of her predecessors. The "Iowa," her sister ship, is just like her.

The aircraft carrier is the newest type of war vessel. It is really a floating airport, with repair and service stations, a landing field, and means of launching its planes into the air.

Cruisers are smaller and swifter vessels than battleships. They sacrifice gun power and heavy armor to gain speed, for their primary purpose is to scout and to protect other ships. They are valiant fighters. The heavy ones weigh over 10,000 tons, have great speed and firing power, and can go thousands of miles without refueling.

Destroyers are smaller and more maneuverable than the cruisers. They are very fast, can attack any ship, and are often used to escort ships at sea.

The Submarine

Submarines might be called diving torpedo boats. They serve as scouts and torpedo enemy vessels, and may even be used to transport troops or to attack an enemy's coast. Our newest submarines mostly weigh some 1,550 tons, and can stay at sea for many weeks without refueling.

Under the Constitution the President is Commander in Chief of the Navy. He is assisted by a Secretary of Defense, who heads all the armed forces—Army, Air Force, and Navy. The highest authority in the Department of the Navy is the Secretary of the Navy.

On the basis of the kind of work to be done the Navy is organized into three divisions, all under the Secretary of the Navy: 1) the Operating Forces, which actually engage in combat, 2) the Navy Department in Washington, which has general charge of everything that has to do with the Navy in all its various aspects, and 3) the Shore

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS

Establishment, including shipyards, bases, and hospitals.

The highest officer in the Operating Forces is the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), who is a "four-star" admiral while in office. He looks out for the general needs of the forces afloat, has charge of their operations, and plans such operations after they have been decided upon in outline by the Joint Chiefs of Staff of which he is one, together with the Chief of Staff for the President, the Chief of Staff of the Army, and the Chief of Staff of the Air Force. The CNO has various deputies and also a number of naval technical assistants, who are chiefs of the bureaus that provide for the needs of the Operating Forces. Also under him are the commanders of naval bases and the District Commandants (kōm'āndānt')—each one in charge of one of the sixteen naval districts into which the United States and its possessions are divided.

The CNO is commander in chief of the forces afloat, which are divided into four commands. Operating directly under the CNO are the Sea Frontiers, the Reserve Fleets, and a few special units. The other three commands—the Pacific Fleet, the Atlantic Fleet, and the United States Naval Forces in Europe—are separate commands. The Pacific and Atlantic fleets have their own commanders in chief, under

the CNO. To the Pacific Fleet is assigned the First Task Fleet and the Naval Forces, Western Pacific. To the Atlantic Fleet is assigned the Second Task Fleet. These are divided into a number of smaller operating units, each under its own commander.

During World War II the fleets were often divided into flexible units called task forces, made up of various naval units working together under a single command in order to carry out a particular assignment.

Under battle orders of the fleet to which it is assigned is the Fleet Marine Force. Such a force will be made up of sea-going soldiers who are a part of the Navy and are especially trained to land and seize bases on hostile shores. We have told about them at length on other pages.

Whenever the nation goes to war the government takes over such privately owned vessels as it may need. They range all the way from the great ocean liners to tiny motor boats that are set to

patrolling harbors. At the close of World War II the United States had the largest navy in the world. During the war we had tripled its size and had multiplied its firepower by five.

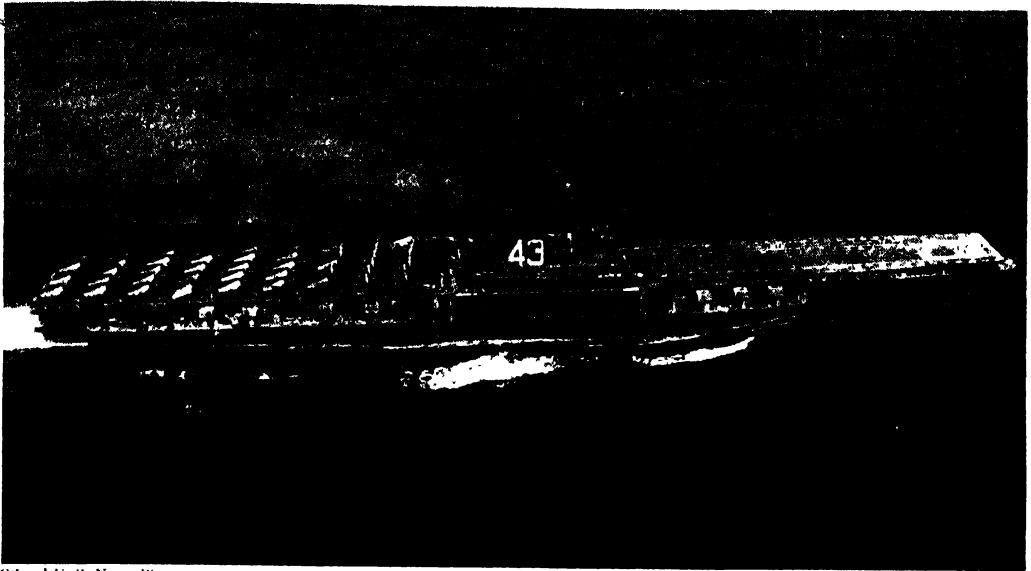
Just as important as the fleet itself are the shore bases to which it can return for repairs and supplies. Without them the ships would soon be helpless. Such bases must be safe from assault by an enemy, and should have



Photo by U. S. Navy

The enemy has been sighted, the crew have taken their battle stations, and our naval vessel is going into action. The gunners at the center of the picture are sighting the target, and at the gun's breech two other members of the gun crew are ready with shells. After a shell is inserted in the barrel the breech is closed and the shell fired before the gun is loaded with another shell.

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS



Official U. S. Navy Photo

This carrier is home to the aircraft neatly arranged on the flight deck. Besides giving protection to the

fleet, such floating airstrips as this one support battle areas that have no land facilities.

all the elaborate machinery and other facilities that are necessary for repairs. More than that, they should be conveniently located on the world's sea ways and should, if possible, be close to large sources of supply.

When a station or base has a fully equipped navy yard it takes on the appearance of a small city. For the navy yard, though it is controlled by naval officers, is manned by every sort of civilian specialist in the field of construction. If a battleship is to carry out its deadly mission and give comfortable quarters to its crew of 1,500 men, it will make greater demands upon its designers and builders than any other kind of structure. In fact, it has been called "the most complex thing the mind of man has achieved."

The Launching of a Ship

When a vessel is started down the "ways"—those greased slides that carry her hull from dry dock into the sea—a bottle of champagne is broken over her bow and she is given a name—that is, she is christened. In the United States Navy her name will show what type of vessel she is and what her particular duties will be. A battleship, for instance, is always named for one of the states in the Union.

At the present day no navy can be a strong national weapon unless it has a powerful air arm. Not only are airplanes the eyes of the fleet; they also are a mighty defense. Whenever battleships or transports move through a danger zone they must have an "umbrella" of planes overhead to ward off enemy bombers. Planes scout ahead to learn the enemy's strength and whereabouts. If they can, they knock out his ships and transports before he can attack.

Naval aviation is entirely separate from the United States Air Force, which has charge of the personnel, equipment, and duties formerly belonging to the Army Air Forces. The transport systems of both, however, are being coordinated under the Military Air Transport Service. The Navy's air arm was first to develop dive bombing, and also developed the Norden bomb sight, which enables a bomber in a rapidly moving plane to take accurate aim automatically from a high altitude, allowing for speed, air currents, and various other factors that make bombing difficult.

Seaplanes differ somewhat from ordinary planes. They have flotation gear for landing on water, and the pilot, in addition to his parachute, has an inflatable life jacket

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS

which he wears for safety. Most of the Navy planes do double duty—that is, a fighting plane will also do scout duty. All of them must be stronger than land planes in their under carriages or floats, and in other parts of the structure as well. For if they are built to land on the water they must be able to live in a rough sea, and if they are based on an aircraft carrier they must be able to stand the shock of being stopped at high speed by the cable that is strung across the carrier's deck for that purpose.

Those "flying boats" that are based on naval combat vessels, such as battleships and cruisers, must be stout enough to stand being hurled into the air at sixty miles an hour by a catapult on the ship's deck. On their return they will settle on the water near their ship and be hoisted on board by a crane. All naval planes must have frames and engines that can resist rust. A number of the new Navy planes are driven by jet engines. The new "Sky-rocket" has both rocket and jet engines, and is very fast.

The Navy has a number of types of aircraft, each one adapted to a particular kind of work. Carrier-based planes are the Navy's real fighters. They always have wheels, and represent the combat types. As a rule each carrier has a bombing squadron, a fighting squadron, and a torpedo squadron. The task of scouting now falls to the fighters.

For dive bombing the Navy has a number

of excellent planes capable of high speed. They all have powerful armament and are very sturdy, for they must hurl themselves downward toward the target at a speed of from 300 to 350 miles an hour, and just before

they reach it must pull out of the dive, release their bomb load, and climb up out of danger as rapidly as possible. Each plane may carry a half ton or more of bombs. We get some idea of the speed of their almost perpendicular dive when we learn that the wind streams over their smooth metal surfaces with a scream that strikes terror to those who hear it.

These planes may also be used for level bombing, either from altitudes high enough to be above the reach of anti-aircraft guns, or from very low altitudes, where it is possible to take careful aim. Because a ship is a difficult target to hit from 20,000 feet in the air, American aviators have been turning to "skip bombing," which is low-level horizontal bombing at about the height of a ship's masts. At that level

it is almost impossible to miss the target. Of course this kind of attack is very dangerous for the pilot, especially if the plane is large and is therefore a good target. For such work the Navy has turned to some of the faster planes used by the Air Force, and the Air Force has adopted some of the Navy's excellent dive bombers for certain kinds of work.

The dive bomber is extremely effective in attack against ships. But deadlier still is



Photo by U. S. Nav

This member of the United States Coast Guard is patrolling his share of the 40,000 miles of seacoast that the Coast Guard must protect.

UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS



Photo by U. S. Coast Guard

At the Coast Guard Academy in New London, Connecticut, cadets go through a rigorous training and graduate with a college degree. They then become

ensigns in the Coast Guard, where a fine career awaits them. The cadets shown here on their campus are ready for dress parade.

the torpedo plane, for the torpedo strikes with greater force. These planes can carry a 2,000-pound torpedo 1,400 miles. This too is a very dangerous plane to fly, for in order to launch its torpedo the pilot must slow down and swoop to within a hundred feet of the water. Otherwise the torpedo will go off on hitting the waves.

Observation planes based on battleships must watch the fall of shot from the ship's guns and send back by radio whatever directions are necessary for getting the range on an enemy ship. They also are used for taking aerial photographs—a task of great skill.

The Navy has a number of transport planes—the Coronado and the Mars, which are flying boats, and others that are land-based. Biggest of all is the new Constitution.

Late in 1945 the Navy brought out its new jet-propelled fighter—the Fireball (F-1)—and also the world's first pilotless fighting plane, the dependable Hellcat. Both are described on other pages. For some years pilotless planes called “drones” had been used for target practice.

We regard our Navy as our first line of defense. That is why the patrol of the seas is one of its first duties. For that purpose we have at present a variety of long-range flying boats, known as patrol bombers. They are among the most famous and the most useful planes in our country's service. What they lack in speed they make up in range, for they can cruise from 3,000 to 5,000 miles and stay in the air thirty hours without landing. They can make a safe landing in the open sea

and may be refueled there by surface tenders. For action in the vast reaches of the Pacific they have no equal. A single plane can patrol 50,000 square miles of sea in a day, and can hop from island to island with no need of a landing field or a permanent base. Wherever a tender has been able to precede it, the plane can drop anchor and feel at home.

Hunting the Submarine

Early in World War II the Navy used lighter-than-air machines—called dirigibles (dīr'j-ĭ-b'l) or “blimps”—for coastal patrol. Those great helium-filled bags could stay nearly motionless in the air or move along very slowly in search of submarines or mines. Word of a submarine was radioed to a patrol plane, which came to destroy it with a depth bomb, and news of a mine brought a mine destroyer. Helicopters, too, were useful for this kind of patrol, for they could work in mid-ocean from the deck of a ship. But before long radar (rā'dār)—described elsewhere in these books—took the place of both blimp and helicopter. The planes themselves could then detect the submarines.

So far we have been speaking of the Navy proper, as it exists both in peace and war. But we have said nothing of a large sea-going organization that in peace time operates as a part of the United States Treasury Department but as soon as we are at war becomes a part of the Navy. This is the Coast Guard, a service that goes back to 1789, when our country's first Congress established a Revenue Cutter Service to collect revenue along

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our coasts and stop the common practice of smuggling. Later the Life-Saving Service was established to rescue people from the sea. And in 1915 the two services were combined in the United States Coast Guard.

The Coast Guard's Famous Motto

In peace time the Coast Guard has a large variety of duties and must be on the alert at all times. It is not for nothing that it has as its motto the Latin phrase "Semper Paratus"—Always Ready. It maintains a fleet of trim cutters—well armed boats of sizes varying from sea-going ships well over 300 feet long to little 60-foot boats for use in rivers and harbors.

The large cutters tow ships disabled at sea, open icebound harbors, deliver supplies and mail to communities that in one way or another have been cut off from the rest of the world, patrol the waters of the North Pacific and Bering Sea to protect the herds of seal, sea otters, walrus, and sea lions, carry teachers, doctors, judges, and other federal officers to far-off Alaskan communities and deliver clothes, food, and medical supplies there.

But this is only the beginning. The Coast Guard has charge of our country's share in the work of the International Ice Observation and Ice Patrol Service. Large ocean-going cutters are assigned to stations on islands lying between the United States and Europe in order that observations on the weather may be taken and reported to our Weather Bureau in Washington. It is the business of the Coast Guard to maintain our hundreds of lightships and numerous lightships to warn of danger. And besides the lights that must be constantly tended, the Coast Guard has installed several

thousand automatic lights along the coast and up and down our country's rivers. It also has anchored many thousands of buoys to mark safe channels for ships along our shores and inland waterways.

The Coast Guard's smaller cutters, often called patrol boats, usually have great speed and are extremely useful for inspecting harbors and vessels, enforcing navigation laws, and pursuing lawbreakers. They are likely to be called out for rescue work in times of disaster, such as floods or hurricanes. The service has numerous shore stations near dangerous spots and a system of radio telephone and telegraph communication between stations and other points under its control. In an incredibly short time an alarm brings a trained life-saving crew to the scene of a shipwreck or drowning near shore.

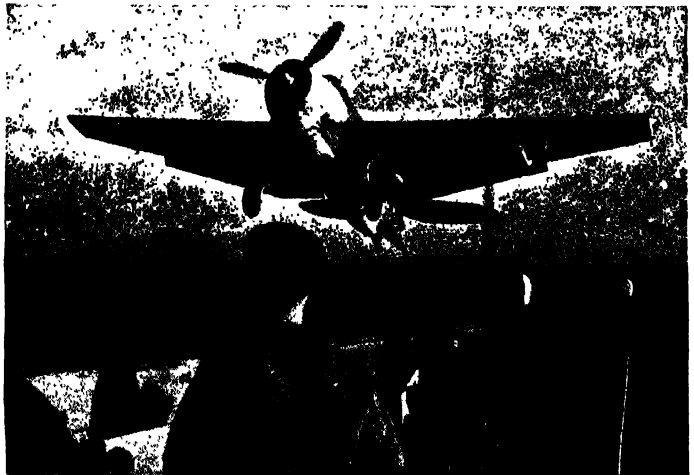
For training the young men who enlist in its ranks the Coast Guard maintains an Academy at New London, Connecticut, with a four-year course of instruction. And besides training its own enlisted men, the Coast Guard also has charge of the Maritime Service, which trains men and officers who man the vessels in the United States merchant marine—the merchant ships that operate from our coasts and on the Great Lakes.

Why There Are "War Games"

The task fleets and smaller units of the Navy's operating forces engage in regular maneuvers; that is, they practice the various movements and actions that might

Aircraft carriers are really floating airports, with the great flight decks as runways which can be turned in any direction to face the wind and enable planes to take off or land. In order to stop a landing plane within the length of the flight deck, carriers are provided with an arrestor gear. Here is a torpedo bomber whose tail has just caught the arrestor gear in a landing on its home carrier.

Official U.S. Navy Photograph



UNCLE SAM'S SAILORS



Photo by Pickering Studio

Here is a glimpse of life at the Naval Academy—the regiment drawn up on the field for dress parade. Now

the midshipmen will display their smart uniforms and their skill in maneuver.

be carried out if there were war. In some of these so-called "war games" they are joined by Army units. This gives an opportunity to train the naval personnel in warfare and test out the Army's coast-defense system. To train its regular officers, the Navy, like the Army, has many schools. But much the most famous is the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis, Maryland; it corresponds to the United States Military Academy, and trains young men for service as ensigns.

How the Naval Academy Was Founded

As early as 1794 Congress created the grade of midshipman, but for a long time did not get around to providing a regular system of education for the young "boot." For many years he was taught nothing more than what he picked up by his own wits on the ship to which he was assigned. This was hard discipline for youngsters from ten to fifteen years of age, especially as no one paid much attention to them or tried to instruct them. Later some efforts were made to provide instruction during leave periods, and still later chaplains and professors of mathematics were appointed to give instruction on shipboard during spare hours. Neither plan worked very well. Finally a body of progressive naval officers petitioned Congress to create a school offering a definite course of study for midshipmen. Congress, though not unwilling, hesitated on account of the expense. It was then that George Bancroft, as Secretary

of the Navy, took matters into his own hands and obtained from the War Department the abandoned Fort Severn, at Annapolis. Here he brought the Naval Asylum School, a school founded in Philadelphia in 1838; it offered a one-year elementary course in naval studies. On Oct. 10, 1845, he officially opened the Naval School with fifty midshipmen and three instructors, and Commander Franklin Buchanan as superintendent. The following year Congress voted funds to keep the academy going. But it was not called the United States Naval Academy until 1850.

During the Civil War the academy was moved to Newport, since there seemed to be danger that Annapolis might be captured by the Confederacy. But in 1865 it was moved back. Since then, with each revival of interest in the Navy, Annapolis has benefited, until it is now the best-equipped naval academy in the world. It has twelve imposing buildings or building groups along the west bank of the Severn, all of them named for famous officers of the Navy. One of the finest buildings is the chapel, where in the crypt rest the remains of John Paul Jones. In all there are about 184 acres of land in the naval reservation, and 140 buildings, representing an investment of \$28,000,000.

How to Become a Midshipman

Appointments to the Naval Academy come from the same sources as those to West Point, namely, from senators and representatives

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and territorial delegates, each of whom has the right to appoint five candidates. The President of the United States may appoint a number of candidates "at large," and 160 are distributed among the enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps, and 160 among the Navy and Marine Corps Reserves. Non-veteran candidates must be between seventeen and twenty-one years of age.

It takes four years to complete the course. A great deal of the student's time is naturally spent on mathematics and engineering, but the first two years give a general academic course. Instructors are mostly naval officers, but there are many more civilian instructors than at West Point. Upon graduation the midshipmen are commissioned as ensigns in the Navy or as second lieutenants in the Marine Corps.

The administration of the Naval Academy is under a naval officer of high rank, known as the superintendent. He is assisted by a commandant of midshipmen, a ranking officer who has charge of the discipline. The midshipmen are organized into four battalions of two companies each for military instruction, and officered by the midshipmen themselves. Athletics play a great part in their training. As they are in the service of the United States they receive \$936 annually, in addition to a daily ration allowance. Out of this amount they must pay for food, clothes, and incidentals. Each year the upper three classes go on a practice cruise for three months, after which they are granted one month's vacation. The newly entered class spends the greater part of its first summer in drills, gunnery, gymnastic exercises, and management of boats. Like the West Point cadets, the naval "plebes" have many interests outside their regular course of training.

Strange as it may seem, the Navy's duties include a great deal more than national defense. In time of peace it is always busy at useful tasks. It goes on errands of mercy to districts desolated by earthquake, fire, or hurricane. It introduces sanitary method to native populations of our island possessions. It studies the oceans and their

currents, and has charted many unsurveyed islands. Recently it completed an aerial survey of 25,000 square miles of unexplored Alaska. The North Pole was discovered by a naval officer, Admiral Peary; another naval officer, Admiral Byrd, is the only person ever to have flown over both Poles. Many diplomatic missions must be placed to the credit of the Navy. Commodore Kearney initiated the "open door" principle in China in 1840; Commodore Perry succeeded in opening Japan to the world in 1853. Naval ships carry our diplomatic agents over the world on

special missions to foreign lands.

Besides all this, the Navy has done much experimenting in testing metals, in electricity, radio, and airships, and has always put the results of its investigations at the service of American industries. The merchant marine in particular has been greatly helped in this way.

Are Navies Out of Date?

At the outbreak of World War II there was a wide difference of opinion among experts as to whether sea power had lost its importance. Many thought the airplane had made the battleship useless. And it is true that later events have proved that a single dive bomber can destroy the largest superdreadnaught. But it is also true that, given an "umbrella" of airplanes to protect it, the battleship is still invaluable both for defense and for attack.



In the crypt of this chapel on the campus of the Naval Academy lie the bones of John Paul Jones, the Navy's first great hero.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT

The President, commander in chief of the Navy, Army, and Air Force.

• The Secretary of Defense, a member of the Cabinet.

The Secretary of the Navy, of sub-Cabinet rank, in charge of everything that has to do with the Navy and its activities. It is his especial duty to decide upon matters of naval policy, and also to take charge of the Navy's relations with the general public. The men under him fall into two groups: 1) civilian assistants, who are not members of the Navy and have nothing to do with its professional activities; and 2) naval professional assistants, who are high-ranking members of the Navy.

The civilian assistants are: the Under Secretary of the Navy, who is in charge of legal matters and naval personnel boards;

The Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who, with the help of the Chief of Naval Operations and his technical assistants, is responsible for policies governing the procurement, production, and use of Navy supplies, and for matters concerning civilians employed by the Navy;

The Assistant Secretary for Air, who has charge of the Navy's air arm and of the planning of research and experimentation.

The naval professional assistants are: the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), who is chief naval adviser to the President, has charge of all matters involving the command and discipline of men and officers in the Navy, and, with the help of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, decides on the Navy's size and on all its operations, which he commands;

A Vice Chief and five Deputy Chiefs—one for Personnel, or the people in the Navy, one for Administration, one for Operations, one for Logistics, or the procuring and delivering of supplies, one for Air, and, lastly, the Naval Inspector General, who can pry anywhere;

The naval technical assistants, under the CNO and advising both him and the Secretary of the Navy, are the chiefs of the naval bureaus; the Judge Advocate General, who must report to the Under Secretary of the Navy on the Navy's legal affairs; the sixteen District Commandants, in command of the sixteen naval districts into which the United States and its possessions are divided; and the Commandant of the Marine Corps. The Chief of Naval Operations advises with the Assistant Secretary of the Navy as to the supplies the Navy needs, and the naval technical assistants advise with the civilian assistants as to the procurement of those supplies.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff of which the CNO is one, along with the Chief of Staff for the President, the Chief of Staff of the Army, and the Chief of Staff of the Air Force decide on the plans for operations, which the CNO then puts into effect.

NAVAL BUREAUS

The naval bureaus are: the Bureau of Aeronautics, which designs, procures, and maintains aircraft and aviation equipment; the Bureau of Ordnance, which manufactures, stores, and maintains ordnance equipment; the Bureau of Ships, which oversees radio, sound, and other equipment, and also the upkeep and operation of the naval shipyards; the Bureau of Yards and Docks, which takes care of constructions on shore and also is in charge of the Construction Battalions, or "Sea Bees"; the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, which purchases, inspects, stores, and issues supplies of many kinds, and also handles the Navy's payroll; the Bureau of Naval Personnel, in charge of recruiting, training, and assigning naval personnel; and the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, in charge of the health of the Navy personnel and the administration of numerous hospitals and dispensaries. There are also various boards and officers maintaining bureaus, such as the Commandant of the Marine Corps and the Judge Advocate General, in charge of the Navy's legal business.

NAVAL SHIPYARDS

Naval shipyards are located at Boston, Massachusetts; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Norfolk, Virginia; Charleston, South Carolina; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Brooklyn, New York; Mare Island and San Francisco, California; Bremerton, Washington, on Puget Sound; Pearl Harbor, Hawaii; and Terminal Island, San Pedro, California.

BASES FOR NAVAL OPERATIONS

Naval Bases are located at Norfolk, Virginia; San Diego, California; San Francisco, California; Balboa, in the Panama Canal Zone; Pearl Harbor, Hawaii; the Island of Trinidad; New York City, New York; Newport, Rhode Island; San Pedro, California; Puget Sound, Washington; Charleston, South Carolina; San Juan, Puerto Rico; Guantanamo, Cuba; Key West, Florida; and Philadelphia, Portsmouth, and Boston.

GRADES

Noncommissioned

The Navy is built up on the ordinary enlisted man, or seaman, commonly known as a "bluejacket." He has enlisted for from 3 to 6 years. Above him, in order of rank, from the lowest to the highest, are the apprenticed seaman, of which there is a third, a second, and a first class; petty officer, of which there is a third, a second, and a first class; chief petty officer. Petty officers do not receive their appointments, or "commissions," from the President, as commissioned officers do.

Just above the noncommissioned officers are a certain number of "warrant officers," especially qualified men to whom a warrant, or permit, has been issued allowing them to act as commissioned officers. Their duties are usually administrative.

Commissioned

It is usually the commissioned officers that we have in mind when we speak of the Navy's "officers." They have received their commissions, or appointments, from the President of the United States. In order of rank they are ensign (en'sin), the lowest of the commissioned officers; lieutenant, junior grade; lieutenant; lieutenant commander; commander; captain—not to be confused with the commanding officer on a vessel; commodore; rear admiral; vice admiral; admiral; fleet admiral.

THE NAMES OF VESSELS

Battleships—named for one of the states in the Union
Cruisers—named for one of our large cities

Aircraft carriers—named, as a rule, for an historic naval vessel or for a battle

Destroyers—named for former officers or enlisted men in the Navy, for a marine, or for a Secretary of the Navy, a member of Congress, or an inventor

Submarines—named for fish

Mine sweepers and submarine rescue vessels for birds

Coastal gunboats—for small cities

River gunboats—for one of our country's island possessions

Ocean tugs—for Indian tribes

Harbor tugs—for Indian chiefs and dialects

Cargo ships—for stars

Ammunition ships—for constituents of smokeless powder, for instance "Nitro"

Tankers—for rivers

Repair ships—for mythological characters, such as "Vulcan"

Destroyer tenders—for natural areas of the United States, such as "Dixie"

Large seaplane tenders—for sounds

Small seaplane tenders—for bays, straits, and inlets

Submarine tenders—for pioneers of submarine development

Transports—for Marine officers

UNCLE SAM'S "DEVIL DOGS"



Official U.S. Marine Corps Photo

Marines are always the first on hand when there is trouble. Wherever they have gone they have strengthened their reputation as courageous and skillful

fighting men. Above, a group of marines is wading ashore from landing craft in the invasion of Japanese-held Tinian Island in the Pacific during World War II.

UNCLE SAM'S "DEVIL DOGS"

Wherever There Is Need for Action, the Marines Are Very Likely to Be the "First to Fight"

A FINE soldier, he does not belong to the Army; enrolled in the Navy, he is not a sailor. So if he is still one of Uncle Sam's fighting men, what is he? The answer is that he is a marine.

The marines are our sea soldiers. We often see them on shore when the fleet is in. No one can mistake their dark blue coats trimmed with scarlet and gold, and their light blue trousers and white belts. Often we see them with the sailors, for at heart they are comrades who have served together on the same ships or fought together in the same battles, though there may be great rivalry between them as to the prowess of their respective forces.

Our marines are "globe-trotters." They have seen as much of the world as the sailors, for they go with the fleet through many seas. They are placed in permanent Marine Stations in Guam, Hawaii, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Panama, and

the United States. They form the guard of our naval bases and stations, as well as of naval vessels.

The marine is known the world over as a good fighter. Part of that fame he has won with the Army, for sometimes, when not needed by the Navy, he fights with the land troops, as he has done in all our wars.

The Marines have led in the development of amphibious (ăm-fīb'ī-ŭs) —that is, land and sea—warfare, and they have tested new landing equipment, such as amphibious tractors. The National Security Act of 1947 assigned to the Marine Corps the task of developing still further landing force tactics and equipment. In World War II the Marines helped to train Army divisions for playing a part in dangerous landing operations.

When he first enlists, how does a marine get his training? He has sworn to support the Constitution and to serve his country

UNCLE SAM'S "DEVIL DOGS"

for two, three, or four years. He is sent to a recruit depot—there is one at Parris Island, South Carolina, and another at San Diego, California. There for eight weeks he undergoes a training like that of a new man in the Army, but along with it he receives certain naval lessons—in signaling, the handling of boats, swimming, and other lore of the sea. Then he receives his assignment to a unit of the Marine Corps.

He is likely to be put into a detachment of marines on a battleship, carrier, or cruiser in the Navy. It will be much like any Army company, with the same officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted men. He will go through the drill and the manual of arms, like any infantryman. He will have the routine duties of every marine on shipboard—police duty, orderly duty, and sentry duty—and



Photos by United States Marines

often he will practice at gun drill with his comrades at the ship's secondary battery. Above all, he learns all about his rifle and its use, for he knows he may be called on at any time as one of the first fighters to land in case of trouble. If he is assigned to the Fleet Marine Force he will get further training in offensive tactics.

Yet his life is not all drills and duties. There is time for play, and there are plenty of amusements. The anchor often drops in new ports, and there is shore leave for new sights and new discoveries. And all the while he is growing more stalwart, and coming into a closer bond of unity with his fellows in the service.

From his older fellows, little by little, he learns the history of the service. He hears how a marine braved a rain of bullets to raise the Stars and Stripes for the first time over an Old World fortress, at Derna (dĕr' nă), far back in 1803, and so won the right to inscribe "Tripoli" on the colors of his

corps; how the Marines stormed the citadel of Chapultepec (chă-pōōl'tă-pĕk'), in Mexico, or captured the Salee forts from the Chinese. He grows in pride at these thrilling stories, and in devotion to the arm of the

service to which he belongs; he is ready to do his bit bravely when the time comes. In other words, he rapidly develops that greatest quality of a soldier, the one we call "morale" (mō-răl').

This is only a brief account of some of the training and experience a marine may have if he joins the fleet.

Other marines may find service of other kinds, for the Marine Corps is organized, like the

Army, to include infantry, light and heavy artillery, land signal troops, land engineers, machine gun, gas, and flame troops, aviators, tank corps, parachute corps, and all the other kinds of units for land fighting.

The main business of the Marine Corps is to aid the fleet or any part of it in any work it sets out to do. For this reason the Corps is under the control of the Navy Department. Yet it is a separate military body which never loses its own special character by serving either with the Navy or with the Army. Its chief is a commandant (kōm'an-dănt') with the rank of general, the

UNCLE SAM'S "DEVIL DOGS"



Photo by United States Navy

One of the most famous fights in which marines have taken part was the duel, pictured above, between the "Bonhomme Richard," commanded by John Paul Jones, and the British frigate "Serapis." The "Serapis" was escorting some merchant ships through the North

Sea in September, 1779, when the "Bonhomme Richard" closed with her off Flamborough Head, on the eastern coast of England. It was a terrific battle. With the boats grappled together, the crews fought fiercely hand to hand, until the "Serapis" surrendered.

equal of any of the naval chiefs of bureau in his relation to the Secretary of the Navy; and he is a member of the Navy General Board, in order that the two arms of service may work together as closely as possible.

Who Are the Officers of the Marines?

The officers of the Marines come from three sources. They may be midshipmen from the United States Naval Academy who choose this service upon graduation; men from the ranks who are held worthy of appointment as officers by the president; or candidates from civil life. The latter two classes must pass an examination to become officers.

Nearly every marine will tell you that his corps is older than the Navy, just as nearly every sailor in the Navy will tell you the opposite thing. This is just one of the points of pride over which the two services can start a good argument. You may choose your own side, according as you may feel that the American Navy had its birth with the commissioning of several small vessels in October, 1775, or with the organization of its first squadron in December, 1775.

Between those dates, on November 10, 1775, came the resolution by our Continental Congress which led to the creation of our American Marines. It makes little difference whether the Navy or the Marines came first; the important thing is the fact that Congress soon saw their importance to each other, and created them almost at the same time.

But there had been marines before there ever was an American Congress. Over in England, in about 1664, the spirit of the Navy was at a very low ebb. The officers were mostly a cruel set of men, and a large part of the crew were men who had been kidnapped or somehow forced into the service. Naturally they were often sullen, and ready to rebel whenever there was a chance. So the government put a small troop of soldiers on each ship. In part they were to police the unruly sailors, and in part it was hoped they would inspire the sailors with their own sense of duty and discipline. In addition, they could go ashore when there was any fighting to be done on land. For it would never do to send a kidnapped sailor ashore to fight. He would be too unlikely to come back.

UNCLE SAM'S "DEVIL DOGS"

Those were the first sea soldiers to be called marines. We took over the idea of such troops at the time of our own war for independence.

■ All through the Revolution the Marines gave brave and loyal service, both with the Navy and with the Army. Every important sea fight witnessed their gallant deeds, for this was the type of fighting they could do best. The opposing ships were often very close together, where the rifles or hand grenades could do great damage; and often the final success of an action came after boarding the enemy's ship and a fierce hand-to-hand encounter. A dashing, fearless fighter like John Paul Jones would be the ideal of the sea soldiers, and he had marines with him both in his daring raids along the British coast and in his great battle of the "Bonhomme Richard" against the British frigate "Serapis."

Only a few of the brave deeds in the history of the Marines can be told here. In the War of 1812 they were with Captain Hull in the famous fight between the "Constitution" and the "Guerrière" (gě'r'yě'r'), with Lawrence when the "Chesapeake" gloriously stood against the "Shannon," with Perry at Erie; and with Porter in his Pacific engagements. They formed part of General Jackson's army at New Orleans.

In the forties they saw service with General Taylor in his campaigns in Eastern Mexico; with General Kearny in California; with the naval operations of the Gulf and Pacific squadrons; and with General Scott's army of occupation in the interior of Mexico.

During the Civil War there were marines on both sides. The "Merrimac" and the "Monitor" numbered them among their crews. Farragut used them in the Battle of New Orleans and later in that of Mobile Bay, where the gallant Confederate, Buchanan, surrendered only after a superhuman contest against much greater numbers.

In the Spanish-American War six hundred marines were the first of our troops to land at Guantanamo, in Cuba. They had a part in the later victory of our fleet at Santiago. They fought with Dewey at Manila Bay, and many remained to serve throughout the Philippine insurrection. They saw action as

shock troops in France during World War I.

In the Second World War every offensive action in the Pacific called for the marine's specialty—charging ashore to seize hostile beaches. A large new training area was established for them at the mouth of New River, North Carolina. There, as well as at the older base at San Diego, California, marines trained their fearless and skillful Amphibious Corps. For making their dangerous landings they developed amphibious boats—light-armored sea-going tanks affectionately called "alligator tanks." Cleats on the tractors' treads act as paddles in the water. Marines made the first offensive against the Japanese at Guadalcanal, and continued with successful amphibious assaults at Tarawa, the Marshalls, the Marianas, Peleliu, Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and other islands.

They are often busy in peace time. Go back in history and you will find them fighting in Egypt, Algiers, and Tripoli against the Barbary pirates, in romantic and daring service against the Malay pirates of Sumatra; volunteering as a corps to fight the Creeks in Georgia and the Seminoles in the swamps of Florida; later forming a part of the Navy's first scientific expedition for charting the southern seas. They have been many times in Cuba and in Central and South America, helping to uphold law and order in times of trouble. They have been called on for several punitive and protective missions to China. In 1853 they were a part of Commodore Perry's bodyguard in his mission to open Japan's long-closed doors to the world.

They have never been a large body. Before the First World War they had never numbered as many as 14,000, but by the end of 1943 there were over 400,000 of them. The authorized peacetime strength of the Marine Corps is 8,000 officers and 100,000 men. But what they have lacked in numbers they have always made up in loyalty and courage. "Devil dogs" is what the Germans in World War I nicknamed them. "First to Fight," "Leathernecks," and "Tell it to the Marines," are all phrases that we have learned to associate with them. But the most fitting phrase for them is their official motto: "Semper Fidelis"—"Ever Faithful."

The STORY of ECONOMICS

Reading Unit

No. 1

HOW WE CAME TO USE MONEY

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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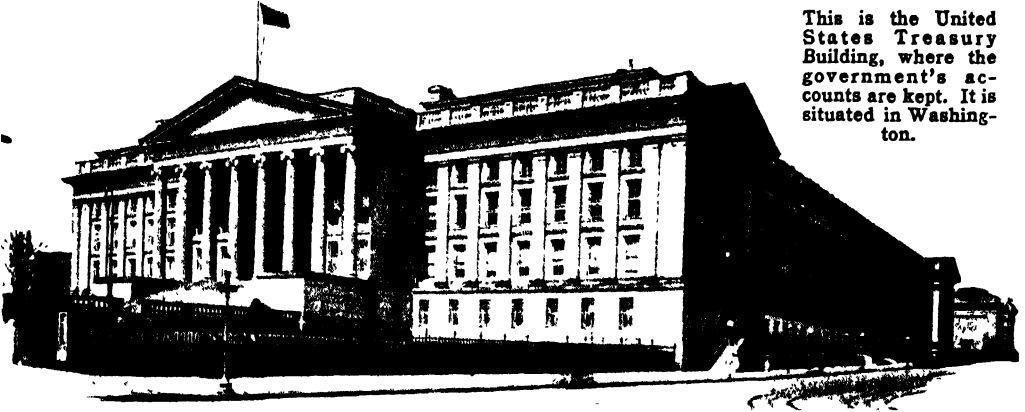
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Summary Statement

Economics is the social science that explains why and how men

work together for the greatest mutual profit.

HOW WE CAME TO USE MONEY



This is the United States Treasury Building, where the government's accounts are kept. It is situated in Washington.

by U. S. Treasury Dept.

HOW WE CAME *to* USE MONEY

And Why It Is that Each Man Does Not Make All the Things He Needs to Get Along in the World

A VERY long time ago, so long that we do not really know just when it was, a man was working in a field. He was plowing, though a modern farmer would not think that he was doing it very well. He had an ox and a crooked stick hitched to it with a clumsy rope. As the ox walked along, the man pushed the stick into the ground and managed to stir up the surface a little. Though we do not know just how long ago this man was working, we know that it was fairly early in the history of mankind, when plowing was a new art. This man was plowing because he had learned that the grain he planted grew a great deal better if the land had been plowed.

As he went along pushing his stick into the ground he came to a place where there was an old stump buried beneath the surface. Before he saw what was happening and could stop his ox, the stick caught on the stump and was broken right in the middle. This disgusted the man because he had to stop plowing and set to work to make a new plow. Scolding and muttering to himself he drove his ox off to the side of the field and began to look around for the right kind of stick.

While he was looking a friend of his came along and asked what was the matter. The farmer explained. "I don't mind plowing,"

he said, "but I do hate this job of making a plow."

"I feel just the other way," said his friend; "it is fun to make plows but it is very boring to use them."

The farmer stopped working at the stick he had found. He had an idea. "I'll tell you what we might do. You keep me supplied with sticks like this to plow with, and make me a new one every time one breaks, and I will plow your land as well as my own."

They talked it over and decided it was such a good idea that they wondered why they had not thought of it before. So after that the first farmer did all the plowing on the two farms, and he was able to work steadily all day at plowing because every time he broke a stick his friend had a new one all cut to shape and ready to use.

The arrangement that these two farmers made is the scheme that everybody follows now. The habit of making such agreements has grown until all the people in the world make an enormous number of such agreements with an enormous number of other people. This habit has grown into a great system in which no one man can possibly know all the people he works for, or all the people who work for him. But we all do

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something for other people and the others do things for us in return.

We want so many more things than those two old farmers did that life is a great deal more complicated for us than it was for them. In those times, long before history began to be written, each person or each family made all the things they needed and did for themselves all the things that had to be done. At first only a few people here and there worked out the scheme that those two farmers thought of. But their idea was such a good one that more and more people adopted it. It became more and more common for each person to do only the thing he could do best, and for him to let others do for him the things they could do better than he could. And this soon made other changes necessary. People had to think of various good ways to use one another's work.

What Is Economics?

What we know about the way men work together and for one another is called the science of economics (ē'kō-nōm'iks). It explains how one man can spend his time plowing and get in return the many things he needs which have nothing to do with plows. It tells of the working of trade and business and industry, the ways of money and credit and banking.

In the time of the two farmers we have been telling about, life was in some ways a

great deal simpler than it is now. Most of the things that make our lives pleasanter, though harder to understand, did not exist. There were no railroads or machines or books; there were very few and only very small cities. People were scattered about rather thinly, and they traveled so little that

they did not know much about one another. Each family lived almost in a separate little world of its own. Instead of buying meat and groceries at stores they got the things by raising and making them. Each person had to know many different kinds of jobs. When a boy needed new shoes his father cut up the skin of a cow, of which the family had eaten the meat, and his mother sewed that leather into shoes. To make dresses for the girls and suits for the boys the

father and mother cut wool from their sheep and spun the wool into yarn. Then the mother wove the yarn into cloth and made the clothes from the cloth. They finally ate the sheep.

Doing all this took all the time that people had. Grown people and children had to work from the time it was light in the morning until it was dark at night. Even if they had had books to read or any of the other pleasant things that we find to do when our work is finished, they would not have had time for such things. Life was work and nothing but work. And even working as hard as they did, they could not live very comfortably.



Photo by Field Museum

Early man killed his deer with weapons he had fashioned himself. The flesh was his food, the hide he turned into clothing; and he made weapons of the horns. Each man had to provide himself with the necessities of life. How long do you think modern men could keep alive if every man suddenly found that he had to supply all his own needs, without buying anything from anybody else?

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Photo by American Museum of Natural History

Primitive races of to day live in much the same fashion as did the men of the Stone Age. In many tribes, labor is divided only between members of a family. The

father, for example, may do the hunting—and fighting. The mother will cook and weave; and the children will help as they can. Each family is self-sufficient.

Their houses, which, like their clothes, they made themselves, were not very strong or weatherproof. The food they ate and the clothes they wore were not so good as ours, because they did not know so much as we do about making things.

How the Present Grew out of the Past

We do not suppose that primitive people were unhappy; they did not know how different life could be. The changes that have made our life different from theirs have taken place very slowly, one step at a time. Here and there an unusually clever man would think of a new device or a new way of doing things that was easier and better. Often he would have a hard time showing people that his way was really better, because most people like to keep on doing things the way they have always done them. But usually when someone thought of a new scheme, as our two farmers did, people gradually saw that it was better and began to do things that way.

When we stop to think of the ways in which our life is different from that of primitive people, we think at once of many things

we have which they did not have. We have comfortable houses to live in; we have clothes that fit and keep us warm; we have trains and automobiles and airplanes to take us wherever we may want to go. We have an endless number of different kinds of things to make life easier and pleasanter—fountain pens, pianos, and telephones. We say that we have these things because one after another they have been invented; clever men have thought of them and have shown other people how to make them. That is true; each invention came into use because of someone's hard work in thinking it out. But there is another reason, just as important, why we can now live in our complex way.

Dividing Up the Labor

That reason is simply the fact that we have adopted the system that our two primitive farmers began. They got along better when they divided their work up. We can live as we do now because no one tries to do everything for himself. A man may say that he is independent, that he earns his own living and does not ask anyone for anything, and in a sense he is right. But he is not in-

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dependent in the way our primitive friends were. He makes almost none of the things that he uses. He gets up in the morning and puts on a suit made by men he never saw, out of wool grown in Australia. After breakfast he rides to work in a street car that he could not possibly have made himself.

What is true of one man is true of all of us; whatever we do for a living, we are dependent for the things we use on more people



Do you know how labor is divided in manufacturing a chair? Off in the big woods men cut the timber.

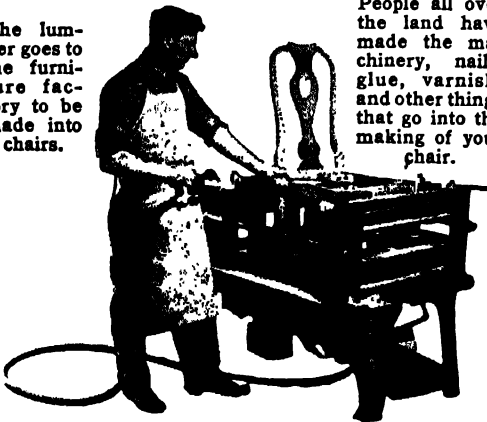


Teamsters haul this timber to the sawmill, shown to the right, where still other men saw it into lumber.

than we can count, most of whom we never see. This splitting up of the work of the world has a name in the science of economics. It is called the "division of labor." It is just as important in making modern life possible as are the inventions. In fact, the two work together and cause each other.



The lumber goes to the furniture factory to be made into chairs.



People all over the land have made the machinery, nails, glue, varnish, and other things that go into the making of your chair.

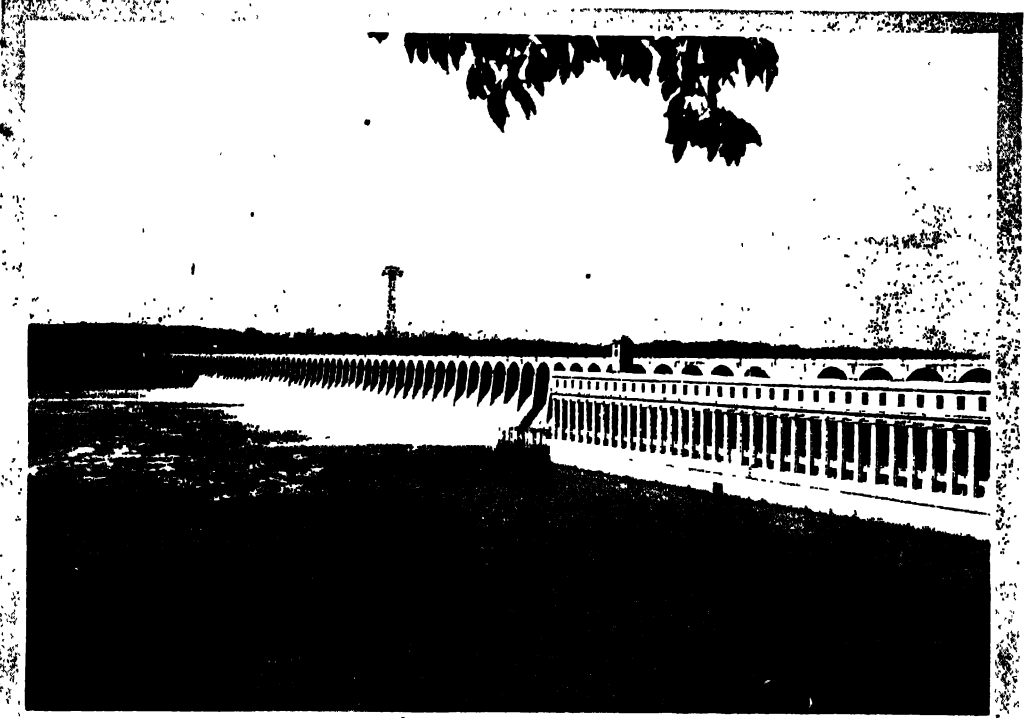
Without dividing up the work of the world so that some people can make street cars while other people plow, we could not have the inventions. And without the inventions we could not divide up the work as we do.

Before we talk about the way men divide up the work in the world and co-

The factory sells the finished chair through salesmen --each of whom has his own selling territory.



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Wilson Dam, at Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee Valley, harnesses the river's energy to turn man's

machines and manufacture fertilizer for his fields. Besides this, it will control the waters in flood time.

operate with one another in getting it done, let us see what are some of the inventions that have made so much difference. There are really two kinds of inventions, those which give us power and those which are ways of using power. Those which give us power are fewer but more important. When men first began to use boats they made them go by pushing at the water with oars or paddles. Then some bright fellow discovered that he could make his boat go by putting a sail on it and letting the wind do the pushing. That was an invention that gave men power; it was a way of getting work done without using muscle to do it. Of course, when we say that an invention gives us power we do not mean that power is actually made. We mean that a way has been found of harnessing power that has always existed. The winds had always blown and were ready to push ships through the water at any time when sails were put up to catch them.

Many years later a man whom you can read about in another story in these books made a machine for getting the power from

steam. And other men found that they could use that power to propel ships as well as for many other things. They did not *make* power any more than did the man who put up the first sail. Boiling water had always turned into steam. But they found a way of putting steam to work. They found that steam could be made to do more work than anyone had ever dreamed of getting done by the muscles of men and animals.

So we say that one class of inventions consists of the various ways men have found of getting the forces of nature to do work that would otherwise have to be done by muscles. Sails were among the first of these inventions. Probably the most important of all was the steam engine, because it gave so much power and could be used for so many purposes. As we all know, it is used to drive boats and trains, and to operate the machinery in many factories. Electricity is another kind of power, the use of which has changed life for people all over the world. It is probably now becoming more important than steam because it can be taken from place to place

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on wires so easily. Other stories in our books will tell you more about how steam engines and electric motors work. Here we are interested in the ways in which these inventions have changed the lives of men, and have put nearly everybody to work for nearly everybody else.

The Age of Inventions

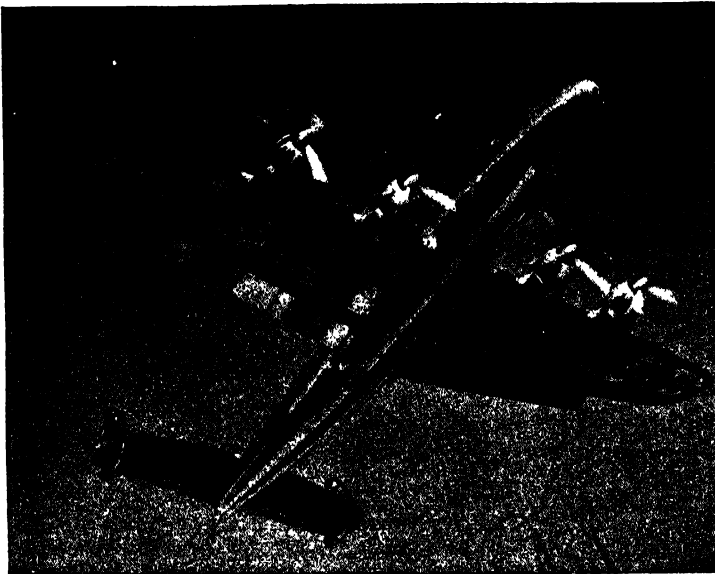
Inventions of the other kind we spoke of have been just as important in changing our habits and our lives. They give us some new way of *using* power. Some of them, such as the elevators that whisk us to the tops of high buildings in a few seconds, use the power of electricity. Others are ways of using steam. A few simply make better use of the power supplied by our muscles. A bicycle uses the power of the man who rides it, and takes him over the ground faster than he could walk. Factories are full of machinery which uses the power of steam or electricity.

There are a great many more of these inventions for using power than we could possibly put into a list. And men are constantly at work thinking up new ones. More and more the work of the world is done, not by the strength of our bodies, but by the forces in nature outside ourselves, which we guide with machines. Almost all of the things we use in our everyday lives are

made with machines, our obedient slaves.

Just as important as the machines that stand in the factories, and make us desks and shirts and fountain pens, are the machines we have for moving ourselves and all our things from place to place over the earth. Because there are railroads and steamships we can use the products of all the earth, and not just the things that can be had within a few miles of our homes. Before steamships were invented the ordinary people ate only food that was grown near them; and they wore clothes that did not come from very far away either. It is true that for several hundred years before steamships were developed, trade was carried on between Europe and the East. The merchants were adventurers who made risky and exciting voyages for the sake of bringing silk and various spices back to France and England. They went in sailboats and across deserts on camels, and met with such difficulties that when they came home they had to charge very high prices for the things they brought. Only kings and men of great wealth could afford to use things that came from very far away. Little dishes made in Japan can be sold in the United States for ten cents. And people in Japan can buy other things, made in America, just as cheaply.

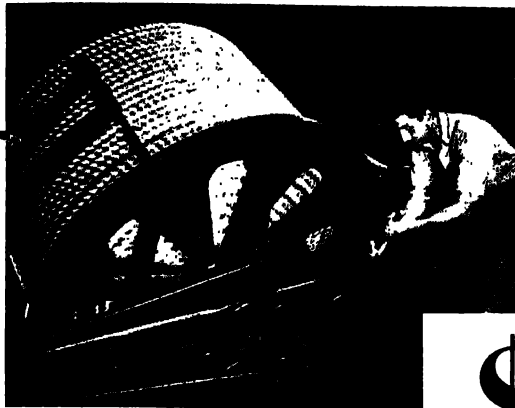
Because transportation is easy and cheap we say that the world is smaller than it used to be. Of course, we do not mean that the distance from London to Tokio, for instance, is really any less. We mean that the long journey is easier



Sailing packets of a century ago took twenty-three to forty days to cross the Atlantic Ocean, but airplanes can make the same crossing in half a day. And the voyage is vastly more comfortable for the passengers. It is small wonder then that our earth seems to have shrunk since the days when an ocean voyage often meant hunger and thirst and stormy seas.

by Trans World Airline

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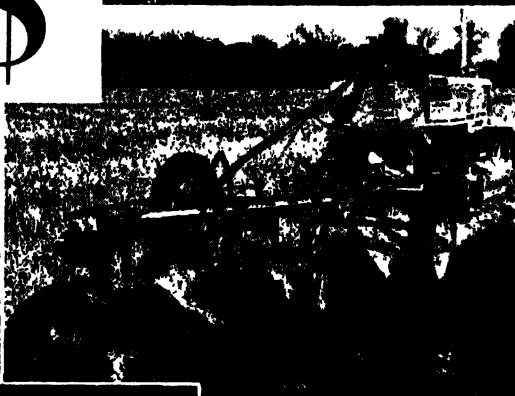


Photos courtesy Columbian Rope Co. and Bakers Weekly

Because the butcher, the baker, the farmer, and the worker in office or factory can each one

and simpler now than the trip from London to Paris two hundred years ago. The result is not only that people can take pleasant trips about the world, but also that people in Tokio and Bombay and New Orleans are, for practical purposes, as close to London as people in Edinburgh were two hundred years ago. In those days, the people in the rest of England possibly went to London to sell the things they made and to buy the things they wanted. Now people almost anywhere in the world can sell their products wherever in the world they are wanted. It does not really make much difference how far away the buyers are from the sellers.

When we say this we are talking, of course,



Photos courtesy Swift and Co. and Caterpillar Tractor Co.

turn his labor into money, he is able to buy conveniently from all the rest.



Photo courtesy Standard Oil Co. (N. J.)

about buying and selling in large quantities. If you are a tailor in London making suits for gentlemen, you are not likely to have any orders from a man who cannot come into your shop. You will do business only with men who live near you. But suppose you are the manager of a factory where woolen shirts are made. You have hundreds of people working with machines and you can turn out thousands of shirts a day, all exactly alike. It does not matter a great deal where your factory is located. By the use of the telegraph and postal systems you can order the wool you need wherever wool is sold, and it will be brought to you by ships and trains. When your shirts are made you can sell some in one country and some in

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another. If you sell enough, the cost of shipping them will be so unimportant that you can have customers all over the world.

What is true of shirts is true of most things that are made in large quantities. Steamships and trains are making distances count for less and less. Apples cost twice as much as bananas in New York City, although bananas have to be brought from the West Indies and apples are grown only a few miles away. With distances becoming less and less important, the various parts of the world are learning the habit of depending more and more on one another. As we go on with the story of economics, we shall see that modern transportation has an effect on practically everything that is bought and sold.

When men first began to work for one another, their affairs were so simple that the question of how to divide the work and the rewards among them was not very serious. The two farmers in the first part of this story had a very satisfactory arrangement; it was quite simple for them to decide how much each was to do. And for years, as men were learning to divide their work so that each man could do one kind of thing, it was not hard to make

a good arrangement. The baker gave the cobbler so many loaves of bread for a pair of shoes, and the cobbler gave the tailor so many pairs of shoes for a suit.

But as the work became more and more

specialized, this simple scheme of trading, or "bartering," what you made for what you wanted got to be inconvenient. Two farmers could trade work easily, but if one needed shoes he might find it hard to give the man who made the shoes something that this man wanted in return. The farmer might have to say, "As soon as my potatoes are ripe I will give you a bag of them."

To which the shoemaker would be very likely to reply, "I can't wait. Your potatoes won't be ripe for two months, and my children and I need food to-day."

So the farmer and the shoemaker could not do business together. You can easily see that the same sort of trouble would come up between many other men. So men had to find some way of trading things more simply.

They slowly came to see that the way out of the trouble was to have some one kind of thing that everyone would accept in exchange for any other kind of thing. In other words, they invented money.

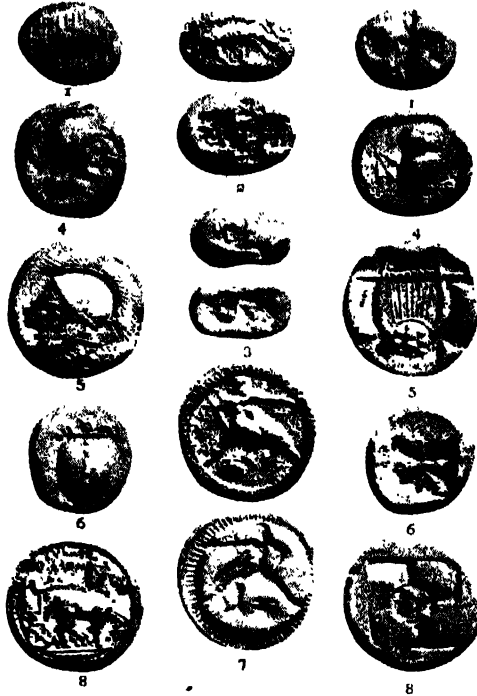


Photo by British Museum

The Lydians of Asia Minor were probably the inventors of coinage. At least they started the use of it on a large scale. The older peoples do not seem to have made much of this useful notion. They must have carried on trade by exchanging goods, or by using metal bars or rings of fixed weight. But along toward the beginning of the seventh century B.C.—probably in Lydia—the first coins were struck, and the happy invention spread rapidly throughout the lands of Greece. The earliest coins were of electrum—an alloy of silver and gold. Later came silver coins and gold coins; and still later copper and bronze coins became very common. Each city adopted a design. Athens was the first to put designs on both sides of a coin; on one side was a head of Athena and on the other, the owl sacred to Athena—shown at 4. Greek coins are interesting to the student of art as well as to the historian and economist, for they tell the story of Greek art in miniature. Above are early Greek coins dating from 700 to 480 B.C. They were made in (1) Ionia; (2) Ephesus?; (3) Lydia; (4) Athens; (5) Calymna; (6) Aegina; (7) Tarentum; (8) Syracuse.

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Photo by Brown Bros.

These men need sharp eyes, for it is their task to examine all new coins for possible defects in stamping and milling. The coins are passed along a belt which shows first one side and then the other for careful inspection. No coin is allowed to pass unless it is perfect.

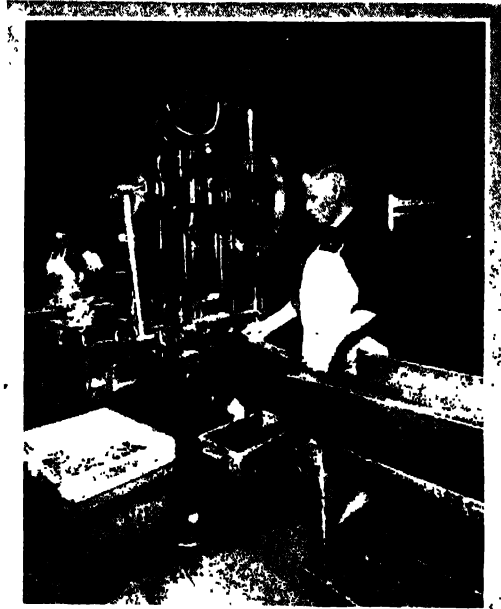


Photo by Brown Bros.

This machine is one of the fastest money-making machines in the world. Its business is to make twenty-dollar gold pieces, and it can turn them out at a speed of 450 every minute. In an hour's time it will make \$360,000 worth of them! You can figure for yourself how many it can make in a day.

Now we are so used to money that we do not often stop to think of what it really is and why it is important. Its existence is just as important to those who have none of it as to those who have a great deal. It is absolutely necessary in a world organized as ours is to-day.

In explaining what money is George Bernard Shaw says, "Suppose it did not exist and you wanted to go somewhere in a bus! Suppose the only moveable property you had was twenty ducks and a donkey! When the bus conductor came around for the fare you would offer him a duck and ask for the

change in eggs. This would be so troublesome, and the bargaining so prolonged, that next time you would find it cheaper to ride the donkey instead of taking the bus."

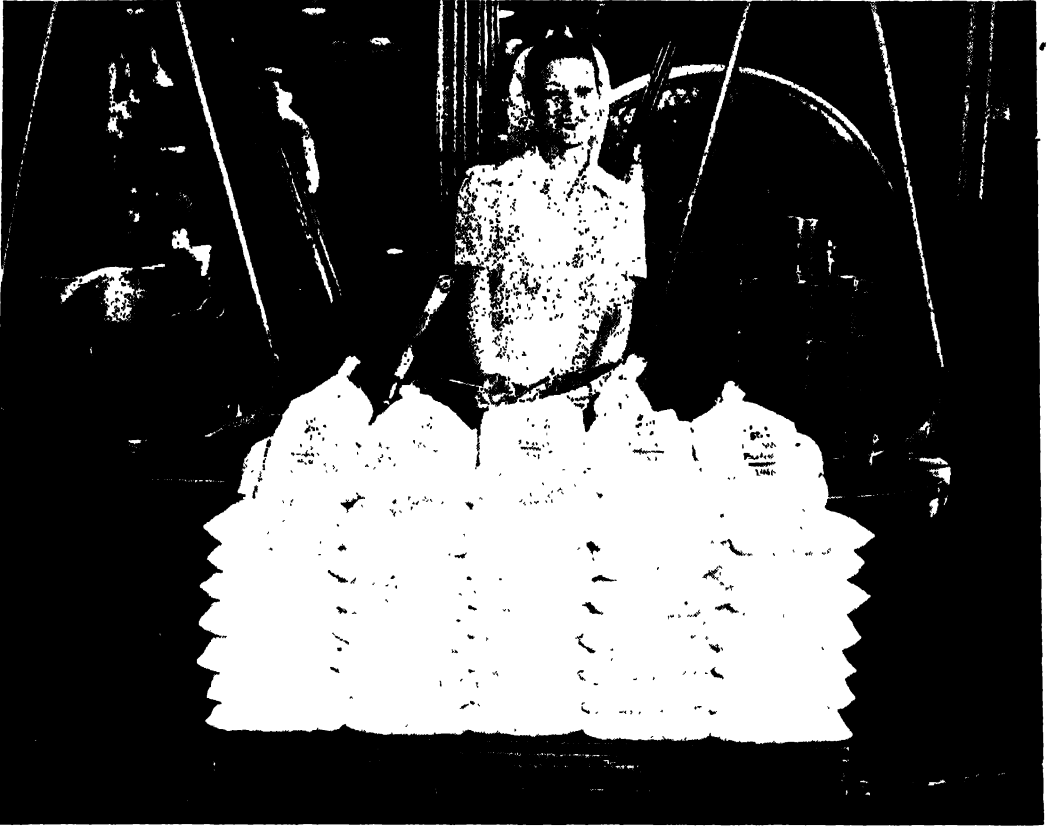
Trying to imagine how we should get along if money had not been invented shows us how necessary it is, and shows us also *what* money is. It is a sort of tool that all people use so that they can work for each other. We say that when a man does his job he is

paid for it; that is, he gets a certain number of dollars or crowns or whatever may be the money used in his country. With these pieces of money he can buy things, bread or

Cattle and sheep were the only money of the early Romans—as indeed they were of many early peoples. Later, of course, the Romans used coins. Our word "pecuniary"—which means "relating to money"—comes originally from the Latin word "pecus," which means "cattle"!



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Courtesy United States Treasury Department

Here are 400,000 bright new pennies on their way from the Philadelphia Mint to the pockets of all the millions

bicycles or theater tickets. When we say he can buy things we mean that by giving up some of the money he got for his work he can get the product of some other person's work. He is exchanging his work for someone's else work just as much as our two farmers did. Only now he has a "medium" of exchange. The medium is money. Money has made it possible and necessary for each person to work for many persons whom he never sees and to use the work of many others whom he knows nothing about.

The Convenience of Money

Money is one of the things that makes it possible for a baker to bake bread every day and know nothing about most of the people who eat it. In his turn he wears a suit without knowing where it came from or what men made it. He gets money for the bread he makes and gives money for the suit he wears.

of people who will use them. Each one of those bags contains \$50 worth of coins.

The most important result is that he can spend all his time making bread instead of wasting some of it arguing with a tailor as to how many loaves of bread a suit is worth.

The Real Value of Money

Money seems a very desirable thing to most people. They think they are spending their lives trying to get it and that they would be very happy if they had a great deal of it. But they are not really trying to get money. Money *itself* is not much good. You cannot eat it, or wear it, or do anything else with it except *exchange* it—that is, give it to somebody for something else. If you were hurrying to escape from a sinking ship to a desert island that happened to be near, and on the deck you saw two boxes, one containing bags of money and the other cans of food, do you think you would take the money and leave the food? Never in the

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International News Photo

Under the watchful eyes of two witnesses this man is shoveling old, tattered dollar bills into a furnace.

Every year the United States government destroys some ten billion worn-out dollars in this way.

world! You would realize that things to eat might be rather hard to find on that island and that the money would be absolutely useless there. There would be no one there to whom you could give it for something else.

Yet if you found that you could manage both boxes you might take the money also. But only because you would realize that the time might come when you would be rescued, and then it would be nice to have a lot of money with you when you sailed back to civilization. In the meantime a whole mountain of money could not keep you from starving.

Why We Want Money

But you may say that money *is* worth having if one is not on a desert island, and very few of us have to spend our lives on desert islands. You are right. However, even in the midst of civilization money is not good to eat. Nowadays a great deal of

the money we use is made of paper. There is something queer in the idea that people are so anxious to get these bits of paper that they will work hard and long for them. The paper is often ragged and dirty and would seem absolutely worthless to anyone who did not know what it is used for. Why is it so desirable? The explanation is strange but perfectly true: people want it because people want it. The bit of printed paper we call a dollar bill is desirable and works as money because everyone wants all he can get. If this were not true—if you thought the dollar bill someone offered you for doing a certain amount of work was not wanted by everyone who had things you would like to buy, you would not take it as payment for your work. You would insist on having something you could use yourself or something you knew you could trade for things you could use. The most important thing about money is that everyone should want it. We can

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say not only that everyone wants it because it is money, but also that it is money because everyone wants it.

The first money was not gold or silver. It was cattle or various other things really useful in themselves, that could be used to trade with. How has it happened that dollar bills are now used instead? One important reason is, as we said, that bushels of wheat and cows and such things are hard to carry around in pockets. Something had to be found that could be handled easily. Another reason, perhaps even more important, is that whatever was to be used as money had to be divided easily. If you were buying a suit you might find that it was worth more than one cow but not so much as two cows and you would not want to spoil a cow by cutting it in two. So you would try to go back to wheat; but the tailor might say that he had too much wheat now and would take no more. Something had to be found that could be divided easily, carried easily, and that everyone wanted.

Why Gold Is Used for Money

There was one more requirement. Water can be divided easily, carried easily, and everyone wants it. But it could not be used as money because there is too much of it. It is not *worth* much; that is, nobody will make you a suit of clothes for water. People could not possibly use as money anything so easy to get. Money had to be something scarce. The substance that was best in all these ways was gold, and it still is.

Now we must not imagine that all of a sudden people sat down and said, "We are tired of using several different things for money; so let's decide on gold because that

seems to be the best." Gold was probably used as money almost as soon as it was known. It was wanted for its own sake because pretty things could be made of it and because there was not very much of it. It is a curious fact about the human race that if a thing is wanted at all it is wanted even

more when there is not enough of it for each to have all he would like. So gold, which is really needed very little in an ordinary person's life, is very much desired by most people. The fact that it is so much desired, even though it is not of much use in itself, makes it the ideal substance to use as money.

We said that the essential thing about money is that people should want it; it works as a tool for buying and selling because everyone wants it. The problem of governments that make money is always to keep the money desirable in the eyes of all the people. The best

way that has been found of doing this is to make the money out of gold.

When grain was used as money one of the bothersome things about it was that it had to be measured every time anything was bought or sold. If you wanted to buy ten yards of woolen cloth which cost two bushels of corn, you and the man you bought from would have to measure the cloth of course, and you would also have to measure the corn. Even when gold and other metals first came into use, it was necessary to weigh out the metal whenever a bargain was struck. Instead of bushels of corn or wheat you paid in ounces of gold. It was necessary to have scales handy wherever business was done. To overcome this difficulty kings and governments began to make gold into coins, pieces containing a set amount of metal.

The making of coins is called minting



Photo by Uniers

Here we have the presses on which paper bills are printed at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in Washington.

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money, and the place where it is done is a mint. The government of each country has one or more mints where it makes the coins to be used in that country. It is always strictly forbidden for anyone else to make coins, though dishonest persons occasionally do try to make counterfeit money—coins that look like the ordinary ones but contain less gold. In various countries and times there have been coins of all sorts of odd shapes, but plain round ones are the best because they are easiest to make and last longest.

Many substances besides gold have been used for coins. We are all familiar with coins of silver, nickel, and copper. It is necessary to have these other coins because the smallest gold coin buys too much. In the United States the smallest gold coin—we never see it now—is worth two dollars and a half, and it is hard to handle because it is so small. So other coins of less valuable metal must be made in order that things worth less than two dollars and a half may be bought and sold. Naturally there must be a coin worth little enough so that it will not be more valuable than the cheapest thing that is likely to be sold. In the United States that coin is the cent, made of copper.

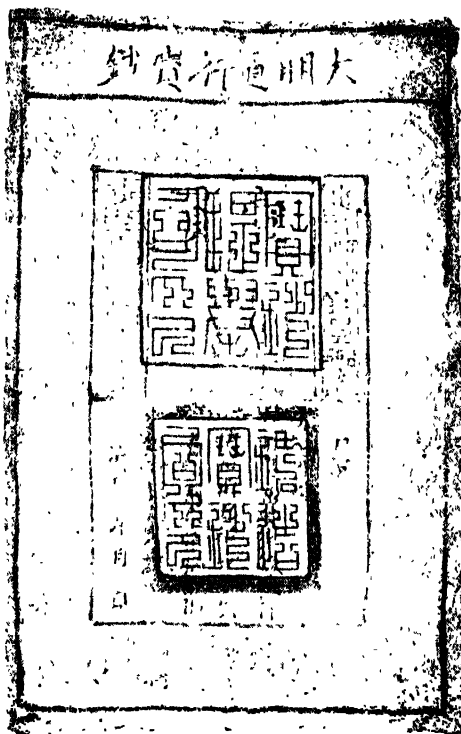
Although most countries use coins of silver, copper, and other metals, nearly all of them have decided on a gold coin as the standard. The value of the other coins is set by saying that it takes a certain number of each kind to equal one gold coin. In the United States

it takes five silver dollars, or twenty silver quarters, or five hundred copper cents, to equal one five-dollar gold piece. The gold piece is really the standard and the cents and dimes and so forth are made so that things worth less than five dollars can be bought and sold.

While we have been talking about gold coins, you may have been wondering why, if the gold coins are standard, one sees so few of them. It is entirely possible, even in normal times, to live for many years and handle quite a little money without ever seeing a gold piece. That seems queer if what we have said about gold is true. We shall find an explanation if we read the printing on a dollar bill: "This certifies that there has been deposited in the Treasury of the United States of America one silver dollar payable to the bearer on demand." Everyone knows that the United States is sound and honest, and will do what it promises. If it says it has a silver dollar for each dollar bill and promises to give one to any person who presents a dollar bill and asks for silver, the dollar bill is

just as good as the silver dollar. Since the bill is easier to carry than the coin, no one asks to have his bills changed for coins.

The same is true of other bills. A ten-dollar bill says that the United States has in the treasury ten dollars in gold coin which it will give to anyone who would rather have them than this bill which represents them. Other bills, of five dollars or more, are issued



We are likely to think of banks and paper money as modern things, and to connect them with Europe and America rather than with the Far East. Yet here we have a Chinese bank note of the Ming Dynasty, which reigned from 1368 to 1644 A.D. As a matter of fact, the Chinese invented paper money, and we find traces of its use as far back as the first century A.D. During the time of the Mings it was the chief sort of currency used. The Chinese invented the gold standard too; they were using it some four thousand years ago, though they have not kept it all the time since. Furthermore, there have been banks in China at least part of the time ever since sometime in the Chou Dynasty, which reigned from about 1122 to 256 B.C. The gold standard in our own country is fairly new; in fact it is only about a century old.

HOW WE CAME TO USE MONEY

by banks, which make the same promise. Such banks are controlled by the government, and everyone knows that their bills are good also. The government issues and permits banks to issue enough of this paper money to take care of the everyday need of money for buying and selling. The result is that gold coins always have been rare. For everyday use the pieces of paper representing gold coins and the coins of other metals are more convenient.

What Is Currency?

All this money that goes from hand to hand in the daily business life of the country, the coins of a dollar or less and the bills, is called currency. Currency is just as good as gold, people want it just as much, as long as the government that makes it is perfectly honest and perfectly sound. A government must be telling the truth when it prints paper money saying that it can and will give the right amount of gold to each person who presents a bill and asks for it. As long as people believe that the government can and will do what it says, they will never bother to try to get gold; they will almost forget that the money is based on gold. So sometimes governments, which are not always perfectly honest any more than individuals are, will try to take advantage of the money-making power.

The Meaning of Inflation

Suppose, for instance, that you were ruling a country, and because of troubles of one kind or another you had got the country badly into debt. You would be very much tempted, since you controlled the printing of money, just to print as much as you needed and to pay your debts with it. If you were not very thoughtful and honest—and especially since there would be a great many people all advising different things, and your troubles would seem a great deal more complicated than we have tried to explain here—you might not realize that there was anything wrong about it at all. You might forget that paper is made into money, not merely by printing certain numbers on it, but by letting everyone know that the paper can be exchanged for gold at any time.

People will not believe that very long unless it is true.

So when you gave out the money you had printed, you would really be paying promises only with more promises. The holders of the money would come and say they would like gold. If you did not have enough real gold coins to hand over for each bill as long as anyone was suspicious, you would have to begin after a while handing out only nine gold dollars for a ten-dollar bill, and then eight and a half, and eight, and so on, unless you could raise more gold somewhere to stop the disaster.

The Evils of Uncontrolled Inflation

Such an event is a very real disaster. It is called "inflation" of currency. When the currency is not worth in gold the figure printed on it, we say it is inflated, or "blown up"; it takes more of it than it should to buy a certain amount of gold. And naturally it takes more than it should to buy anything else. Worse than that, it usually does not stay at any one figure. No one knows from one day to the next what his bills are really worth—that is, what he can buy with them. Money, as we have said, is merely a tool for buying and selling, and to have that tool break down is a sad experience for any country. In the Civil War the Southern states had this experience, and a barrel of flour was costing thousands of paper dollars. After World War I many countries suffered the same thing. In Germany a mark bought a loaf of bread one day and a few days later the same loaf cost several marks; by the end of the year it might be costing hundreds. This situation at last became so bad that the currency was practically worthless. It was necessary to issue new gold coins, and currency strictly based on them.

Early in the 1930's, in the midst of the country's worst economic depression, the government called in all gold coins and gold certificates—that is, paper bills promising payment in gold. For people were beginning to hide gold coins away, in fear of the country's complete collapse. The result was that everyone continued to have faith in our currency, because everyone knew the gold was there, safe in the government's keeping.

The STORY of ECONOMICS

Reading Unit No. 2

WHY COUNTRIES SHIP ONE ANOTHER GOLD

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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What complicates international trade, 7-510
The role of the international banker, 7-511
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The result of gold shortage, 7-513
What a tariff is, 7-514
Why countries have tariffs, 7-514
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Things to Think About

Why, as a rule, are farmers for a low tariff and manufacturers for a high one?

What would happen if we abolished entirely all protective tariffs?

Picture Hunt

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Habits and Attitudes

The international banker makes it much simpler for foreign countries to trade with one an-

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Prosperity is not gold piled in a bank—it is freely flowing trade.

Summary Statement

With international bankers, acting as agents in foreign trade, using promises to pay to offset each other, there is no need to ship gold unless the balance of

trade becomes upset. This balance tends to be fairly even unless disturbed by the artificial trade barriers—that is to say, by high tariffs.

WHY COUNTRIES SHIP ONE ANOTHER GOLD

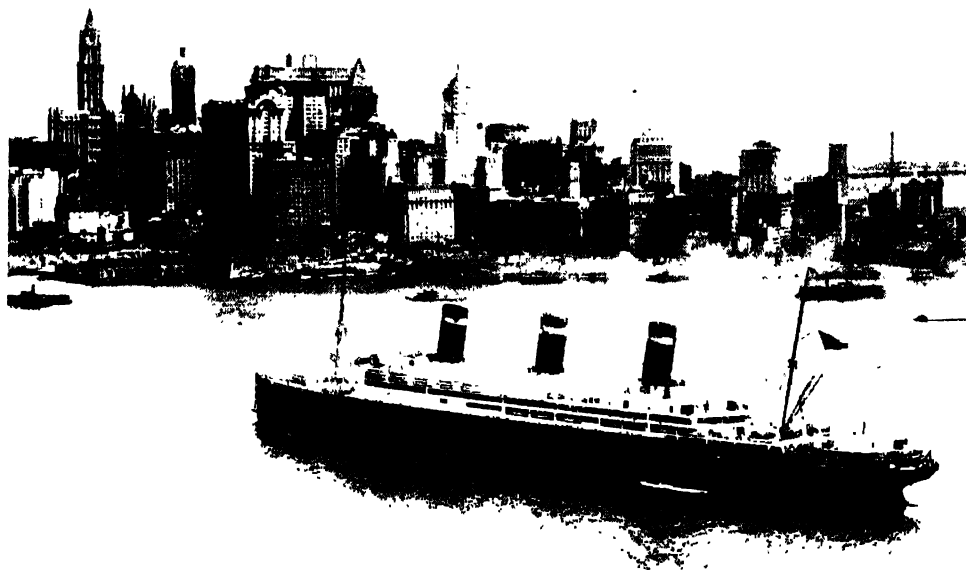


Photo by U. S. Lines and French Line

Here at the lower tip of Manhattan Island is the financial heart of America. Behind the buildings at the right lies Wall Street. The ship has steamed through the

outer harbor into the mouth of the Hudson along the route by which goods and letters and even gold pass back and forth between the United States and Europe.

WHY COUNTRIES SHIP ONE ANOTHER GOLD

How Many People Really Know Why Other Nations Sometimes Ship Us Millions in Yellow Bars, Even though We May Not Want Them?

IN THE present day we do not often trade the work we do or the things we make directly for someone's else work or things; we trade the work or the things for money, and then we can trade the money for whatever we may need from other people. This kind of trading is called buying and selling, and it is an important part of the scheme of working together that men have developed in the many centuries they have spent learning how to work together. Buying may be as simple a matter as going into a store and giving four dollars for a pair of shoes, or it may be the very complicated agreement that is necessary when a government buys a new battleship. In nearly all cases one person or institution gives something he has and receives money,

while another person gives up money and receives a thing that he wants.

Usually buying and selling are very simple, and we need waste no time explaining something that everyone knows; but there is one kind that is more complicated. It is easy for a seller in New York to deal with a buyer in Los Angeles; the goods are sent in a train and the money is sent back in the form of a check or money order. But what happens when the buyer is in London instead of Los Angeles? The transaction would be the same except for the paying. The American seller could not use the pounds and shillings which the London buyer could send. This difficulty is a serious matter and might seem at first sight to make it very hard to do business between one country and another.

WHY COUNTRIES SHIP ONE ANOTHER GOLD

Yet we know that business *is* carried on across national borders. There are several ways in which debts to people in foreign countries are paid. One is by dealing with men or companies called international bankers or financial agents. If a man in London buys machinery from an American factory, he pays for it in pounds and shillings to a financial agent who has offices both in London and in New York. The New York office of the agent pays the maker of the machinery in dollars. The chances are that meanwhile an American firm has bought in London some cloth worth about as much as the machinery just shipped to England. The American firm pays the financial agent in dollars and his London office pays the cloth dealer in pounds. Although no money has crossed the ocean, both the English cloth dealer and the American machine maker have been paid. We might say that the buyer of the cloth has paid for the machinery and the buyer of the machinery has paid for the cloth. It would be better, however, to say that England and the United States have traded some cloth for some machinery.

The Scheme of International Trade

Such exchanges are going on continually. A man who is shipping goods to England may have no idea what other goods are being shipped to America at the same time. So far as he is concerned, the purchaser of his goods is sending him money which is turned from pounds to dollars by the international financial agent. It is only when we consider all the buying and selling across borders

that we see how international trade is really *trade*. It is exchanging the goods of one country for those of another almost without the use of money.

International trade is complicated because there are many people exchanging things from one country to another, and



Photo by Underwood and Underwood

During 1932-1933, when the "business cycle" was rapidly whirling downward to lower and lower depths, people thought much more than usual about which countries had the most gold, and watched anxiously as it passed back and forth among them. Here is one such shipment—a cargo of \$11,000,000 in gold bars on its way from the United States to France. It is interesting to know that all the mined gold in the world could be contained in a little house only thirty feet square and thirty feet high.

When there are more people in London who owe money in New York than there are New Yorkers who owe money in London, then money of some kind must be sent. The money shipped is gold because that is the only kind that is good in both countries. Often this gold has not been made up into coins, but is simply in the shape of bars. This bullion (bŏöl'yŭn), as it is called, is as good as money, because in most countries the government will exchange it for coins whenever coins are wanted.

The moment when the balance between two countries is so upset that gold must be shipped is not determined by adding up the debts each way. It is settled more or less automatically, as prices are settled in a market or stock exchange. Many debts, both within one country and from one country to another, are settled by sending documents which are really promises to pay at a later date. A creditor in America who receives one of these promises, say for one thousand pounds, from an English business

WHY COUNTRIES SHIP ONE ANOTHER GOLD



Photo by Keystone View Co.

The safe delivery of a shipment of gold is naturally a responsible business that calls for guards and armored

man, may take it to a bank or financial agent and get cash for it before the promise is due. And he can get the cash in dollars. Ordinarily there are many men taking such promises to banks, and thus the banks have a supply of these documents. They can be used very conveniently by American creditors who owe money to Englishmen. An American who owes an English firm one thousand pounds can buy for the equivalent in dollars the promise that the bank now holds. He sends it to his English creditor, who collects the money from the Englishman who made the promise in the first place.

How the Plan Works

Let us follow an actual case to see more clearly how this works. An American buys from a firm in London some cloth worth \$500. When the cloth is shipped, the American sends the English firm a promise to pay \$500. The English firm takes this bit of paper to a financial agent and gets the

trucks. The shipment being unloaded here has just arrived in New York from Germany.

equivalent in pounds and shillings. About the same time an English railroad may buy some machinery from a factory in Pittsburgh. Instead of sending a promise to pay, they go to the financial agent and buy the promise worth \$500, paying for it in pounds and shillings. They endorse it, making it payable to the factory in Pittsburgh, and send it over. The factory presents it to a bank for payment, and after passing through several banks it reaches the person who wrote it when he paid for the cloth. He pays the bank.

Why We Sometimes Ship Gold

Thus in London there is a supply of American promises to pay various amounts in dollars, and these promises Englishmen who want to pay bills in the United States can buy for pounds and shillings. And in New York there is a similar supply of promises of Englishmen to pay pounds, and these promises American business men can buy for dollars. Business men in each country

WHY COUNTRIES SHIP ONE ANOTHER GOLD

can pay bills by buying and sending back promises made in the country where they owe the money. It is really quite simple.

Now if it happens that there are more American debts to be paid in England than there are promises for sale in New York, the amount an American must pay for an English promise will rise. But if it rises too much it will be cheaper for an American to buy gold and ship it to England. The amount that English promises can rise in New York is limited by the cost of shipping gold to England. And naturally the same rule holds when the situation is reversed—when there is a demand in London larger than the supply of promises of Americans to pay. Then it will be cheaper for an Englishman to pay gold to America than to buy a promise made by some American.

We can see that the real cause of the necessity of shipping gold is a change in the balance of goods shipped between two countries. When America has been sending more goods to England than England has been sending to America, there will be fewer American promises to send to England in payment for goods, and the Englishmen who want to buy those promises in order to send them back to America in payment for the goods

they have bought, will find that there are not enough promises to go around. Some of them will have to send gold.

To tell the truth, the system of buying and selling and paying debts between countries is somewhat more complicated than this, but we can understand clearly the general idea that goods which are sent from one country to another are paid for by other goods sent back. In some cases the goods are not sent; tourists go and get them. In figuring balances in international trade the money that travelers spend in other countries must be classed as imports in their home countries. If the value of goods and services going one way does not quite balance the value going

the other, the difference is made up in gold.

If men do not interfere with the process too much, the natural tendency is against the shipping of gold. The supply of gold in a country affects the amount of money in circulation, which in turn acts on prices. Gold leaving a country tends to lessen the supply of money, and if there is less money in circulation, prices go down. As prices go down, foreigners will be more likely to buy things. The increased buying is just what is needed to turn the balance the other way.



Photos by Underwood & Underwood
National News Photo

The government cannot always let us exchange goods just as we want to. Sometimes it forbids us to have certain goods at all—such as habit-forming drugs, like morphine, which are very bad for us. The picture in the square shows an official who has discovered smuggled morphine under the heels of shoes and in toothpaste. Sometimes the government is willing enough that we should have things, but wants us to pay taxes on them, especially if we bring them in from other countries. The picture in the circle shows a customs official examining a traveler's bag for goods subject to duty. One of the great problems of all civilized governments is the prevention of smuggling—for apparently it takes some people a long time to learn that cheating the government is just as dishonest as any other kind of cheating.

WHY COUNTRIES SHIP ONE ANOTHER GOLD

But buying and selling between one country and another meets with more interference from governments than do most other kinds of buying and selling. The most important way in which governments interfere is by charging duties, or tariffs, on goods shipped into a country. A tariff is a tax which must be paid when a product is imported. The government collects so much per pound or per bushel for things like cotton or sugar or a certain per cent of the value for manufactured things like shoes or machinery. Although the person bringing things into a country pays the tariff in the first place, he naturally adds that much to the price he charges people who buy from him. Thus the people who use the things really pay the tariff.

Governments impose tariffs for two main reasons. The first is to raise money. A very considerable income can be raised by a government if it charges a small tax on goods brought into its country. The tax is easy to collect and is not highly disagreeable to the public who pay it. The other reason is to encourage the industry within the country. For example, manufacturers in Europe can sometimes make things more cheaply than American manufacturers. They can charge less for their products sold in America than American makers charge for the same things. But if a heavy tariff is placed on such products, they cannot be sold so cheaply in our country, and products made here will be bought instead.

In the seventeenth century a theory about business and foreign trade arose which had a great many believers and which, unfortunately, is still believed by many people. Men saw how desirable was the gold which was sent into a country in return for goods sent out. They jumped to a conclusion which seemed reasonable but which economists

have since shown to be mistaken. They said that since gold is good, a country should try to get all it can. To do this it should put tariffs on goods brought into the country and at the same time should encourage their people to ship products out. Then, since more goods would be sent out than brought in, more gold would have to be shipped in than out, and the country would have a steadily increasing supply of gold.

Since then men have made the discovery that Midas made: that the possession of a vast heap of gold is not in itself such a wonderful thing. Most people have learned that gold or any other kind of money is good only to buy things with. If you do not let other countries sell their goods to you, you cannot go on forever selling things to them. They will run out of gold because you will have it all; they will not be able to buy the goods you want to sell them, and international trade will have to stop.

In other words, we now know that international trade is not a desperate game or variety of war in which the object is to beat the foreigner out of as much gold as possible. It is like any other kind of trade, an exchange in which both sides benefit. If you have a phonograph that I want and I have a bicycle that you want, and we are agreed that they are equal in value, we can make a trade and each of us will be better off. If it happens that you do not have a phonograph, you can give me money for the bicycle and I can buy the phonograph from someone else. The use of money does not make the trade any less beneficial to both of us. On the contrary, it makes such trades far easier. In international trade, as in trade between individuals, money or gold represents goods. It is merely used to make exchange of goods more convenient than it would be under the ancient system of trading, or barter.



Here are two very old British pennies, each shown on both its sides. At the left is a penny struck at Gloucester in the days of King Alfred the Great, in the late 800's. At the right is a penny struck at Chester in the time of Athelstan, who ruled "all Britian," from 925 to 940.



Photo by British Museum

The STORY of ECONOMICS

Reading Unit No. 3

REVISIONS

COULD YOU START A BIG CORPORATION?

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

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Things to Think About

Why must a corporation obtain a charter from the state before it can begin to sell stock?

What do we mean when we say that we are still paying for our past wars?

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Summary Statement

Banks use the money left in their care to lend to responsible people who need it for starting or developing a business. People

often use their savings to buy stock or bonds in a corporation which will use the money to the same end.

COULD YOU START A BIG CORPORATION?



Photo by Independence Hall Museum

George and Martha Washington have come to see the first coin of the infant United States struck in the mint at Philadelphia. To-day there are three coinage

mints—located at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Denver—and some seven assay offices where gold is tested, bought, and sold.

COULD YOU START *a* BIG CORPORATION?

And if You Had Been Able to Organize It, Would You Know How to Borrow the Money Necessary to Enlarge Your Business?

THE currency that we use every day—the bills and the metal pieces, pennies, dimes, quarters, and so on—is really a substitute for gold. We use them because it is convenient and because we know we can exchange them for gold in normal times. We have confidence in these tools for buying and selling because we trust each other and our government which issues them. But often we trust each other so much that we do not even pay over currency for the things we buy or the work someone has done for us. To understand how this is possible we shall have to stop thinking about money for a moment and go on a visit to a bank to find out what it does.

If you live in a town or city, large or small, you have often gone past a bank; it is likely to be a fine, solid-looking building. If you sometimes have more money than you need

at the moment, and want to save some for the future, you probably have a savings account in a bank. So you know one of the things that banks do. You hand your money to a man behind a window in the bank and he writes down the amount in a little book that you keep. If you take some out again he records that in your book. And for every dollar that you leave with the bank for a year a certain number of cents is added to your account. That means that the bank is paying you for the use of the money it is keeping for you. The money it pays for the use of your money is called interest.

What does the bank do with your money, and why does it pay you for leaving it there? It has, of course, not only your money but the savings of many other people too. It does not keep all that money lying in bags in a vault. It lends the money to someone

COULD YOU START A BIG CORPORATION?



Photo by Guarantee Trust Co

This is the part that the outside world sees in a great bank. Here are cashiers, tellers, and other employees ready to attend to the needs of the bank's depositors.

Behind the scenes a whole army is busy on bank business: lending money, placing sound investments, and giving financial advice to clients.

else. At the time when you have more money than you actually need, so that you want to save some, there is likely to be some other person who has not enough and would like to borrow some. For example, let us suppose that we know a man who would like to start a new grocery store. He, too, has saved some money, but not enough to rent or buy a store and get all the things that are needed before he can start his business. He goes to the bank and says he would like to borrow so much money. The men who manage the bank ask him a lot of questions to find out whether his new business is likely to succeed. They have to do that because they know they must be sure to get back any money they lend him; the money, you see, belongs to you and the other people who have put it in the bank.

How a Bank Lends Money

They discover that this man has been a clerk in another grocery for several years, and so knows enough about the business; that he plans to open his store in a neighborhood where there is no grocery now, and so ought to have enough customers; and they find out many other things about him and his plans. They learn from those who know him that this is an honest man. Finally they decide to lend him what he needs. He agrees

to pay it back at the end of a certain time with a certain amount of interest. He signs papers for all this; and he may also have to promise to let them sell his store to get the money back if he is not able to pay them.

How a Bank Makes a Profit

The interest the grocer pays the bank is higher, more cents for each dollar, than the interest the bank pays you. The bank keeps the difference; that is the way it makes money. So we can say that the bank acts as a sort of middleman between those who are saving money and those who want to borrow it. This service is extremely important, because there are always people who want to save money and always people or companies who want to borrow. For the business of the world one is quite as important as the other. If everyone who wanted to borrow had to hunt around to find someone with money who was willing to lend it, business would be almost impossible. A little later we shall learn more about the important connection between saving and borrowing.

There is another kind of service that banks give. It is a curious fact that the more money a person pays to others in the course of his business the less likely he is to see and handle cash. You may visit a store from time to time to buy candy. You give the

COULD YOU START A BIG CORPORATION?

clerk your money, he hands you the candy and that bit of business is over. But when a lady goes to a dry-goods store to buy material for a new dress, the transaction may be quite different. She selects the stuff she likes best and says to the clerk, "I'll take three yards of this, please, and charge it to me." She walks out of the store without paying anything at all.

We know of course that she does not get the material for nothing just by saying, "Charge it." At the end of the month she gets a bill from the store, a statement saying that she owes the store a certain amount, so much for dress material, so much for thread and so on, listing all the things she bought that month. At the same time she gets bills for things she bought and "charged" at other stores, bills for the gas and electricity used in her house during the month, and for all sorts of other things. It would be a great nuisance for her to get the money, which she probably keeps in the bank, and go around to each of the stores or companies to pay what she owes. So she makes an arrangement with the bank to have it pay the bills for her, with her money of course. The bank does that for her instead of paying her interest on the money it is keeping for her.

What Is a Bank Check?

In other words, she has a checking account. The bank gives her a little book of blank forms like the one illustrated on this page.

You see a check is really an order to the bank, whose name is printed at the top, to pay to the person whose name she writes in after the words, "pay to the order of . . .," the amount that she writes in on the line below. At the bottom is a line where she signs her name so that everyone may know who is doing this paying. In order that there may be absolutely no mistake there is a space

for her to write the amount in words and another where she writes it in figures. For each of the bills she has received she writes a check to the person or company whom she owes and sends it off in the mail. So without leaving her house she has paid bills that would have taken her all day to pay if she had had to deliver the money herself.

Whenever she gets money she puts it in the bank, keeping only enough for the little things like street-car rides that it would be silly to pay with checks. The bank thus has the use of her money and can lend it out

to people like our friend with the new grocery, and get interest on it. A bank often makes a rule that each person who wants to have a checking account with it must keep over a certain amount in the bank. Since it handles the money of a good many people, all of whom keep with it the required amount, it always has enough so that it can lend some for interest and still keep enough on hand to "cash" the checks the lady and the other people have written.

Let us see what happens to a check that this lady has written. We will suppose it is made out to the butcher for seven dollars and forty cents. The butcher happens to want some cash; so he goes to the bank, signs his name on the back of the check to show that he has received the money, and the cashier gives him seven dollars and forty cents. The bank keeps the check and returns it to the lady at the end of the month to show that it has paid the amount for her. This is the simplest thing that can happen to a check.

Often, however, the butcher, too, has a checking account with the bank, and prefers to put the seven dollars and forty cents in the bank instead of getting the cash. So he takes or sends the check to the bank, probably with other checks from his other cus-

THE NEW YORK CONSOLIDATED BANK

130 Broadway, New York City

NEW YORK, *October 1*, 193 *3*

525.67

Five Hundred twenty five and 67/100 DOLLARS
PAYABLE THROUGH NEW YORK CLEARING HOUSE

Richard Roe

A check is one of the safest means of conveying money—provided the check is properly made out. But you must be sure to: write clearly; begin at the very beginning of the line and draw a line through the blank space following what you have written, as shown above—for then no dishonest person can add something before or after your entry; make your numerals so definite that no one could possibly change them; remember that a simple, clear signature is hardest to forge.

COULD YOU START A BIG CORPORATION?

tomers, and says he wants the money credited to his account. The bank subtracts seven dollars and forty cents from its record of the lady's money and adds the same amount to the record of the butcher. The lady has paid the butcher but neither of them has handled a cent of money.

Now a days the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker all have checking accounts with the bank. They can do business with each other a great deal more easily than they could if they kept their money in their pockets and paid cash back and forth. More than that, at the end of the month each one gets a record from

the bank, so that he can tell if a mistake is made.

It may happen that a check goes through several hands before it gets back to the bank. If the butcher, for example, owes the baker money he may, instead of writing a check himself, write on the back of a check he has received, "Pay to the order of John Jones," and sign his name. The baker, John Jones, can do the same if he wishes, making it payable to a third person. That is why the form on the front of the check is always, "Pay to the order of . . ." instead of just "pay to . . ." Thus each person to whom it has been made payable can "order" it paid to someone else. Some checks are turned over from one man to another several times, but usually a check soon falls into the hands of someone who takes it to a bank either to deposit it or to get cash for it.

Besides making it easy and convenient to pay bills, the system of writing checks instead of giving cash has another great advantage. When John Jones, the baker, receives a check for money due him, that check is for him just as good as money, assuming of course that both the person who wrote the check and the bank are honest. But

until he makes it payable to someone else by writing his name on the back of it, no other person can get any money for it at all. If he by any chance loses it, no great harm is done. The person who wrote it can ask the bank not to cash it and can give John Jones another check.

So far we have been talking as if there were only one bank. But we know that there are many banks, and most of them allow people to open checking accounts. Since a check is an order to a bank from a person who has money in that bank to pay a certain amount out of his money to someone else, what happens if that

check is cashed at another bank? A check is accepted by any bank whether it is addressed to it or not. At the end of each day every bank will have a whole bundle of checks for other banks which it has accepted for deposit or cashed. Naturally the officials of a bank cannot go around to all the other banks in the city to get the money. So all the banks belong to an association called a clearing house. Every day each bank sends to the clearing house all the checks on other banks that it has taken in. There, by dint of a great deal of adding and subtracting, the checks a bank has cashed for other banks are balanced against the checks that other banks have cashed for it, and each receives or pays money accordingly.

The Importance of Modern Banks

We can see now how very important is the work that banks do in our modern world. The management of a bank must be honest, dependable, and intelligent. Everyone who carries on any sort of business must deal with at least one bank, often with several. In big cities, where there are people in many different kinds of business, we often find banks organized to do only one of the kinds



Courtesy, United States Trucking Corporation

When great sums of currency change hands or are transferred from bank to bank, an armored car like this one carries the money.

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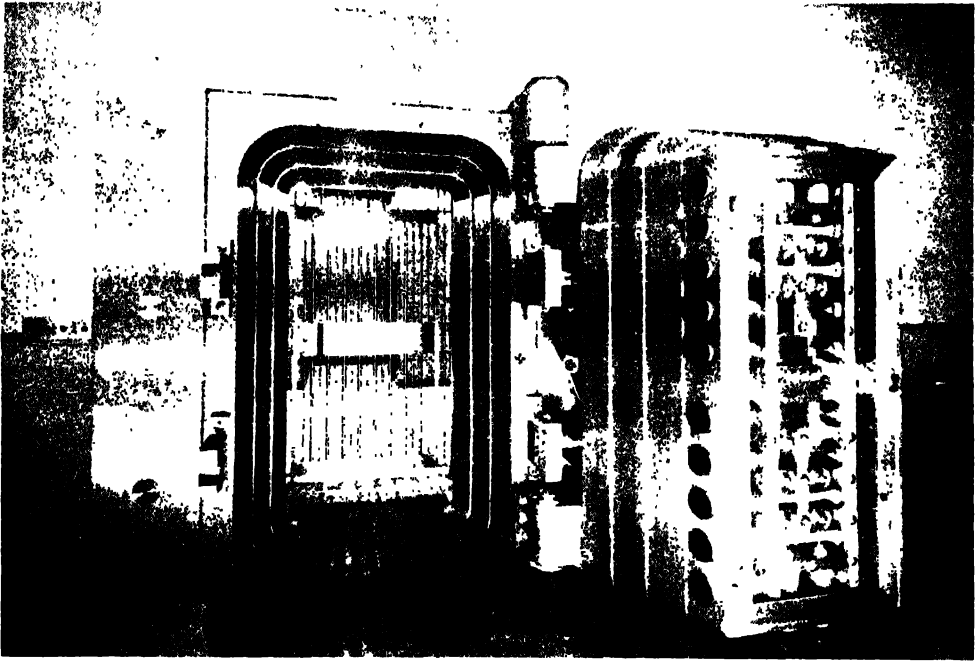


Photo by Guarantee Trust Co

This is the entrance to the great vault of a bank. We are told that some safe breakers sandpaper their

fingers to make the tips sensitive, but no burglar, however skilled, could break into this stronghold.

of things we have been talking about. Some banks will specialize in borrowing and lending money and in giving financial advice. Others will accept only savings accounts. Whatever type of banking he does, the banker is always handling money that belongs to someone else. Often it is money that people have saved carefully through long years of work. In caring for it well the banker renders a service that is important.

Let us find out a little more about what happens when people save money. We have been talking about a man who was planning to open a grocery. We said that he would have to have money. Even if he knows a great deal about the business and is capable of succeeding in it, and has found a location where a grocery is needed, he cannot start if he has no way of getting the things he needs to run a grocery. To get those things he must have money.

Usually, as we said, a man in such a position will go to a bank and ask for a loan. If the bank considers him honest and likely to succeed, he will be able to borrow what

he needs. In doing so he will give the bank a note, which is simply a written promise that he will pay back the money within a certain time and will pay a set amount of interest. After he has bought his store and a stock of groceries he begins his business. If it is a success he will be able, when the time comes, to pay the bank what he borrowed and also the interest agreed upon.

The Value of Good Credit

Now if we ask what made it possible for our friend to start his business, we could give a number of answers. It could be said that he started it because he wanted to and knew how. That is certainly true. Without an interest in it and some knowledge of what he was undertaking he would not do very well. We could also answer that he was able to begin his career as a grocer because he could borrow money from a bank. This also is surely true. Now let us go beyond this answer and ask why he was able to borrow money. Obviously because the bankers were confident that he would succeed and be able

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to pay it back. But also, and even more important, because the bank had money to lend.

And why did the bank have money to lend? Simply because people had saved money and given it to the bank to take care of. Now our questions have brought us to an interesting and important idea. It is only possible for new businesses to start if people who are already earning save some of what they earn. Our friend the grocer did not know any of the people whose money he used to buy his store, nor did any of them know him. It is not likely that one of them gave a thought to what the bank might do with the money it was taking care of. They, the depositors, were only concerned that the bank should not lose any of their money and that it should pay them interest on it. If a man who had an account with the bank should happen to pass the new grocery, he might notice it and think that it was going to be convenient to have a new store there. But if we could stop him and tell him that he had had a hand in starting that store, he would be rather surprised.

We Must Keep Our Money Moving

Of course, we cannot really say that any particular dollar, deposited in the bank by any particular person, bought such and such a part of the new store. Money is like water in this way; if you put two glasses of water into a pitcher you can never in the world divide exactly the same water into the two glasses again. So if there are several hundred people who have deposited money in a bank, we cannot say whose money goes to help out a new grocery and whose to some other enterprise. But we certainly can say that if there were not money saved by some people so that it could be borrowed by others, new businesses could not start and often old businesses would have to stop.

We are often told that it is a good thing

to save. We are told that each person who possibly can ought to save some of his money so that he can have it to use in the future, when he may need it more than he does at present. Now we can see that there is another good reason for saving. Money should be saved so that it can be used to start new

businesses and to help old ones. This is a reason that most of us never bother about. You and I try to save in order to have money to use later, and in order to receive interest.

Probably we

should not take the trouble to save for any other reason. We should hardly think of saving merely to help some entire stranger to open a grocery. But though we may save with the most selfish motives in the world, we are helping others at the same time; and we are helping them to help us in turn, because we need to have groceries, and all sorts of other businesses.

Money that has been saved is not always kept in banks to be lent to people like our friend the grocer. There are other ways in which it is used to help in business, especially when large amounts are needed. To understand these other ways, let us imagine that you are interested in airplanes. You have flown in various kinds of airplanes and have studied them for a long time, so that you really know a great deal about how they work and how a good airplane is made. You have examined all the kinds that are made now and you feel that, although many of them are very good, you could build a better one if you only had a chance. You are so much interested in the scheme, and so sure that you could make it work, that you would like to do more than merely build an airplane for yourself; you would like to start a factory to make your kind of airplanes. You are convinced that if you once had your factory, you could build such fine machines that everyone would like them, and you could earn your living building and selling them.

\$ 1000.00 New York, N. Y., December 13, 1934
Two months AFTER DATE I PROMISE TO PAY TO
THE ORDER OF The Park Avenue National Bank
One Thousand and 00/100 DOLLARS
At The Park Avenue National Bank
VALUE RECEIVED with interest at 6 %
No 1 Due Feb 1/35 John Doe

This is a standard "promissory note." When it is made out in this way, a promissory note is negotiable—that is, it can be transferred from person to person just as a check may be.

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Photo by Guarantee Trust Co.

Suppose that you were the owner of one of the safe-deposit boxes which you see here lying row on row like so many gymnasium lockers, and suppose that you wanted to get into your box to consult some important document you had put there. Could you just walk down to the lower floor of your bank, fit your key in the box, and take what you wanted? No, indeed; you would have to go through a complicated ritual. This is what happens in many large safe-

deposit vaults. First you must give your own private password to a man at a desk on the main floor. It is his duty to look up the password and verify your signature by consulting the bank's records. Then you go downstairs, and there you find another man at another desk. He unlocks a heavy iron gate, allows you to pass, and goes with you to your box. Fitting in his key at the same time as you fit in yours, he opens the box with you. Both keys must be used.

As a sensible person you would realize, of course, that building airplanes is a complicated business. If you were just going to make one for yourself, and did not care how much time you took to do it or how much money you spent on it, you might be able to get along without any help from anyone. But anybody who lives in our world as it is to-day, even though he may know very little about economics, knows that you could not make money that way. If you were going to build one machine at a time all alone, you would have to be many different things, a designer, an engineer, a toolmaker, a woodworker, a machinist, and so on. When you had finished the machine you would have to lay down your tools and become a salesman. When you succeeded in selling the finished machine you would have to start all over again.

Although you might possibly enjoy work-

ing in this way, you could not earn a living at it; and that is one thing we all must do with our work. While you were taking a year or more producing one airplane, the factories might be turning out several machines a day. So if you are to earn money making airplanes you must organize a factory, which means simply that you must divide up the work with many other people. This is only one more proof that any modern business depends on the "division of labor" which started long ago when one man agreed to make plows for another man who in return would plow his land for him. It is a long way from those two old farmers down to you and your airplane factory, but in principle you are doing the very same thing as the farmers.

In starting your factory you will have to hire many men to help you, engineers to aid you in designing the machine, skilled work-

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men of many kinds to make the different parts, factory managers to see that all goes smoothly, and other men to sell the machines after they are made. These are only a few of your employees; you can think of a long list of different kinds of workers who will be needed. The factory building itself will have to be bought or built. A great deal of expensive machinery will be necessary.

In other words, you will have to spend so much money before you can build a single airplane that the whole idea seems impossible. Our friend the grocer probably needed at the most only a few thousand dollars, while you need many hundred thousand. If you discussed the idea with bankers they would be sure to say that, though they might have as much money as you need, they could not think of lending it

to you, for several reasons. In the first place, it would not be sensible for them to put so many eggs in one basket; they must divide their loans up among many different people. Then if one is unable to pay them back, the loss will not be so large. Furthermore, a banker must always remember that the money he has to lend is not his own; he must lend it only where he is as certain as possible that he will get it back. Though your bankers know you are honest and capable, they know also that a new business of this kind is not sure to succeed, and they do not dare to take a chance. So they will almost surely tell you that, instead of borrowing all this money from them, you had better form a corporation.

Although we see both of the words every day, on packages, signs, and manufactured things of all kinds, "corporation" is not just another word for "company." The word "company" may be used for any group of people who have joined together to do a particular kind of business. There are companies

formed to run railroads, to print books, to sell hardware, in fact to do almost any of the many kinds of work that are done in this world. But some companies, especially the bigger ones that do things requiring many workers and a great deal of money, are called "corporations" because they are organized in a special way. The special thing about them is simply that they get permission from the government for a group of people to act as though it were one person. In fact, a corporation is often defined as an artificial

person formed to carry on a business. A corporation can buy and sell, and borrow and lend money, just like an individual.

The Advantages of a Corporation

The great advantage of a corporation is that no one person has to suffer much if the organization gets into trouble and loses money instead of making it. If you and several other persons join together to do business without forming a corporation, you have simply a partnership. You can agree among yourselves that each shall have a share of the profits according to the money he has put in to start with, or according to any other arrangement you please. Everything will be fine as long as you make money.



Photo by courtesy of BANKING

This is the inside of a tellers' cage in a modern bank. Crisp new bills of all denominations are stowed away in those drawers—and old bills too.

COULD YOU START A BIG CORPORATION?



Photo by Brown Bros

These men are counting money in a United States subtreasury—which is merely a branch of the Treas-

ury. When one sees bills in these great piles, it is easier to remember that they are only paper.

But suppose, because of bad luck or bad management, or both, you lose money and get into debt. Each one of you is then responsible for all the debts of your company. If your partners cannot or will not pay, you will have to do so, even if it takes every cent you have. You may lose not only the money you put in to help in starting the company, but everything else you have.

Who Owns a Corporation

If, on the other hand, you have formed your company into a corporation, each person who puts in money can lose only the money he put in. No one can ask him for money that the corporation owes. For purposes of business the corporation is just as much a person as the individuals who have put money into it. It must pay its own debts. Here we have the reason why governments make laws to control corporations, and insist that no one may organize a corporation without government permission and control. Since the corporation is an artificial person that may get itself into debt, it must be watched to keep it, if possible, from getting into debts it cannot pay. When per-

mission is granted to organize a corporation, the government gives a document called a charter, which says exactly how the corporation is to be organized and what it is allowed to do.

We say that a person who owes money is "liable" for that amount. In some countries a corporation is called a limited liability company because no individual member can be asked for more than the share of money he gave when he joined it. The liability of the members is limited. This is the reason why the word "limited" appears in the name of so many companies in England and of some in America; as in "The John Smith Company, Limited," or simply "John Smith, Limited." There may be thousands of members in the corporation known as "John Smith, Limited," and altogether they constitute the "artificial person." The original John Smith may long since have left the corporation, or have died; but his name keeps marching on.

How to Form a Corporation

Now we can see what the bankers had in mind when they suggested forming a corporation to carry out your plan for manu-

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facturing airplanes. Let us imagine that you decide to do so. You may ask the bank to help you, but more probably you will go to another company or group of men whose business is helping to organize corporations. These experts will show you how to make your plans. They will advise you in choosing a good many men, all interested in your scheme, to form the board of directors of the new company. Then you and the directors will choose a president and other officers. Since you are the man who hatched the idea and who probably knows most about it, you will doubtless be chosen president. You will send a request to the state government for a charter. In your request you explain all your plans and tell how much money it is going to take to carry them out. You will ask permission to issue "stock" for this amount.

What Is a Stock Certificate?

What do we mean when we say "issue stock"? Issuing stock means simply offering for sale parts of the new company. Since we could not find or borrow enough money to start this business all alone, we are going to sell small parts or "shares" of it to anyone who would like to buy. The financial experts who are helping to organize our business will undertake to sell shares to people who have money saved up; some will buy a small amount of our company and others will take a large part. To each person who buys we will give an engraved form called a "certificate," which says that he owns so many

shares in our company and is entitled to that many shares of the profits.

Selling Shares in a Corporation

Of course we shall have our charter from the state before any shares are actually sold. There are naturally many other details that have to be taken care of when a corporation is started, which you will have to learn if you ever really do organize a corporation to make airplanes or to do anything else. But you understand the most important thing about a corporation if you realize that it is a way in which a business that is too big for one person to own can be owned by many people and can yet do things as though it were one person. The invention of this kind of company was just as important for the world as the invention of many machines. It has made possible many enterprises that would be impossible if they had to be undertaken by one person or even by a small group of partners.

We now have permission from the state to found the company and we have chosen several other airplane and business experts to act with us as directors. The financial company whom we employed to help us organize and to sell the stock have advertised to people with money saved that this company is starting and that they think that it will be a good investment. So the stock is being bought, by all sorts of people, some who have a good deal of money and buy many shares, and some who have only a



Photo by Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.

When you pass acres of giant stacks like these, remember that they are owned by thousands of people of every kind all over the world who have contributed their savings, great and small, to carry on the huge enterprise.

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Courtesy of BANKING, photo by Paul W. Savage

This is part of a savings bank. Various bank officials in Worcester, Massachusetts, realized that if people could learn to think clearly about money matters when they were young they would handle their affairs much more wisely in later years. So the bankers started a savings program in the Tatnuck School, with the pupils

to do all the work of operating the bank. On the first day sixty-two percent of the pupils opened accounts and many more followed. Boys and girls in the eighth grade served as tellers, and other students did the bookkeeping. Above, first-grade pupils are making their first deposits with the tellers, who are seated at the table.

little and buy but one or two shares. We have divided the stock into shares of one hundred dollars. Any person who has the money can buy as many shares as he wants. Very few of the people who buy stock are likely to know anything about airplanes. They buy our stock because they believe that we know enough about making airplanes to earn money at it and pay them something for the use of their money. You and I will use money that we have saved to buy stock because we want to own some of the company we are starting.

Planning a Factory Site

When our stock has been sold we shall have the money we need and can start work on our factory. We will pick out a place for the factory that is convenient to the railroads, so that the materials can be shipped in easily and our completed machines shipped away. Since our business is in airplanes, we shall need space for a field in which to test

them. Perhaps we can find land with the building we need already on it. But more probably we shall have to build the kind of factory we want. While the factory is being built we shall have our designers make plans in great detail. There will have to be a drawing of each part of the airplanes, and drawings to show how all the parts fit together. As soon as we have space in the factory, we shall order supplies of the different kinds of wood and metal that the parts will be made of. We shall have machines designed and built to make all the parts, and we shall begin to hire men to run the machines.

Many more things could be mentioned which have to be done before the factory can start work. You can see that all the things we have mentioned so far mean spending money without any money coming in at all. But since our plans were laid very carefully, we have sold just the right amount of stock to enable us to make all these preparations

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Press Association Photo

From these unpretentious buildings have come the greatest marvel and the greatest menace of our day. Around them a sizable city was secretly built in two or three years by the United States government. But the

product of the plant could destroy all the great cities in the world in a few moments. For this factory at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, is the home of the atomic bomb—too large an enterprise to be handled by private capital.

and to run the factory, pay the workmen, and so on, until we can sell finished airplanes, and so have money coming in as well as going out. We cannot say that we have made a success of our business until we are selling airplanes enough to pay for all the materials we buy, to pay the rent or taxes on our land and building, to pay wages and salaries to all the people who work for the company, and to pay a certain amount per share to each person who owns some of our stock.

What Is a Dividend?

No one would be likely to buy any of our stock unless we seemed fairly likely to make a success of the business and to be able to pay each year some profits to the stockholders. The amount we can pay them may vary from year to year; some years it may be little, or perhaps nothing at all, and other years, when business has been good, it may be as high as ten or fifteen per cent, or even more, on every dollar they have put in.

Usually a corporation pays its stockholders more than they would get from a bank if they had the same amount of money in a savings account. This is not unfair, because in general owning stock in a corporation is not quite so safe a way to have your money earn for you as keeping it in a bank. The more risk you take of losing it, the more you will want to get for it if you do not lose it. Whenever money is paid you by a company in which you own stock you receive, as we say, a "dividend."

Other interesting things can happen to our airplane company. We will assume that we have managed to get it going and are now building your kind of airplanes. They fly well and are safe. People like the machines and are buying them. We are successful. After several years we find that we could do even more business if we had more room to work in. When we built our building we did not know exactly how big a business we were going to do and just how much space it would need. Now we are crowded; and

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we need to put up another building just like the one we have, right next to it.

Where shall we get the money? All that money we got from the people who bought stock we spent, of course, in building our present building and buying the machinery and equipment we needed to start. This means that all those people together, and there may be several thousand of them, own our factory. We are managers for them. And as managers we have decided that we ought to enlarge the business. We are sure that if we once had the new building we could make enough more money than we are making now to pay for it. But we must have the new building before we can make this extra money.

The solution of our problem will be to borrow the money. It will not be so much as we needed to start our business at first, but it will be a large amount. We are likely to find again that bankers will not care to lend us so much. So we shall do what most corporations would do in this case; we shall issue "bonds." Just as selling shares of stock in a corporation is a scheme for having a big business owned by many people, selling bonds is a way in which a big company can borrow from many people.

The process is quite simple. We have forms printed which will say that the Blank Airplane Company promises to pay the owner of this bond one thousand dollars on a certain date, and interest at six per cent until then.

The government will make us say this in fairly complicated legal language, to make it certain that we do not cheat anyone from whom we borrow, but the idea is simply that we borrow money and agree to pay it back and to pay interest on it until we return it. To make it simpler to pay the interest, each bond will have attached to it a sheet of little forms that can be torn off one at a time; these are called "coupons" (kōō'pōn). These coupons are promises from us that we will pay interest. The first one says that on a day six months from the day we issue the bonds we will pay so many dollars interest, the next coupon says the same for a day six months later; and so on for every six months up to the time when we expect to return the money. The owner of the bond tears off a coupon every six months and gets his interest money at a bank. The coupon comes back to our bank just as a check does, and the money is taken from our account.

The handsome building pictured below is the Utah State Capitol, at Salt Lake City. It was designed by excellent architects and built of the finest Utah granite. To finance a costly undertaking such as the erection of this building states usually have to float an issue of bonds.

These bonds will be sold, enough to total the amount we need, in much the same way as our stock was sold. Some people will buy one or two bonds, others a great many. We must remember that although we speak of selling bonds, the people who buy them are really lending us money; they are buying promises from us to pay them back. As soon as the bonds are sold our company will build its new building and start saving some of the extra

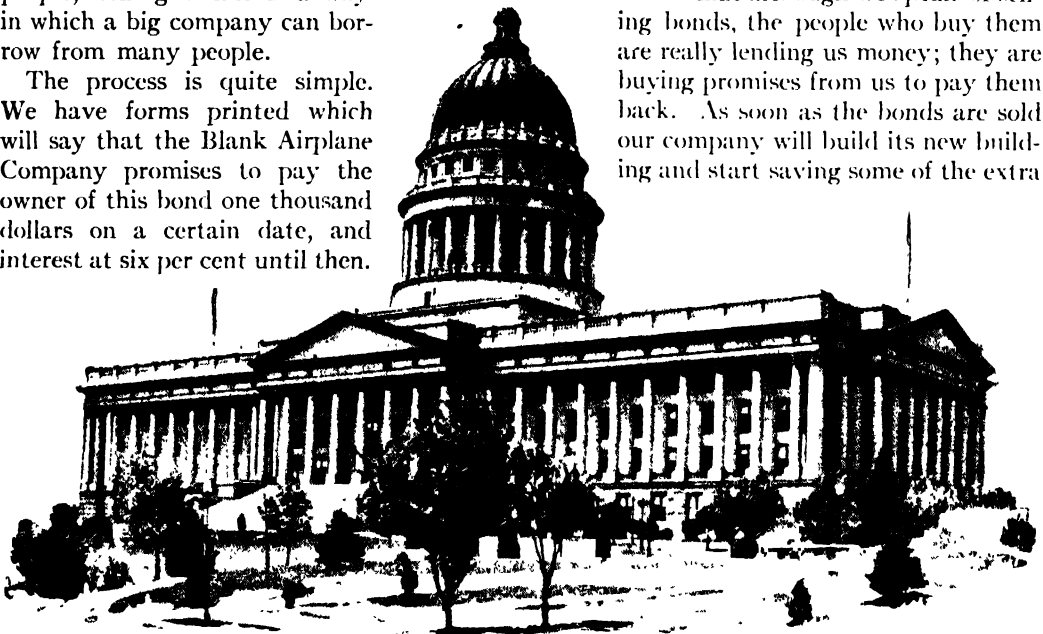
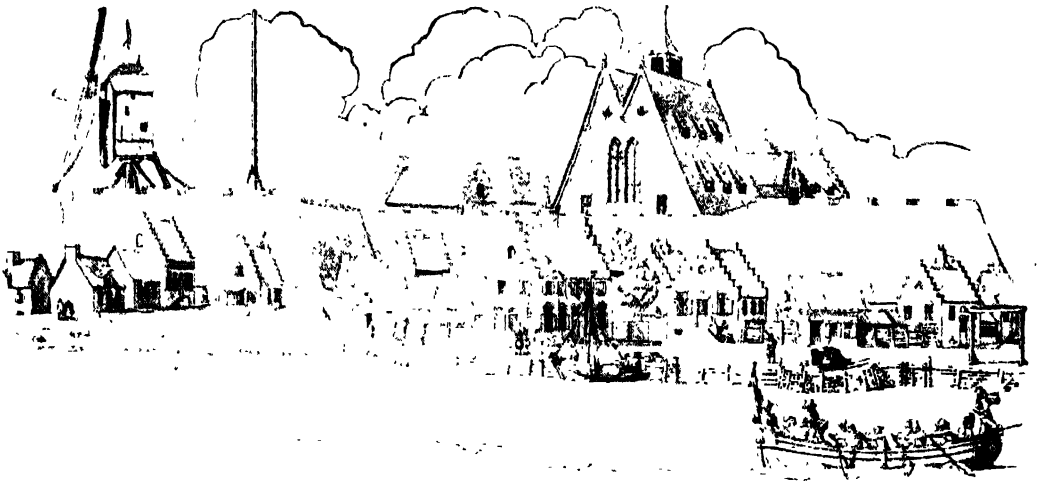


Photo by Salt Lake City C. of C.

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In the days when New York was New Amsterdam, the Dutch built the fortification pictured here to protect the colony. But the stolid Dutch burghers were not willing

to spend their money to strengthen and defend the fort, and it fell to the British—and eventually became the richest city on the continent.

income from it to be used in cashing the coupons when the bondholders send them in every six months, and in paying back the original amount at the time we promised it.

In our everyday affairs we are taught to avoid both borrowing and lending money. It is always best to be as independent as possible, to spend less than our income rather than more, so that we shall never need to borrow. But in business this is not always true. Of course, it would be foolish in business, as well as in private affairs, to borrow money if you were not sure you could pay it back. As directors of the airplane company we should not think of issuing bonds unless very careful figuring had made us certain that we should be able to return the money we were borrowing when we promised it. Since we are sure we can pay it back, we are very wise in borrowing it, because we can enlarge our business so much sooner if we do. Many large companies find it wise to do just as we have done.

Bonds are issued not only by big companies but also by the governments of cities, states, and nations. Suppose the city in which you live has decided to lay new water pipes through a part of the town where there has never been any city water. That is a thing, as you can see, which will take a great deal of money. Many workmen must be hired, lots of pipe and other supplies bought, and

very probably the pumping station will have to be enlarged to supply the additional water. Now a city, like the state and federal government, gets its money from the people in taxes. But if your city government suddenly raised the taxes enough to pay for the new water system, most of the people would make a terrible fuss. The only possible way to get all that money at once will be to borrow it.

So the city issues bonds for the amount it needs and builds the water system. Instead of increasing the taxes enough to pay for the water system all at once, it raises them just enough to be able to save that amount of money before the bonds are due, and to pay the interest in the meantime.

When we began to arm for the Second World War we suddenly needed an enormous amount of money to buy war materials and to pay soldiers. To raise this money the government issued bonds and sold Postal Savings Stamps. They were called Defense Bonds in order that we might realize that buying them would help to protect the country. Most bonds are issued in units of a thousand dollars, which means that unless you have at least that much you can seldom lend your money in this way. But the Defense Bonds were issued in units as low as twenty-five dollars, so that more people could lend their money to the government. These small bonds are called "baby bonds."

The STORY of ECONOMICS

Reading Unit

No. 4

HOW THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD IS DIVIDED

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Have you any choice as between fascism and communism?
What is the difference between the socialist's idea of "every man according to his work" and the communist's idea of "every man according to his need"?
Why is Marx's "Capital" considered the most influential book of the past half century?
Do you believe Marx was right in his theory as to the cause of war?

What private service has always been a government monopoly in our country?
Can you think of any reason why the democratic nations should be the ones to own most of the world's resources?
Do you believe that the gradualists are right in thinking that an economic revolution could be brought about without bloodshed?
How are communism and fascism alike?
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Summary Statement

The money paid for any arti-
cle you buy is divided among a
great many people. This dis-
tribution is taken care of by a
complicated economic system
called capitalism. Since the sys-
tem does not always work very
well we have strikes and depres-
sions and certain other bad ad-
justments. Various new systems

have been invented, such as so-
cialism, fascism, and the coöpera-
tive movement. Fascism and so-
cialism either do away with cap-
italism or greatly restrict it. The
coöperative movement does not
attempt to restrict capitalism; it
merely seeks to return the profits
to the consumer—to the people
who have used the products.

HOW THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD IS DIVIDED



Photo Copyright by W. M. Frange, N. Y. C.

Here is a part of the famous sky line of New York City, center of America's wealth. The picture shows the uptown business center, including two of the most

famous skyscrapers—the Empire State Building at the extreme right, and the Chrysler Building penetrating the clouds almost exactly in the center.

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What Happens to the Money That You Pay for a Pair of Shoes?

IN A previous story about economics we have seen how people work together to produce things. We have found that all the people in the world are joined together in the work of creating millions of different kinds of products—scissors, wheat, baseballs, pictures, battle-ships, an endless list of things. There is only one reason for all this production—it is that the things are wanted and used. We have discussed the various ways in which men work with one another for this purpose of producing. Farmers join forces to work their fields more easily. The more complicated the thing produced, the larger the number of people who have a hand in producing it, and the more complicated is the process of paying them for their work. When we speak of paying, we mean giving a man the share of other men's products that he has earned by his own work. So now let us turn our eyes upon the way men are organized to pay for things, instead of the way they are organized for producing things.

When you need a pair of shoes you go to a shoe store. You probably try on several pairs, and ask the price of each before you find shoes that suit you and cost about what you want to pay. You may visit two or

three stores, but at last you find a pair that seems to be just the thing. Suppose that the price is four dollars. You pay the clerk four dollars, and walk out with the shoes on your feet or under your arm.

What happens to those four dollars? Let us follow them and see what hands they pass through. The first thing that happens to them, as you may notice before you leave the store, is that they are put in a cash register with other dollars that other customers have paid for shoes that day. At the end of the day they are counted with the day's receipts and probably put in a safe until they can be taken to a bank the next morning. As far as you are concerned those four dollars merely paid for two shoes; but if we look into the matter we shall find that the money is soon divided into very small amounts and sent off in a surprising variety of directions.

We shall imagine that this is a fairly small shoe store; the owner and two clerks do all the work. The clerk who waited on you has a family for whom he must buy bread and the other things that people need besides shoes. So he gets some of the four dollars—probably only a few cents of it, for he sells many pairs of shoes every day. His share is

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paid him each week or month by the owner of the store, and is called his salary. In some stores the amount a clerk gets depends on the number of shoes he sells, which tends to make him work hard to sell as many as he can.

A few cents for each pair of shoes sold adds up in the course of a week to enough for the clerk's salary. But the owner of the store cannot keep all the rest, much as he might like to. He must spend another part of your four dollars for rent. He may possibly own the store building himself, in which case he must pay taxes. The rent or the taxes are expenses that he must keep paid up. So a small amount of the money he gets for every pair of shoes has to be laid aside for that purpose.

Besides the salary of his clerks and the rent of his store there are several other things for which the owner of the store must use some of the four dollars. His store must be cleaned regularly. Small repairs have to be made to keep everything in good order. If the owner borrowed money to start his store, as is very likely, he must pay interest on that money and must also keep saving all the time, in order to be able to pay back what he borrowed when his promise comes due. All these expenses that go on regularly, and do not depend on how much business is done, are grouped together and given the name "overhead"—perhaps because they are always there, hanging over the business man's head, and must be paid whether business is good or bad.

Where Your Money Goes

Possibly you have been saying, "What about the shoes themselves?" Your idea is correct. The store owner must spend the largest part of his money for more shoes. We have mentioned the other things first to make it clear that when you pay four dollars for a pair of shoes you are paying for more than two complicated leather devices to wear on your feet. You are really

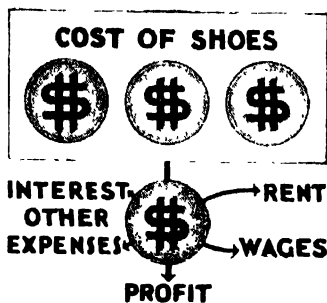
paying a man whom we call a clerk to show you several pairs of shoes and to help you pick out a pair you like. In fact, you are also helping to pay him for showing shoes to people who come into the store and leave again without buying. You are helping the owner of the store to pay rent and to keep the store in good condition.

And your money goes into many other things, as we shall learn as we follow the various parts of your four dollars from hand to hand.

We said that the store owner spent the largest part of the four dollars when he bought the shoes from the factory. The amount that shoes cost him varies of course, but we shall suppose in this case that their cost is three dollars a pair. He has then one dollar left over which he can put into the expenses of salaries and rent and other things that we call overhead. But his great

aim is to spend as little of it as possible for those things. Like the clerk and the rest of the people in the world he wants some money for himself and his family. Naturally he gets no salary. He gets his money by spending as little as he can of your four dollars for more shoes and for overhead, and by keeping the rest himself. The rest is called profit.

How much profit a merchant makes depends mainly, in the long run, on how good a business man he is. He may buy the very cheapest shoes he can, say for a dollar and a half, and sell them at four dollars. Since it is hard for you and me to tell good shoes from bad ones without wearing them a while, we may buy his shoes at first. But when we find that they wear out quickly, as very cheap shoes do, we naturally decide not to buy any shoes again at that store. Other people have the same experience, and the storekeeper soon finds that he is not selling shoes enough to keep his business going. In other words, he finds that the way to make the most money over a long period of time is to sell good shoes and not to try to make too big a profit. In



If you pay four dollars for a pair of shoes, the money will be divided up somewhat as shown above. Three dollars will go to the manufacturer or wholesaler who sold our storekeeper the shoes. The other dollar will be the retailer's "gross" profit. From it he pays interest, rent, wages, and other "overhead" expenses. Whatever is left is his "net" profit, his own share of the money.

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Photo by Du Pont Magazine

In this story we have not tried to follow your shoes back any farther than the factory. But they had a long history before that. They were made of leather such as is shown here. Someone had to make the chemicals to tan the hides, and raise the cattle from

which the hides came. And so it goes—back and back and out in all directions till we get dizzy trying to list all the thousands of people who have a hand in making just our shoes! And it is the same for almost everything we use.

the same way he finds that it does not pay to try to save too much on the steady overhead expenses. A good clerk will cost him more than a careless one. A good store will cost him more rent than a poor one. But a good clerk and a fine store will bring him more customers. All these facts make it unwise for a storekeeper to be too piggish about profits.

The Storekeeper and His Clerk

In general, men find that it is more interesting to be the owner of a store than to be a clerk. A man likes to be "his own boss." And in general the owner of a business has a larger income from his profits than a clerk from his salary. So a clerk is often saving money and looking ahead to the time when he can set up a store of his own. As we have seen, it takes money to start a new enterprise. To make a store succeed after it has been started is not easy. For these reasons the storekeeper's lot is not so much easier than his clerk's as we might at first suppose. It is quite fair for him to get more money. If business is bad, and not enough shoes are sold to make a profit, he

must keep right on paying the clerk his salary anyway. He must learn as much as he can about shoes—where to buy the best ones for the least money, which kinds sell the best, and how to keep people buying shoes at his store rather than somewhere else. In other words he has the responsibility of managing the store and some of your four dollars pays him for it.

Now we already know what happens to about a dollar out of the four dollars you paid for your shoes. Let us learn what we can about the three dollars that are left. Every once in a while, perhaps every two or three months, a salesman from the factory where shoes are made calls at the shoe store. He has samples and is ready to take orders for as many pairs as the storekeeper wants. The storekeeper considers the number of shoes of various kinds he has on hand now, calculates how many pairs he thinks he can sell in the coming months, and gives the salesman an order. The salesman reports to the factory, which may be in the same town or may be in another part of the country, that this store will take so many hundred pairs of shoes. In due time the shoes

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arrive and are put in place on the shelves. When the factory sends a bill, the storekeeper sends a check, in which is included three dollars of the four dollars that he got from you.

What Happens at the Factory

Some money is used up between the factory and the store. The railroad that carries the shoes must be paid. Perhaps the salesman, in his effort to get the storekeeper to buy lots of shoes, promised that the factory would pay the freight or express charges. Or the storekeeper may have agreed to pay them. In either case this item really comes out of your four dollars. It is just a question of whether it comes from the merchant's dollar or from the three dollars that are now going to the factory.

At the factory the rest of your money is chopped up and scattered among a large number of people. There are hundreds of people operating machines—machines to cut leather into shoelike shapes, machines to sew the shapes together, and machines to trim off the edges. There are rows of benches where men and women do the things that cannot be done by machines. There are rooms where the shoes are packed into boxes. There are offices where plans are made, accounts are kept, and orders taken from shoe stores and orders sent to tanneries for leather. There are office boys and porters. There are mechanics to see that the machines are running properly. Supplies of leather, cloth, and thread must be paid for. Power in the form of coal or electricity is equally necessary. Taxes or rent must be paid. The money to pay to all these people and for all these supplies comes from the storekeepers who buy shoes.

What Is a "Sinking Fund"?

The aim and hope of the managers is to have some money left over when all the wages and salaries, and all the other expenses, have been paid. If this factory, like most big ones, is owned by a corporation, we know that the real owners are the stockholders; of these there may be a great many scattered all over the country. Each one is entitled to a share of the profits according to

the number of shares of the stock he owns. If this corporation has at some time or other borrowed money to buy land or buildings, it did so by issuing bonds. The bonds are a debt on which interest must be paid. Every six months the owners of the bonds cut off coupons and present them at their banks, which in turn ask the company for the money. The company must furnish the money whether the stockholders are given any dividends or not. Furthermore the company must be saving money against the time when the bonds are due, that is, the date when it promised to repay what it borrowed. It sets aside a little each year, in what is called a "sinking fund," so that when the bonds are due it will have enough to pay them off.

How Many People Are Working for You?

We now have some idea of the amazing number and variety of people you are paying when you buy a pair of shoes. The only one you see is the clerk, but all the others are just as important. And each one of them gets a little bit of your four dollars. No one person gets very much; in fact most of them get so little that it hardly seems worth while until we think of the enormous number of shoes made and sold. Every person who buys shoes is paying all of the people who have taken any part in making them.

If we should trace back the money you pay for any other thing you buy through all the hands that have worked on it, we should go through much the same story. The details would be different, of course, but the general scheme would be the same. If what you buy is a product of "nature," like an apple, rather than of human manufacture, we should find that much of your money goes to people who have helped to get it to you—retail fruit dealer, wholesale dealer, truckmen, railroads—a long procession. In our complicated civilization the process of getting the apple from the tree to you is as expensive as the process of growing it.

If the product you buy is the result of a long manufacturing process, as with an automobile, the money you pay for it is divided among so many people that it would

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Photo by Title Guarantee & Trust Co.

Buying and selling are sometimes as simple and unimportant as putting a penny in a slot for a piece of chocolate, and sometimes as vast and fateful as the Louisiana Purchase. The scene pictured here is an incident in a sale big enough to make local, if not national, history. The man with the hammer has just

posted on the parish church in Westchester, New York a notice that Fordham Manor is being offered for sale. This transaction, which began in 1753, involved over five square miles now a part of the thickly populated district called the Bronx, in New York. It was the largest sale of Bronx real estate on record.

take pages to tell about them all. If you will read the story about automobiles in these books with this in mind, you will get an idea of how many there are. And you will see that they are working in widely separated parts of the world, miners digging iron ore in Pennsylvania, native workmen notching rubber trees in South America or Africa, and lumbermen cutting down trees in Canada. These are just as important as the machinists and mechanics who make the parts and put them together. Each individual in this great army gets some of the money paid by the buyer of the automobile, and works only because he gets some of it.

Paying for Transportation

When you buy a thing, you are paying all the people who have had a part in making that thing and getting it to you. Each one of them must get part of the price you pay, though in many cases the part a man gets

is very, very small. It would be very hard to estimate, for example, how much of your four dollars went to the engineer of the freight train that brought your shoes from the factory to the city where you live. Fortunately for that engineer his train had many pairs of shoes in it, with a great number of other things, and he is paid wages out of the money the railroad company gets for hauling all those things.

Where the Bulk of Your Money Goes

We could go on, indefinitely, picking out individuals who are working at the problem of getting you the shoes and all the other things you buy. We should find that there are literally millions of them. Most of them are paid their share every week or every month. That share is called wages or salary. The largest part of the prices you pay for products goes into wages for the people who have worked on them.

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We may say that the money you pay for a thing is divided among two classes of people, workers and owners—though we must remember that most owners are also workers. Workers get wages or salary for their part in making and moving things; owners get their share because they have saved and bought capital. The owners of capital, such as factories and railroads, get some of the money you pay. It comes in the form of dividends. The owners of money who have lent it to corporations by buying bonds get interest. We should remember here again that money is not capital. Money itself is not productive. It can, however, be used to buy capital that is productive, such as land, buildings, and machines. Those who lend money really lend the buildings and machines the borrower buys with it. Therefore they get some of the income which the borrower makes with those buildings and machines.

What Are Rent and Profit?

Another owner who gets some of the income from production is the owner of land. The amount of his share is called rent; and sometimes it depends on curious, illogical factors. The rent of farm land depends, quite sensibly, on how much can be raised on it. But the rent of land in cities is determined by its location. In itself this is sensible enough, because the usefulness of a piece of land in a city depends almost altogether on where it is. The nearer it is to the business center, the better a lot is for business purposes. But as a city grows and changes, and all cities do, the value of land in various parts of it changes. Men have acquired enormous fortunes simply because, through foresight or mere luck, they or their fathers bought land in what grew to be the busy part of a city. Since it is unfair that some persons should get rich without working, attempts are made to balance the situation by high taxes. When the value of land increases because of changes in the population of a city, it is the people in general who have caused the increase. The benefit of it is therefore given to the people, not to any individual.

It would take too long to tell of all the

different theories that economists have formed about the income that owners get. But one kind that we ought to think about a little more is profits. Economists say that there are really two kinds of profit. It is not hard to keep them straight if we understand them. A dictionary defines profit as "an excess of income over expenditure," meaning simply that the profit is the amount you gain if you buy a bicycle for ten dollars and sell it for twelve. You have a profit of two dollars from that bit of business. The profit made by a shoe dealer is the amount he has left when the money he pays for supplies of shoes, for salaries, and for upkeep, is subtracted from the amount he takes in from the sale of shoes. The profit made by an airplane manufacturing company is the amount left when the money spent in the many expenses of such a company, materials, wages, rent, interest on bonds, and so on, is subtracted from the money taken in from the sale of airplanes.

But you will see that there is an important difference between the airplane company and the shoe store. The profits made by the airplane company are divided among the people who own it, that is, they are given to the stockholders as dividends. The men who manage the company get salaries. The shoe store is owned and managed by the same man, and his profit is both salary and dividend. Economists say, therefore, that there are two kinds of profits—profits of ownerships, and profits from management, which they call "wages of management." In a corporation the two are quite separate; the wages of management are paid as wages or salaries to the men who do the managing, and the profits of ownership are paid to the stockholders as dividends. In a small private business, like a shoe store, the two are not separated but are thought of simply as profits by the owner-manager of the business.

Why Shops Hold "Sales"

Have you ever wondered whether a shoe store does not have some shoes it cannot sell? Are there not some shoes left in a store that no one ever buys? This is a matter that every shoe dealer must consider. Shoes do not keep forever, even when they are not

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worn; moreover, styles will change, and people like the newest thing. The dealer does his best to sell every pair of shoes he buys, because every pair he does not sell means a loss. This is one reason why stores have "sales." The shoes that no one bought



Simplest of modern methods of selling merchandise is the independent retail store. All its selling is done in one place and it carries only one line of goods—perhaps groceries or hardware.



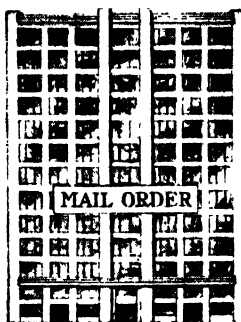
More complicated is the department store, which sells many different sorts of goods, each in its own "department." This arrangement saves overhead by using one store instead of several, and furnishes a convenient shopping center to the customer. The department store developed largely during the last century.

at their first price are "marked down" to a lower price; if they are not sold then, the price is lowered more and more until someone does buy them at last.

Of course the sensible thing, and the thing that every merchant tries to do, is to buy only the number and kind of shoes, or other things, that people will take. No one can ever be quite sure what that number will be. A dealer can only guess from his knowledge of what he has been able to sell in the past. If his business is shoes, his experience of the number of shoes that you and I and other people have bought from him is his guide as to the number of shoes he will be able to sell us in the future. We might almost say that the number of shoes for sale one year depends on the number people bought the year before. But we must realize that this is not a complete explanation. The number of shoes that people bought last year depends largely on how much shoes cost in relation to the cost of other ordinary needs. It is an endless chain of cause and effect in which our need for shoes, their price, and the number of them made, all interact.

Every dealer knows that if he raises the price of his shoes he will make a larger

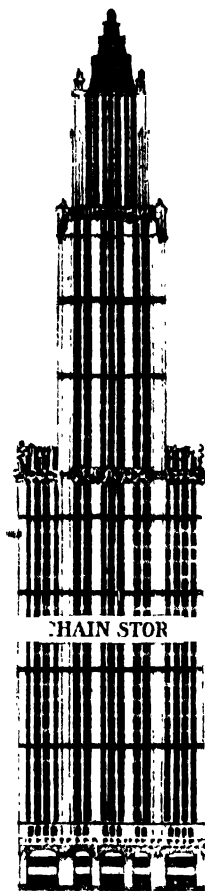
profit on each pair he sells. But he also knows that he will not sell so many shoes. If he lowers the price he will make less on each pair, but will sell more. Somewhere, between a few sales at a large profit and many sales at a small profit, is the point he tries to find. He sets this price with one eye on the other shoe stores in the town. He knows that if Mrs. Jones comes in and looks at a pair of five-dollar shoes, and then finds that she can get the same kind of shoe



The mail-order house, as such, has no retail store at all, but sends out catalogs from which people order whatever they want. The goods are then shipped to the customer. The mail-order house saves money by buying and selling in large quantities and by having no retail store overhead, and can therefore sell its goods more cheaply. This method of selling did not become important until fairly recently.

at another store for four seventy-five, he will not be able to sell her many pairs of shoes. This fact tends to keep the price of one grade of shoes about the same in all the stores that sell them.

This relation between people who are in the same kind of business is called "competition," and it is a matter that you and I as economists must know something about. In nearly all kinds of business the



The chain store has a central office—such as the Woolworth Building, above—and many branch stores in different places, each carrying the same line of goods. Thus the management can buy in huge quantities and sell cheaply, and still the store is near the buyer. This too is a very recent development.

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force of competition is one of the things that controls prices. A man who sells shoes does not dare to charge more for his shoes than the other shoe dealers in his town, because he knows that people will not pay any more than they have to for their shoes. The factory that makes the shoes does not escape this rule. The managers know that they must turn out shoes which they can sell to dealers at the same price other factories charge, or their business will disappear. They would have the same experience if they made airplanes. Customers will buy machines from factories that charge the least for planes of a given grade.

Is Competition a Good Thing?

Competition forces prices down. Every person who has something to sell tries to sell it at a lower price than his competitors, so that people will buy from him. You can see that for this reason competition is a good thing. It prevents sellers from charging more than they should. And, equally important, it makes people try to improve the thing they sell or make. Every manufacturer tries to turn out the best product he can, so that people will buy his product rather than some other.

A good example of this effect of competition is the automobile. When it was first manufactured, the automobile was hardly more than a toy for the amusement of the rich. It cost a great deal to buy and a great deal to run. But in thirty years it has been improved step by step until it has become the excellent and inexpensive machine we know now. One important reason for this rapid improvement was that there were many companies making cars and each company was trying hard to make a better and cheaper car than the next one. If there had been only one maker of automobiles he could have said, "People who want cars can buy my cars or none at all." And he could have gone on year after year building exactly the same car with the same faults. The series of inventions which have made the automobile a dependable and convenient way of getting over the ground would have come much less rapidly. This is true of many other products. Wherever several

makers are trying to get business away from one another, they are forced to improve the thing they are making, whether it is a fountain pen or a locomotive, and to sell it as cheaply as they can.

How We Benefit by Competition

You can see that all the people who buy things are helped a great deal by competition. Products are better and cheaper than they would be if the makers did not compete. This is especially true of complicated products like automobiles and radios. For once you have started making a thing, it costs money to change your factory and make the thing differently. If, for example, you had bought all the machinery you needed to make a certain kind of airplane, and had just begun to turn out a few of them, you would be disgusted if one of your competitors suddenly began to sell a machine that was better than yours. If you wanted to stay in the running, you would have to design your machine over again, and that would pretty surely mean throwing away some of your expensive machinery and buying new. All this would be very annoying to you; but it would be a real benefit to the public that buys airplanes.

What Is a Monopoly?

Is there any way a manufacturer can avoid the effects of competition? The dream of every business man is the kind of market in which he can set any price he likes on his product, and can change the thing he makes only when his machinery for making it is worn out and he has to get some new machines anyway. This situation sometimes exists; it is called a "monopoly." It is achieved quite simply in some cases, by two or more competitors joining forces. If two men are making and selling umbrellas in a certain town, neither one will be able to make a big income because each will have to sell just as cheaply as he can. But one of them may come to the other and say, "Let's be friends, not enemies. We are now selling our umbrellas for two dollars apiece and are barely making a living. Let us promise each other to sell no umbrella for less than \$2.50. We may not sell quite so many

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Photo by International News Photo

When employer and employees cannot agree about the wage scale, hours of work, or some other matter, the employees often go on strike; that is, all together they

refuse to work until the dispute is settled. The picture shows a crowd of strikers in the garment center of New York, where great quantities of clothes are made.

but we shall certainly sell enough to make more money than we do now."

Their arrangement may not seem so good to you and to me. We buy umbrellas. But if the two dollars is really too low a price, we ought not to complain. It is very hard to say just when a price is too low, but we know in general that the price charged for a thing ought to be enough for every person who has worked at it to be paid in proportion to the amount of effort and brains he has put into it. At least he ought to be paid as well as other people doing similar work are paid. Competition does sometimes force prices lower than is fair. The result is usually that those who are unable to make money go into some other business, or they form an agreement like these umbrella makers.

Why There Are Unions

Various kinds of people with something to sell form agreements in order to control in some degree the price of their wares. Often they do more than just form agreements, as we shall see a little farther on in our story. First we must mention another and very fundamental kind of agreement formed to control prices. In a sense a worker is a

seller; he sells his work and gets for it a price which is usually called his wages. If he is alone he is at a disadvantage in trying to get a job or a better price for the job he is doing now. The man to whom he is trying to sell his work can take advantage of the fact that there are usually many workers, each of whom must sell his work to get money to take care of his family. That is, the employer can say to the first worker who asks for a job, "All right, if you don't like the wages I offer, you don't have to take them. I will hire someone else." As long as he really can hire someone else, he can force the price of work down. He can, and unfortunately often does, treat the worker as though work were simply another supply like coal or lumber, to be bought as cheaply as possible.

In dealing with employers one worker alone is rather helpless, but if all the workers of one kind join together, they can discuss things with employers on much more equal terms. Such an organization of workers, called a labor union, can control the price of one kind of work in a way that is very important. A union is usually very much like any other kind of club or association. It elects officers and collects dues from its members. When

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it becomes necessary to insist that an employer pay higher wages or require shorter hours of work, the union can declare a strike. That is, it can tell all its members to stop work. It can pay the members while they are not working from the money it has collected as dues. When a bargain has been reached with the employer, they can start work again.

Not all kinds of workers are organized into unions. It is hard to get all the humblest and least skilled workers into a union. But workers whose labor requires some skill, like bricklayers, carpenters, and many others, are now formed into unions nearly everywhere.

While we have been thinking about unions, the umbrella experts may have had another idea. The brighter of the two may have said to the other, "Look here, we are still doing business pretty wastefully. You have a shop at one end of town and I have one at the other. We each hire workers to help us; we each buy supplies and have all the overhead expense of a shop. If we form a partnership we can cut out a lot of these expenses and each of us will make more money."

The Tendency toward Combinations

So they combine. Together they pay the rent of one shop instead of two. In buying materials they can get larger amounts at a time and so pay less. They probably will

not have to hire so many workers as there were in the two shops before. All in all, they will turn out as many umbrellas as they did before, but each umbrella will cost them less; so the profit will be larger. Moreover, so

long as they are the only producers and sellers of umbrellas in their town, they will have a monopoly. They can set a much higher price on their product.

There are two things that will keep them from putting their price extremely high, even though they have a monopoly. One is the simple fact that if umbrellas cost too much people will just get along without them. If by any chance an umbrella should cost twice as much as a suit of clothes we might think it silly to buy one to keep our clothes dry. The other thing that the umbrella makers

must have in mind is perhaps more important. If their prices are too high, some man who has been thinking of going into a new business will get the idea that there is a market for cheap umbrellas in that town. He will start making them and selling his at a very low price. The two partners will thus have killed the goose that was laying golden eggs.

If we had some sort of magic eye to look into all the shops and factories in the world at once, we should see a vast and shifting arrangement of competition and of combination. There would be new combinations forming all the time to get rid of competition,



Photo by New York Telephone Co.

The telephone system is an excellent example of a "natural monopoly," for its usefulness depends on our being able to talk over our own telephone to anyone else who has a telephone. For a while there were many competing telephone companies, but this caused so much inconvenience that they gradually combined or made agreements to cooperate. Now a telephone subscriber in the United States can talk to 99% of the other subscribers. Our operators above serve a dial central office.

HOW THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD IS DIVIDED



Photo by General Electric Co.

This great power house is owned and operated by a city government to supply power to its public utilities. Public utilities include street car, bus, and subway systems, water, electricity, gas, and similar services

widely used by the public—as the phrase “public utility” indicates. These are all more or less natural monopolies, and as such are nearly always regulated and often owned by city, state, or national governments.

and new concerns starting up all the time to bring it back. We should see, in general, that the prices customers must pay go up as combinations take place and go down again if competition comes in again. But if we could watch the process for many years, we should probably see that the tendency toward combinations which reduce competition is now the stronger. Each kind of business tends to come more and more into the hands of one company.

The Reason for “Natural Monopolies”

This is most true of the kinds of business that need expensive capital—a great deal of heavy, complicated machinery—because it is so very expensive to start competing with any such company that is already going. It is all very easy, in the case of umbrellas, to start making cheap ones if you see that some monopoly is charging too much. And if you should find that there was only one company in the country making locomotives, and that they were charging outrageous prices for them, your first thought might be that here would be a chance to set up a competing factory and make some money.

But you would soon stop to consider what an enormous amount of money it takes to build a plant to make locomotives. You would realize that it would be several years before you could have your locomotives on the market. Your final decision would be not to go into it unless you were sure that there was a real demand for more locomotives than the other company could produce. The bigger a company is, and the more expensive the work it does, the harder it is to compete with.

There are some kinds of business that economists call “natural” monopolies. One of the best examples is the telephone business. It is a business in which the service a consumer pays for can be at its best only when there is no competition. The work of a telephone company is to give people a chance to talk with one another at a distance. The more people one can talk to, the better the service is. If there were several companies, each person who had a telephone could talk only to the other people who were dealing with the same company. Anyone who wanted to be able to talk to all the other people who had telephones would have

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to have one of the telephones of each company. The only sensible arrangement is to let one company handle all the telephone business.

There are several other natural monopolies. The various kinds of transportation and communication are important ones. The street car system in a given section should be a monopoly. For cars of two different companies to race on two sets of tracks would be ridiculous and very inefficient. The railroad business should be considered a natural monopoly, though there are possibilities of competition in it also. Any one region needs only one railroad. It is just as silly to have two railroads between two towns as it would be to have two street-car lines down a main street. But if the towns are far apart and the railroads connect them by quite separate routes, each serving other towns along the way, you can see that there will be competition for the traffic that goes the whole distance, but none at all for traffic that goes to the smaller towns along each line. Several railroads have tracks between New York and Chicago, but each one covers a different part of the country in between; so they compete only for the traffic that goes all the way.

Supplying gas and electricity and water are also natural monopolies. It is bad enough to have our streets torn up by one gas company; if we had six companies, we should hardly have any streets left at all. And all three of these are enterprises that require enormously expensive equipment; so there is no sense in

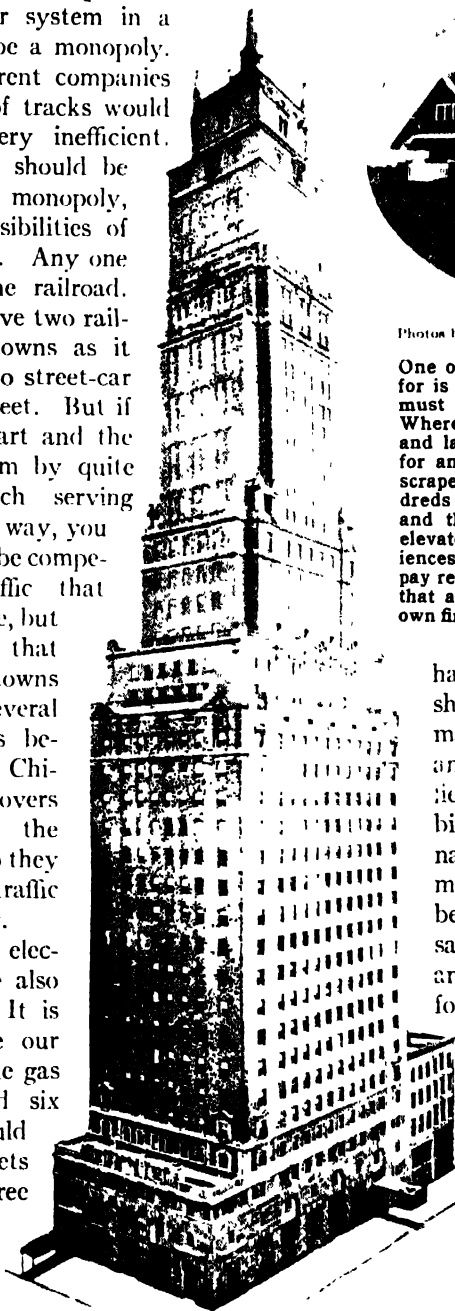
duplicating it when duplication is avoidable.

Yet from the point of view of the consumer—the man who has to spend his money—any monopoly is dangerous. Unless something is done about it, a monopoly is pretty sure to mean in the long run that consumers



Photos by Okaloona C. of C. Fla. and the Ritz Tower

One of the chief things we spend money for is a place in which to live, which we must pay for either in rent or in taxes. Where many people are crowded together and land is expensive, we may pay rent for an apartment in some towering skyscraper like that at the left, where hundreds of families live under the same roof and their rent includes central heating, elevator service, and other such conveniences. In less crowded places we may pay rent or taxes for a separate house like that above, where we have to stoke our own fires but have a veranda and a garden.



have to pay more than they should. Various attempts are made to prevent monopolies, and to control natural monopolies. Laws have been passed forbidding certain kinds of combinations and agreements among men and companies who have been competing. But a law which says that people must not make an agreement is very hard to enforce. A really satisfactory way of controlling big companies, and of making them play fair with their customers and with any little companies that may be trying to compete, has not yet been found.

Railroads and street-car companies and other natural monopolies are controlled by govern-

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Photo by Underwood & Underwood

When the "business cycle" swings us into hard times, somebody has to feed the unemployed who never received high enough wages to be able to save. One way of doing this is by some sort of unemployment insurance; that is, a worker's job is "insured" as a person's life or health may be, and if he loses it he is

entitled to a certain sum on which to live for a given length of time. In some places this scheme is operated by the government. Our picture shows a line of unemployed in England, collecting their unemployment allowance, incorrectly called the "dole." It is barely enough to live on, but it is something.

ments in one way or another. There are varying degrees of control. Sometimes a government just makes certain rules which the companies must obey. Sometimes a company is told exactly what it may charge. A government may take complete control and own and run a business itself. Several countries run their railroads. Most cities own their own water systems and many cities have their own supply of electricity and gas. The government owns the postal system. People do not agree as to whether it is better for governments to own businesses like electric companies and railroads or merely to make laws controlling them. Those who believe in private ownership say that it is more efficient, that people do not work so well for a government. Nevertheless the problem of preventing private monopolies from taking more money than they should from their customers is so difficult that more and more cities are running their own gas and electric systems, just as most of them

have long been managing their own water systems.

How the Business Cycle Works

Our story has now covered the most important parts of the system of working together that men have developed. We have seen enough of it to know that it is one of the most remarkable things about the human race. We know that it is a very complex system and is getting more so every day. We have seen that it changes steadily, sometimes in ways that no one could foresee at all. Some of the changes are very slow and some very rapid. Some changes are brought about by men seeing that something is wrong or does not work well, and deciding not to do that thing any more. Other changes seem to take place without any planning or intention on the part of men. An example of the first kind of change is the doing away with slavery. Men used to think that some human beings are so much below the rest

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that it is proper and right for the more powerful to own them and use them more or less like horses or machines. This idea is now known to be wrong. A good example of the sort of change that happens without being planned and worked toward is the change—or rather, the vast number of changes—that came because of the invention of machines. The men who started the idea of using machines to do our work thought it would be very nice not to have to use so much muscle, but they had no idea of the number of ways in which life would be different when machines became common.

In looking at the system we now have, we ought to keep in mind the questions, Does it work well? Is it fair to everyone?

What further changes does it need? You can see at once that these are not easy questions. They are questions to which nearly everyone has worked out a different answer.

We certainly can say at once that the system is not perfect. After all, man made it, and man has never made any perfect thing. There are many ways in which it is not fair. The most difficult questions are, Why isn't it fair and how should it be changed? Of course we need not worry about the great, slow changes that come in spite of us and without planning. But it is the duty of everyone who lives in the world and takes a share of the products of men's work to think about improving the system of working together.

In some ways our present system seems ideal. Wealth belongs to those who have

worked hard and saved part of their earnings. Those who save can buy capital with their savings, and so own part of the equipment with which wealth is produced. It seems like a system that favors people who are willing to work hard and to save. It seems to be a system in which a man who is intel-

ligent and conscientious will be rewarded. These virtues it certainly has in general.

But our present scheme of working together has some very serious faults. The worst is that it does not run smoothly and steadily. Things go along nicely for a time with business increasing and the demand generally for products greater than the supply. Farmers and factories can sell at good prices all they produce. Then suddenly the process of building up ceases; demand for products falls off and prices go down; factories have fewer orders and have to reduce wages and dismiss

workers; many men are without means of supporting themselves and their families. There is a period of "hard times" until slowly the process of building up begins again; demand increases and prices rise; a new cycle is started.

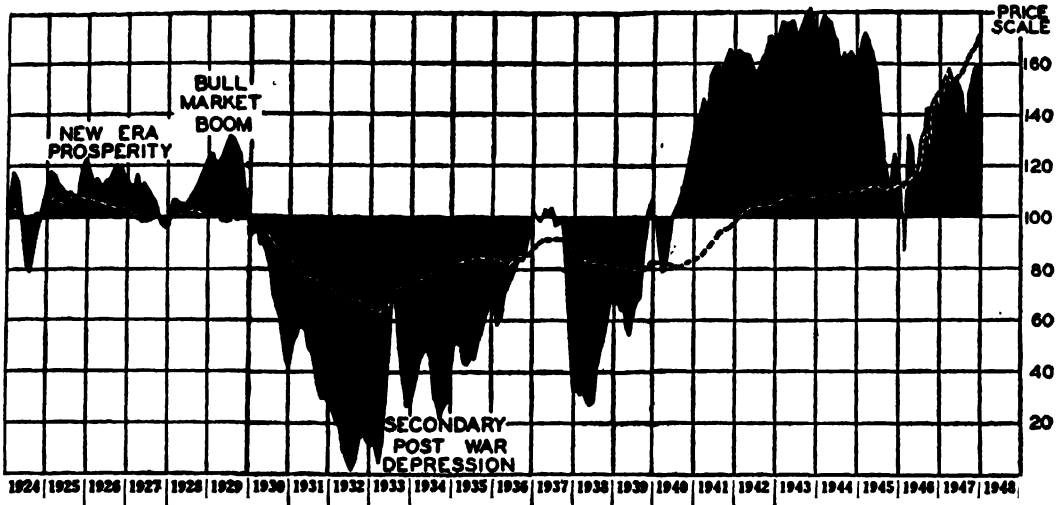
Perhaps the most curious and tantalizing feature of this continual rise and fall of activity, which economists call the "business cycle," is that it depends quite considerably on states of mind. As business improves and jobs are plentiful and wages rising, people are confident that everything is going to be rosy. They buy freely and invest money freely. And every cent that is spent and



Photo by Bethlehem Steel

All the time we are building more efficient machines which will do the work of more men. This 14,000-ton hydraulic press, for instance, needs only half a dozen men to operate it; yet it does the work of hundreds of laborers. Of course every time a new machine like this is installed, it throws people out of work temporarily; this is what economists call "technological unemployment," or unemployment due to improvement in technique. It is a great problem. Yet if we can learn to manage rightly, less work ought to mean more leisure and more chance to enjoy life for everybody, instead of enforced idleness and misery for many workers and hard times for everyone as a result.

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Courtesy Cleveland Trust Company

Above is a chart of business activity in the United States from 1924 through 1947—a long period of very unstable conditions, when the country had its greatest boom—in the twenties—followed by its worst depression. The figure 100 represents what experts have de-

cided might be taken as normal business activity. The black areas below that line indicate sluggish business or depression. Those above represent increased prosperity or inflation. The dotted line represents changes in wholesale commodity prices.

every dollar that is invested helps to keep the ball rolling. The general confidence is catching. Each business man who sees his neighbor building additions to his factory resolves to do likewise. Each union that sees another group of workers demanding higher wages does the same. People spend easily because they see their neighbors doing so. All this confidence has the direct effect of making business better and better.

When business is declining, gloom is just as effective in making the descent steeper and deeper. People tell each other that business is terrible and as a result business is terrible. Every effort at cutting down expenses which people think is in order in "bad times" means spending less money—in other words, it means paying someone less and thus making the situation worse. Naturally no one would ask a man who has lost his job to spend more money, but it is not only those who absolutely must who stop spending freely. A wave of economy passes over people and they make a virtue of doing just the wrong thing. Even governments, which always have the power to spend and certainly should use it in hard times, add to the trouble by cutting wages and expenses as much as possible.

Unemployment, the scarcity of jobs, which

is so striking a feature of the "down" side of the cycle, has another cause which is effective whether business is good or bad. Machines are continually being introduced which do work formerly done by men, with the result that men are thrown out of work. Yet new inventions and processes should have the effect of making life easier and pleasanter for all. In the long run they do. If fewer men are required to do one kind of work, there will be more men available for other kinds; which means that the total amount of work accomplished is increased. It is difficult, however, for the men who lose jobs, until they find other ones. And it is doubly difficult when a falling off of business is making jobs hard to find anyway.

The Change in Money Value

Another feature of the business cycle, partly a cause and partly a result of it, is the change that takes place in the value of money as business increases and decreases. Whether the standard of money in a country is gold or something else, its value must be said to change as prices and wages go up and down. If a bushel of wheat sells for a dollar one year and a dollar and a half the next, we can say with equal truth that wheat has gone up or dollars have gone down.

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This change in the value of money works the worst injustice that we find in our system, because it undermines the fabric of saving, lending, and borrowing that we have seen is the foundation of our way of working together. Our system is built on the idea that we can use money as a measure or yardstick of value. If money itself changes, if the yardstick does not remain the same length, an endless variety of injustice and confusion results.

Suppose, for example, a farmer borrows a thousand dollars at a time when wheat is selling for a dollar a bushel and promises to pay it back in three years. It is possible that in those three years prices will go down until wheat sells for only fifty cents a bushel. It is obvious that although the farmer owes in theory, only one thousand dollars, in fact his debt has now been doubled. To get dollars he must sell wheat, and he now must sell twice as much wheat to get the same number of dollars. Whenever prices go down, all people who owe money have their debts unfairly increased and creditors get benefits they have not earned. Of course the opposite happens when prices go up; there are unearned benefits for some and undeserved hardships for others.

Is There a Remedy for the Flaw?

As is true of most very difficult and complicated questions, economists and others have discussed the causes and possible remedies for this curious flaw in our system without agreeing about what should be done. Some say that we have always had these successive waves of good business and bad and we shall always have them. Others, less pessimistic, say that the periods of inactivity can be prevented or at least made less severe if business leaders, bankers, and governments can only be taught to take the

right steps. Still others, the socialists, say that the cycle of increasing and decreasing business can be smoothed out only by doing away with the private ownership of our big business units. If the people as a whole own the land and machinery of production, they or their leaders can by planning ahead produce always the quantity of things that people need and keep business going under

all circumstances. You can see that the first type of thinker and the last are at least agreed that nothing can be done to remove this fundamental fault from our system as it is at present. Yet common sense would lead us to conclude that the pessimists are surely wrong. The business cycle is not something that happens to people like an earthquake or a tornado; it is a result of some combination of things that men do in their

very complicated scheme of working together. If men can deal with other difficulties, they can deal with this one.

Various experiments have been tried to counteract the worst effects of the business cycle, if not to prevent it altogether. Anything that increases spending during times when people are tending to stop is helpful. Governments, especially, have acted by undertaking extensive building and improvement work, and thus employing many people. Sometimes they have also set up systems of unemployment insurance under which a man who loses a job receives some income to keep him going until he finds another. Many economists recommend also the adoption of a more flexible system of money with which big changes in prices would be counteracted by changes in the quantity of money in circulation. All these proposals and many others are matters that you will want to investigate if you decide to study other longer stories of economics.

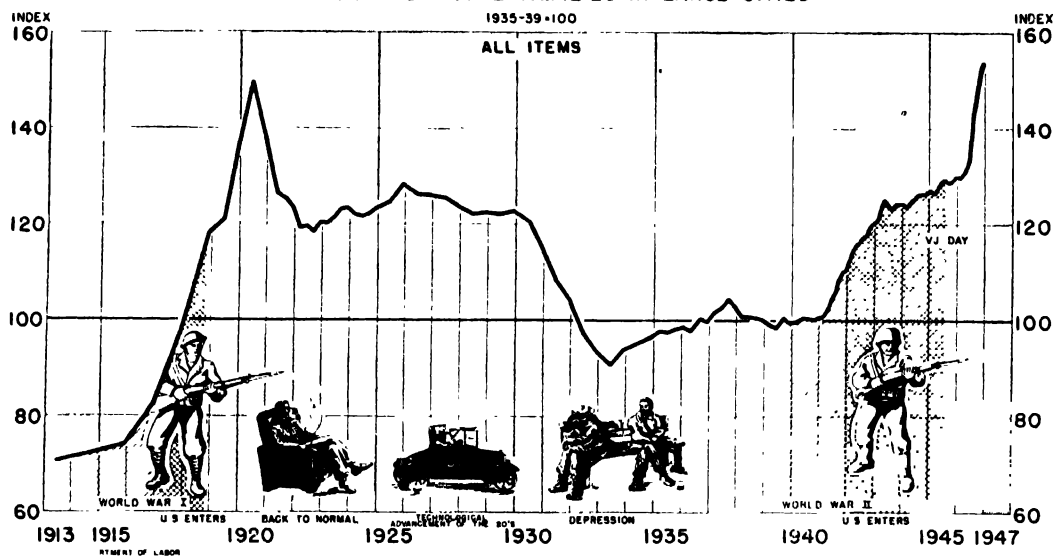
Unfortunately the cycle of rising and

Food
Clothing
Rent
Fuel and light
Furniture and
furnishings .
Miscellaneous .
Total average
yearly ex-
penses per
family

This is the way an average American family spends its income. Our food is our single largest item. If we do not count "miscellaneous," which includes many different things, our clothing comes next; and then comes the sum we pay for a place in which to live. In normal times these three items together take 68% of our money.

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CONSUMERS' PRICE INDEX FOR MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES IN LARGE CITIES



A consumers' price index shows how prices rise and fall for the articles we must buy if we are to live in health and comfort for food, clothing, fuel, and such. Of course it makes a difference to you whether you live on a farm and can produce most of your food yourself or in a city, where you must buy it at retail. Above is a chart showing the changes in prices for city families of moderate income during the two World Wars and the

years between. Prices are always high in wartime, for the men are away fighting and cannot produce the goods and regions where fighting is going on cannot plant and grow crops. In the chart above, 100 is taken to indicate normal prices. Anything above that line shows that it was costing more to live - anything below, that living was cheaper. Price controls during World War II helped to keep living costs down.

falling activity is not the only serious defect in our way of working together. Injustice is caused in other ways.

The Distribution of Wealth

Everybody knows there are exceptions to the rule that hard and conscientious work is rewarded with wealth. Wealth sometimes belongs to people who have not worked at all. It sometimes belongs to people who have broken all the laws of morals, and some of the laws of the nation, to get it. Children can own shares that bring them income from steamship lines and factories simply because their fathers or grandfathers saved money. It seems natural and right that a man should leave his property, the result of his work, to his children when he dies. But if this means that families can exist in which wealth passes from father to son without any of them taking a real share in the work of the world, or ever knowing how hard it is to get wealth, there is something wrong.

Those without wealth have always com-

plained that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." There are plenty of examples of boys who start with nothing at all and become very wealthy men to prove that this is not always true. But it is true that saving is very easy for those who have already lots of money and almost impossible for those who have none and only small wages. It is claimed that this just makes people work harder in order to become rich. But it is foolish if not absolutely cruel to tell a workman to save when he is having the greatest difficulty feeding and clothing his wife and children, and when the total amount of money he earns in his whole life may be less than some rich men get in a week without working at all. And this is a way of saying that the products of the work done in the world are not distributed so fairly as they might be among those who do the work.

We must realize, then, that our scheme of working together is by no means perfect. Many people have pointed out other features of it that seem stupid and cruel. And mar-

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books have been written suggesting ways of improving it. Naturally the number of suggestions, theories, and systems that have appeared is enormous. Professors and working men, farm hands and statesmen, cranks and philosophers, every conceivable type of person has worked out his own idea of what is wrong with our system and how to set it right. You also will be interested as you learn more about economics to study this question. It is one that none of us can escape.

Some Famous Theories

There are several general ideas which appear in most of the theories as to the cause and cure of economic injustice. You will find that many thinkers say that we must abandon "the profit motive" as our driving force, and organize the world so that people work to get things done rather than to earn money. Closely connected with this idea in many theories is the idea that private ownership is another fault in our present system. Many people think that our troubles are chiefly a result of the fact that things like land and factories—the things we call "capital"—are owned by a few people instead of by all the people together. Another class of thinkers believes that at bottom our trouble lies in the fact that we are all organized as producers of wealth when as a matter of fact the really important thing to all of us is the consumption, or use, of wealth—we ought to think of ourselves as consumers and arrange our organizations to supply our needs.

Who Was Karl Marx?

Two broad types of movement to change the world have been the most successful in putting their ideas into practice. One group includes the various kinds and sects of socialists and communists (kōm'ū-nist). These people consider that our dependence on the profit motive, and the central place that property has in our present way of working together, are the real causes of the evils and injustices we find in the world. Many of them venerate the great socialist philosopher Karl Marx (1818-1883), a German who because of his revolutionary ac-

tivity was exiled from Germany and spent the latter part of his life in England.

A Famous Book

With his lifelong friend Frederick Engels, Marx wrote a book called "Capital" setting forth his theory that in every country the ups and downs of business activity—those fluctuations of which we have spoken—will get worse and worse as the country comes to depend more and more on big factories and large complicated organizations. He was sure that this was a fault in the very structure of our capitalist organization, and that it would get steadily worse as production became more efficient. As the process goes on, society will more and more be split into two general groups or classes, the owners and the workers. Each "down" period of business will mean more and more suffering for the workers because every such period means many workers without jobs and all workers with lowered wages. The working class—the proletariat (prō'lē-tā'rī-āt)—will finally become so desperate, he said, that they will revolt and seize control of the country, probably while the country is upset by a war. It is always the proletariat who have to suffer and fight during a war, and they will finally turn their weapons against the owners. The workers of one country have no real interest in fighting the workers of another country, Marx thought. Such wars were, in his belief, really struggles on the part of owners—or "capitalists"—for places to sell their goods and get raw materials. The working class in country after country will realize that it is the upper classes who are their real enemies, and as a result international wars will cease and class wars or revolutions will start.

The working class will win the revolution and will, for a time at least, set up a rigid dictatorship under which everyone will have to do exactly what he is told. This will be very hard on the former holders of wealth and power, but everything possible will be done to benefit the workers. And everyone will have to be a worker of some kind or other. No one will own any piece of wealth which could be used in the creation of more wealth—no one will "live on an income."

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In other words, "capitalism," the era in which we live, will come to an end because it will break down, and an era of "socialism," as much better than capitalism as capitalism is better than feudalism, will begin.

This theory was worked out in great detail and with real scholarship by Marx

and his friend Engels. They founded an international association of working men, because, although they were sure that capitalist society would go to pieces of its own accord, they thought that the process could be guided and hastened, and that the sooner the working class who were destined to take charge of the world were organized and made aware of themselves, the better. Of all the many organizations of working people this one, called the First International, and its successors have been the most extreme and the most consistent. They have preached and believed with the enthusiasm of religious believers that the only salvation for the world is to get rid of private ownership and private profits for owners, and that

the only way that this can be achieved is through a violent revolution. They insist that now, because individuals are allowed to own land and factories—or shares in factories—there can be no justice for the great mass of

the people who are never able to own much of anything. It is true that a large portion of the things we have called "capital" is owned by a comparatively small number of people. Marx and his followers say that this fact creates a fundamental division of people into classes, and they think that the struggle

of one class against another, though often concealed, goes on steadily.

Not long after the death of Marx various thinkers appeared who, while they agreed with his general idea of the causes of injustice in the world, felt that there were many difficulties in his notion that only through a revolution can we arrive at a classless, property-less world. They saw that the difficulties of making a revolution are enormous, that the police and the army would have most of the guns, that the more serious the threat of revolution seemed, the more firmly would those in power suppress it. Even Marx had seen those difficulties and had supposed that the revolution was likely to come at the end of a war when the country was weak and disorganized

by a long strain. His less extreme followers said it would certainly be worth while trying to make the changes—which they agreed were necessary—gradually and by peaceful persuasion. Their theory of making haste slowly



Our modern labor troubles are a product of the Machine Age. They belong to a society in which great masses of men—the workers, or proletariat—depend upon the willingness and ability of a much smaller group—the capitalists—to hire them to work and so to make it possible for them to keep body and soul together. In a country in which everyone owns a little piece of land or the tools with which he can carry on his trade our present-day labor problems can never arise. For instance, the modern Egyptians shown above, with their primitive device for irrigating the land, might as well be living under the pharaohs for all they know of modern industrial conditions. There will be no labor unions, no strikes or lockouts, in this simple society—though there may be plenty of unrest among the laboring classes. For the problem of distributing this world's goods is as old as mankind. And communism is almost as old; our own Pueblo Indians practiced it for many centuries.

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and without violence is called "gradualism." Then, too, most of them disagreed with many other ideas of Marx, such as those about religion and the family.

The Split among the Socialists

The believers in socialism became divided into two large groups, both claiming to be followers of Marx. There were those who stuck to the idea that a violent revolution was unavoidable, and those who believed peaceful changes possible and best. Neither group succeeded in remaining united either, but split up into smaller parties. Right down to the present day the great curse of all movements to change the world has been the tendency of people within them to quarrel among themselves. But in several countries, particularly Germany and England, the peaceful socialists succeeded in organizing large numbers of working-class people into political parties which at times reached positions of power. None of them actually brought on a revolution, but followed their policy of taking short steps one at a time.

Can "Gradualism" Succeed?

Two events since World War I have had the effect of making the believers in violence much stronger. One was an enormous success for their side; the other was a sad and humiliating disaster for the more peaceful parties. In Russia, after some months of muddling by the "moderate" party which got control when the Czar's government broke down in the middle of the war, the more extreme group, the Bolsheviks (*bôl'shê-vê'kê*), seized the government and have controlled the country ever since. They have carried out with great vigor Marx's idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, in Germany, where also the war ended in revolution, the moderate Marxists who formed the Social Democratic party got control of the government. They set up a government with an idealistic and intelligently planned constitution. But after about ten years their government began to get into difficulties which increased steadily until in 1933 it was overthrown by Hitler.

Naturally the believers in violence have

said that the German moderate socialists did not put down their enemies severely enough when they had a chance. Of course any such explanation of the German disaster is too easy. The fall of the German republic was due to many causes working together, and will be the subject of great disagreement for years to come. But it makes a fine talking point for the Bolsheviks and their sympathizers to be able to say that they succeeded where others failed because they were not afraid of a violent revolution and ruthless dictatorship.

Although the Bolsheviks seem to think that the moderate success of the experiment in Russia will make revolutions more likely in other countries, the contrary may be the case. This is of course a question that it is impossible to get people to agree about. Much has happened in Russia to shock the world. Of course great success there might make working people in other countries more inclined to revolt in order to get the same results; but on the other hand it might arouse the admiration of all classes in other countries for certain of its better measures and so lead them to agree to take steps toward the improvement of conditions in their own land, without setting up a government like the Russian system.

Socialism vs. Communism

To sum up, one of the big general changes in our way of working together that is believed in by many people would introduce "socialism" or "communism" as an economic system. These two words are both used for a system of society in which the means of production—the factories and the land—are not owned by private individuals at all but by all the people together. Of course individuals still own their personal belongings. "Socialism" is the system of production and "communism" the system of ownership, but the two words, as people use them, have come to mean much the same thing, except that the political parties which call themselves "socialists" usually believe strongly in democracy. They want a peaceful change by democratic methods. Those using the name "communist" believe that violence and dictatorship are unavoidable before the

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In this great flour mill a single man at a machine can turn out enough flour to feed a large community. But he does not own the milling machine, as he used to do in the day when the flour-sprinkled miller was one of the most important men in the village, and ground all the meal that was used by his fellow townsmen. These rows of machines are owned by a company, which may have sold stock to thousands of people. So you and I depend for our flour upon two separate

groups of persons, those who own the machines and those who operate them. And those two groups depend upon each other and upon us as well. For machines are of no use unless there is someone to operate them, and a worker must starve without his machine to work at. And both owners and workers will be lost if there is no one to buy the flour when it is made. So to-day we all depend on one another in a way that is new in the history of the world.

world can be changed for the better. As a rule communists want to change much more than our economic system. Many socialists have adopted the motto, "From every man according to his powers; to every man according to his work"—meaning that every man must work at the thing he can do best, and shall be paid according to the value of the work he does. Many communists have taken the motto, "From every man according to his powers; to every man according to his needs." This of course would mean quite a different distribution of wealth from the one under the socialist plan.

What Is the "Coöperative Movement"?

There is another large group of thinkers who believe that our scheme of working together can and ought to be improved. They also believe that the "profit motive" is the cause of much of our trouble—or rather that when it is not properly controlled, it causes trouble. Their general theory for curing the evil is called "consumer coöperation." Believers in coöperation say that

there is nothing wrong in itself in people owning things, the trouble is that in our struggle to get things and to make things we forget what we are doing it for. There is, of course, only one reason for all our many kinds of effort in making and distributing things—we want to be able to use the things. The people who believe in consumer coöperation say that this fundamental fact is now lost sight of.

The Reason Why Goods Are Produced

All through this story of economics we have discovered examples of the fact that, because our modern way of working together is so complicated, there is no connection between the people who grow or make things and those who eat or use them. Even a farmer who raises wheat does not know whether the bread he eats is made of wheat he has raised or not. It probably is not. He sells wheat in one place and buys flour or bread in another. He thinks of himself as a raiser of wheat. The machinist thinks of himself as a machinist—which is all right,

HOW THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD IS DIVIDED

of course. But, says the coöperator, the most important thing for each of them and for the rest of us is that they and we eat, wear clothes, live in houses, and in general consume things that have been grown or made. We are consumers first and foremost. Yet we are organized as producers. Our big companies are organizations for the purpose of producing shoes and airplanes and so on. And of course we have learned in this story that one of the reasons that shoes and airplanes can be produced as they are is that we have large organizations to produce them.

Making Your Own Shoes

The coöperators would not deny this. Their point is that our present large organizations are designed to produce shoes for the purpose of making money for the owners, whereas they should be organized for the purpose of supplying shoes to the owners. The owners should be the people who need shoes. By getting the emphasis placed where they say it belongs, on supplying goods to people who need them, rather than on making profits for factory owners, the believers in coöperation hope to remove much of the wastefulness and cruelty of our present system.

They propose to make this change of emphasis by getting people to band together as consumers. People form coöperative associations which are really like buying clubs. Each member gets a share in the enterprise, just as stockholders of a corporation do, or each may buy several shares; but no matter how many shares he buys, a member is entitled to only one vote. Thus the rich man has no more control than the poor man. When enough money has been raised by selling shares, this company opens a store, hires a manager, and in general acts as any other business firm would. The member-owners make a point of buying at their own store; they expect to find very high-grade goods at it, but they do not expect prices to be lower than in other stores. At the end of the year the accounts are figured out and the profits divided up, if there are any. But instead of going to stockholders unknown to the customers, the profits go to the customers, who of course are the owners as well. And

instead of being divided according to the number of shares held, the profits are divided according to the amount of purchases each member has made.

Such a store is said to be organized on Rochdale (röch'däl) principles, because the real beginning of successful consumer coöperation took place in the town of Rochdale in England. In 1843 a group of twenty-eight weavers in that town formed the Society of Equitable Pioneers as an effort to improve their condition. Without realizing that they were making history these simple working people hit upon just the combination of rules that turned out to be most successful for a coöperative society. There had been various experiments in coöperation before. Among the most famous were those of Robert Owen (1771-1858), a wealthy cotton manufacturer who was attracted to various plans for improving the condition of mankind. Some of his cooperative ideas doubtless affected the weavers of Rochdale.

The Rules of the Weavers of Rochdale

But those weavers who took the name of "pioneers" were justified in feeling that they were doing something really new. Although humble and uneducated they made a valuable contribution to the world. Their principles were summed up in eight rules. Several dealt with such matters as having regular meetings, keeping proper books, and giving men and women equal rights. The ones that contained important economic principles provided that goods should be sold at prevailing local prices, that the profits should be divided in proportion to the value of the purchases each member made, and that each member should have one vote and no more. Those were the rules that made the Rochdale weavers genuine pioneers, famous in the history of coöperation. And those are the rules that govern most of the successful consumer coöperative organizations in the world to-day.

In several countries, and notably in Sweden, these organizations of people who join together to buy, rather than to sell or to make, have become very large and important businesses. They compete strongly with companies of the usual sort, and this is

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doubtless a very healthy thing. But the theorists and philosophers of coöperation feel that the movement should go much farther, that it should grow until business conducted for the profit of owners is driven out of existence altogether. The world which they say would result is perhaps rather like the happy future that the socialists hope to bring in peacefully and that the communists think will come after the revolution and period of dictatorship are over. Getting there by the path of coöperation is probably more desirable and more efficient than by the path of revolution. Whether it is both desirable and possible is one of the many questions you will have to decide some day for yourself.

What Is Fascism?

Italy, Germany, and a number of other countries in Central Europe tried to cure some of the evils of capitalism by turning to what we call fascism (făsh'iz'm). The term is a loose one, and is commonly applied


to any form of government in which a party dictatorship has been set up

to rule the country under a somewhat restricted form of capitalism and to reorganize it with an eye to strengthening the power of the nation in world affairs. Like the communists, the fascists believe in the "totalitarian (tō-tăl'-i-tă-rĭ-ăn) state"; that is, they would have every activity of the nation under the control of the government and organized in such a way as to advance the well-being of the nation. Mussolini (mōōs'sō-lē'nē), the fascist dictator of Italy, phrased this when he said, "Everything for the state, nothing outside the state." This means that art, literature, education, religion, economic affairs, and the actions of the individual citizen may all be dictated by the government.

Representative government—that is, what we call "democracy"—is entirely abolished under such a system. All power is in the hands of the dictator and his subordinates.

But while the communists have altogether done away with capitalism in the interests of the common people, or proletariat, the fascists wish merely to restrain it. The profit motive still exists. Both Germany and Italy brought Big Business more and

more under the control of the state, but they by no means abolished it. In Italy a number of the large industries were state-owned, and the large fortunes were taxed almost out of existence. The wealthy people as a class were deeply dissatisfied. But in spite of a great deal of regulation, private property existed, and the profit motive was still recognized as controlling business. This was also true in Germany, where the National Socialists—or Nazis (nă'tsē)—seized the power and for some years ruled the country under their dictator, Adolf Hitler.



This is what is likely to happen when people are unwilling to abide by democratic processes. These savage fighters are engaged in a terrible civil war, in which the armies representing the legal democratic government are fighting to defend it against a fascist uprising.

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Both Italian and German fascists declared they were working to abolish class distinctions, though they believed there would always be distinctions of merit. They said it was their ideal to have a "society of workers," in which no one should be idle and labor should be recognized for its true dignity and worth. They believed that modern economic problems could not be handled by democratic methods, and were unwilling to let considerations of "liberty"—or of any other political ideal—stand in the way of their plans to better the condition of the masses.

The Death of Freedom

The result was a high degree of repression. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly—all "civil liberties," such as are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in our own constitution—were entirely destroyed. What we, in a democracy, think of as "freedom" was gone. In this respect fascism and communism are alike. And it is interesting that these powerful dictatorships have so far come into existence only in countries that never were thoroughly trained—or perhaps never were trained at all—in democratic forms of government. Fascist peoples are peoples who never learned to be free.

Now all these are matters which concern the people inside the fascist state. To people outside it the most important thing about fascism is the fact that fascist dictators are exceedingly eager to push out the boundaries of their countries and to increase the national power. They want to build up an empire like Alexander's or Julius Caesar's or Napoleon's. In other words they are committed to war.

What Communists Think of War

In this they are different from the communists, who say they would do away with political boundaries and national jealousies, and would unite all the people of the world in a classless society in which the world's valuable resources—what we call "raw materials"—could be had by everybody on equal terms. As we have said above, they regard

war and national aggrandizement as products of the capitalist system and, in theory at least, will fight only if they have to defend themselves against the encroachments of capitalist nations. In practice, however, the Russian communists have shown themselves determined to rule all other communists.

Because the fascist nations had their dream of national power, they devoted themselves to building up tremendous war machines and putting themselves on a firm fighting basis. It was part of what we call their intense "nationalism"—that is, of their desire to develop the *nation* as a strong and aggressive force. Italy wanted to restore the old Roman empire, and Hitler planned a world empire in which he would rule Europe, part of Asia, and the whole of the New World, including the United States. He said that he must have the rich wheatfields of the Ukraine, in Russia. It will be easy to see why Russia did not relish such a statement as that. Mussolini, in turn, said that Italy must control the Mediterranean—a direct threat to the interests of France and England, who use the inland sea as a path leading to their colonial empires. Mussolini wanted to add Northern Africa to the Italian possessions. Hitler wanted to bring all people of German race within the boundaries of Germany. For to the idea of the nation as a strong power, Hitler added the idea of a powerful and unified German race, or "folk." This led him to persecute the Jews with terrible bitterness. We have told that story on other pages.

The "Haves" against the "Have Nots"

In order to advance their ends both Italy and Germany aided the fascist uprising in Spain against the Spanish government. And Russia, afraid of the spread of fascism, came to the aid of the government. Both Italy and Germany worked hard to further the cause of fascism in other countries, so as to have as many allies as possible when war came. It was the democratic nations that stood chiefly in their way, for those were the nations that had the great supplies of raw materials that Italy and Germany—and other fascist states—felt they must have if

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they were to prosper. For this reason some people feel that the world will never have peace until the valuable resources of the earth—coal, iron, oil, metals, and so on—are regulated in such a way that all the nations in the world can have them on equal terms.

As fascism is worked out in different countries certain differences arise. Mussolini, for instance, worked hand in hand with the Catholic church, while Hitler carried on more or less open warfare with both the Catholics and Protestants. On the other hand, it was clear from many of Mussolini's statements that if the church—or any other institution—were to run counter to what he felt were the best interests of the Italian state and the fascist dictatorship, he would feel it his duty to restrict the church's freedom. But the fascists in Italy and Germany were not enemies of all religion, as the Russian communists are.

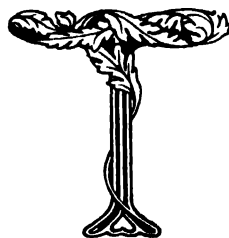
What Shapes the Course of History?

In fact one of the differences between fascism and communism lies in the fact that Marxism explains history in terms of economic forces; it teaches that at bottom the real causes for the rise and fall of classes and of peoples are all "materialistic"—that is, they have to do with a people's access to food and other raw materials and with its ability to trade. This belief we know as "economic determinism." Because the communists hold to it—and because the Russian church was opposed to the revolution—they at first tried to uproot religion from the hearts of the people. Lately they have, it is true, given people freedom to worship as they please, and have had the loyal support of the Russian church ever since they began to use it as a tool. The fascists, on the

other hand, are not "materialists." They think that ideals and beliefs are of even greater importance than economic forces in shaping the course of history.

Fascists and communists hate each other bitterly. The communists think of fascism as just another form of capitalism, and feel that the wealthy, when they saw capitalism breaking down, took this way to keep their power and property, while they hoodwinked the common people. The democracies fear both fascism and communism because both would destroy democratic forms of government and do away with the liberties that free peoples have worked so long to gain. Every democracy hopes to bring about any necessary change by using only peaceful, democratic processes. For it is our fervent belief that only in that way can change be sound and permanent. To us, that way alone is the way of progress.

The question as to whether we should work to change capitalism, the system we now have, for some other system, or whether capitalism can be rebuilt or corrected so that its main evils can be cured, is the fundamental question of our time. It is so complicated and difficult a question that it is very unwise to be sure there is an easy answer. This does not mean that we should all sit and do nothing about it. It does mean that whatever we do we should continue to study the question and be prepared to change our minds. This is one reason why the story of economics, unlike many stories, cannot come to an end and leave us with the feeling that it is all over. It can tell us how things were done in the past and how things are done to-day. It can show how the system we now have grew out of the systems of the past. And this idea of growing is a good one for the end of the story.



The STORY of ECONOMICS

Reading Unit

No. 5

THE RISE OF THE LABOR UNIONS

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

Interesting Facts Explained

How labor unions were at first held illegal, 7-558-59
Shocking conditions resulting from the Industrial Revolution, 7-558-59
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The National Labor Union is founded in 1866, 7-560-61
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"Industrial" union, the new idea in organized labor, 7-562-63
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How the union helps workers to strike, 7-563
The difference between an "open" and a "closed shop," 7-563

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Related Material

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The famous Pullman strike, 7-287

Leisure-time Activities

PROJECT NO. 1: Read Dickens' "Hard Times."

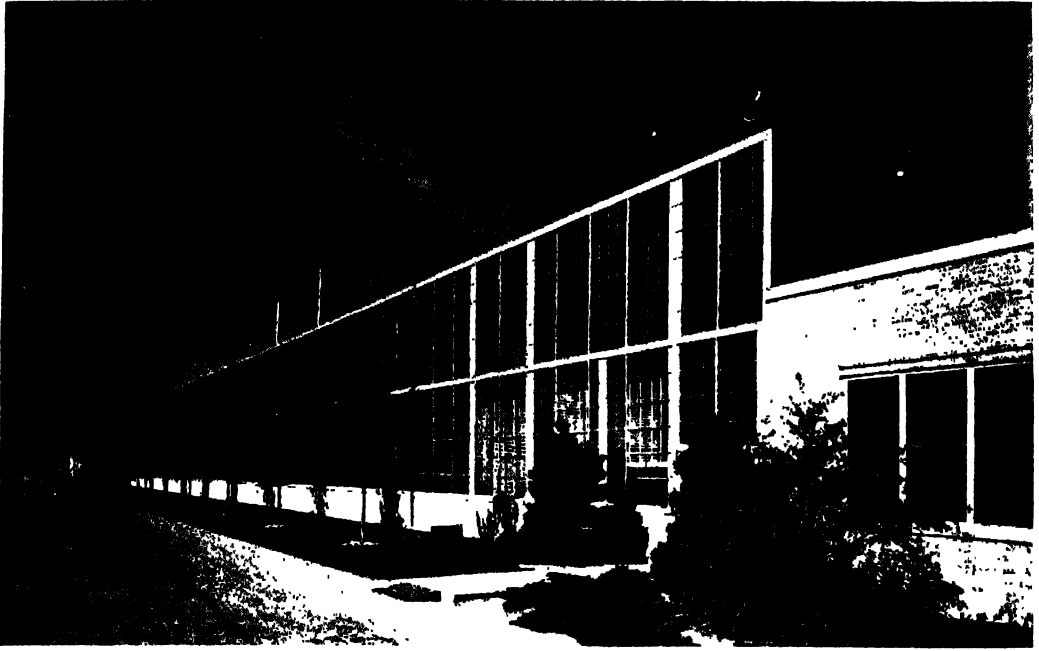
PROJECT NO. 2: Read Galsworthy's "Strife."

Summary Statement

Labor unions are organizations of workers to secure better wages and working conditions by bargaining with employers and stopping work, or "striking," if necessary. Unions developed more slowly in America than in England. In order to strengthen their organization, labor leaders

have made many attempts to form one big union of all workers. The "C.I.O." wishes to organize in a single union all workers in one industry. The American Federation of Labor does not support this idea. Strikes may dislocate industry seriously. Labor conditions are still unsettled.

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Courtesy Toledo Scale Company, Toledo Ohio

This modern factory is a thing of beauty as well as of use—worlds away from the old unsightly heaps of brick or metal that were once thought good enough for industry. Here workers have the advantage of plenty of natural light. The heavy labor of moving sheets of

metal or large metal parts is done by machinery. The United States is dotted with factories. They represent an investment of billions of dollars in capital, and to those who work in them they represent life itself for millions of families.

The RISE of the LABOR UNIONS

Here You May Read the History of One of the Major Forces in Our National Life To-day

AT BOTTOM the forces at work in human affairs probably do not change so much as we think, but the forms those forces take do change a great deal from century to century. "Movements" rise, play their part in history, and give place to other "movements." It is usually a struggle between the same old conflicting forces, but the terms about which they are fighting will change from age to age.

Of late the world has seen the rise of the "labor movement"—the growing power of organizations of workers who demand higher wages and better working conditions. It has spread through all the civilized countries and is one of the most important forces in the world to-day. It will probably continue to be so for many years to come. In our story of economics we have told a little about the reasons why workers organize.

Here we shall talk about the history of the movement.

There are several kinds of organizations of workers, but, as you will see, all of them spring from the same causes. When workmen first began to form societies or clubs to try to improve their condition, it was said that such organizations were wrong, that they were immoral, unpatriotic, and illegal. Nowadays such organizations are a normal part of the business world.

We have seen the effects that the development of machinery has had on our lives in many different ways. Of course one of the most startling results of the growth of machines was the change they made in the work there is to be done. Before machines grew common, almost all work had some variety about it and might be interesting to someone. Besides the good things the machines have

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done, they have made a great deal of the work of the world very uninteresting to those who have to do it. The more the machines are used, the greater is the tendency of the factory owners to treat the man who runs a machine as if he were a part of it.

People have had to work exceedingly long hours and under very bad conditions. Women and children were employed wherever they were able to do the work as well as men, because it was usually possible to pay them a little less. There were usually more than enough workers to do all the work there was, so it was possible for factory owners to force the price of work—we call it “wages”—down to the very lowest point that would support human life. Competition, of which we have spoken elsewhere, works just as well among workmen as it does among merchants.

What Was “the Iron Law of Wages”?

Before the rise of factories and the ways of organizing production which came with factories, most men did much of their own work, and the idea, which is still common, that anyone who does not work is lazy, was in most cases true. But to say that a workman who lives in a factory town, and has never learned to do any but the work of his factory, is lazy if he does not work when the factory will not hire him, is cruel and unjust. A hundred years ago there were plenty of respectable and worthy citizens who believed that any workman who did not work deserved no pity, whatever may have been his circumstances. There was common belief in what economists of those times called “the iron law of wages”—that wages always tend to sink to the level that will barely keep the worker alive. When owners and business men believed in such a theory, they naturally felt no guilt or uneasiness at paying the very least that they could get men to work for.

The First Organizations of Workers

There had been organizations of workers of one kind or another for hundreds of years, reaching back to guilds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, but the organizations that began to spring up as soon as the factory system became common were different from any that had gone before, and were in general

like the unions of the present day. It was very natural that men struggling under the difficulties that beset the workers of a century ago should meet together and try to find a way of helping themselves. Yet when little groups in England did meet, often without much notion of what they could do—and usually they were pitifully ignorant and helpless people—they were treated as conspirators rather than as members of clubs.

Early American Societies

In this country workers began to form clubs or societies soon after the Revolution. The members of one trade in a city would join together to try to discuss wages as groups rather than as individuals. As such groups became more powerful the owners and employers with whom they had to deal did all they could to hinder the societies. Labor organizations did not keep pace with other developments in the country. During the whole century there was steady growth in the size of factories and in the complexity of men's scheme of working together. But unions did not increase in power as fast as the other parts of the system. They are still catching up. They were for a long time under several handicaps that do not exist now. The most serious was the fact that more workers kept coming to this country from Europe. Especially in the kinds of work which did not need special skill it was very hard for a union to bargain with an employer if, whenever there was a strike, he was able to hire a new lot of workers just off a boat. In some cases employers even sent agents to Europe especially to round up workers to replace strikers. This kind of thing was finally forbidden by law after the various workers' organizations had agitated for such a law for years. But the supply of new workers coming into the country has never seemed so fine to labor organizations as it did to other people who were glad to see our country a haven for men and women who were being persecuted.

Another thing that made difficulties for the men who tried to form labor organizations was also the wrong side of a situation that was from other points of view good. This country was still expanding; people were

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Photo by Sothelman Syndicate

These marchers are on strike. In a closely packed procession they tramp back and forth in the rain in front of their place of employment. In their hands

they carry placards protesting against the dismissal of certain of their number. Mounted policemen are standing guard to prevent any disorder.

moving out into the West and settling on free land. Opportunities of all kinds were open to men of energy. The result was that the most intelligent and energetic men kept going into business of their own or starting off for the West. If they did not do that, they at least believed so strongly in individual effort that they did not feel much interest in unions.

As the country became more and more industrialized (in-dūs'trī-āl-īzd)—that is, as it came to depend more and more on the scheme of working together which came with the Industrial Revolution—the problems of working people became, as we have said, more and more pressing. Attempts were made to form a workers' organization which would cover the whole country. One of the first to be formed was the National Labor Union, which was started in 1866. It ran into the question that had plagued all efforts to organize workers before, and is still a subject of disagreement. Should workers' organizations strive for the simple practical ends of higher wages and better working conditions, or should they work toward changes in the economic system?

You can see that this question would make quite a difference in the methods an organization followed. If workers are seeking higher wages they have to deal with employers as any other business men would, discussing problems sensibly and not demanding more than they can reasonably expect to get. Their relations with employers must be one of understanding based on the assumption that the economic system is all right for both workers and owners. On the other hand, if the leaders of workers' organizations believe that our present way of working together, which is called capitalism, is hopelessly out of joint—and we shall see that many people do think exactly that—they will look upon the capitalists, or owners, as enemies against whom they must fight a perpetual war until the working people can get complete control of things. In such a case a labor organization will be organized for political action as well as for dealing with employers. It will be partly a bargaining group and partly a political party. Of course labor organizations can take a part in politics without wanting to do away with capitalism. Then they will merely be working for laws that

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Photo by Seibelman Syndicate

Nine hundred men and three hundred women are carrying on a "sit-down" strike in this Indiana factory.

As you see, their relatives and friends bring them food and other necessities—and good cheer as well.

will protect their interests under the present system.

There have been three big attempts to get all the workers of the country organized into one national institution. They have all taken the form of federations—that is, of a society of societies. The first was called the National Labor Union; it was formed in 1866 and lasted less than ten years. Its great trouble was that its leaders could not decide on the question of the tactics to be pursued. The next attempt at a national organization had the grand title, Noble Order of the Knights of Labor. It began (1869) as a secret society but gave up that idea after a few years. It made a great effort to get every kind of worker into it, from the humblest to the most skilled. It tried to work for the general betterment of labor in both the political and economic fields, and for some years it was very successful. But to it were admitted people with such a wide variety of opinions that it could not last very long.

In 1881 an official of a cigar-makers' union, a man named Samuel Gompers, began with several associates to take steps that led to the founding in 1886 of the American Federation

of Labor. This was a combination of most of the various craft unions in the country. A craft union is an association of people who are skilled in the same thing, and it is of this type that most unions have been. You can easily imagine what the various unions are—carpenters, plumbers, typesetters, teamsters, and so on. Each union usually consists of a number of local organizations bound together in a national or international organization. The American Federation of Labor is a "federation" of a great number of unions, just as the United States is a federation of a great number of states. Gompers became its first president, and except for one year, he remained in that position until he died in 1924. The federation can be said to be his creation. He decided on one of the two policies mentioned above and held to it all his life. He had been interested in socialism as a young man, but he decided that the labor organization he headed should have nothing to do with any proposals to change the economic system. He thought it should work for the best interests of labor under the present system, and that is what it did. This brought him bitter criticism from the people who

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Photo by Sobelman Syndicate

A strike is sometimes a grim affair. Feeling is likely to run high, and violence is often the result. Here a

gas bomb has been thrown into a group of workers outside a factory where a strike is going on.

thought that a labor organization was no good unless it had as its principal, underlying aim the creation of a world in which labor would have more power than it has in the present one. But Gompers clung to his idea, and even those who did not agree with him gave him credit for his achievement.

There have always been some unions that did not join the American Federation of Labor. Some, like the unions of railroad workers, formed a national group of their own and felt no need of joining any other. Others did not agree at all with the conservative principles of the American Federation of Labor. One of the most famous of these was the Industrial Workers of the World, which began in the mining camps of the West. Though it was active in the West, it never really got much of a foothold in the eastern part of the country. Under the initials I.W.W., which were often jokingly said to mean, "I won't work," this organization took into membership the less skilled classes of workers rather than the more skilled people who made up the majority of the unions of

the American Federation of Labor. To the slogan, "One Big Union," they joined a belief in revolution and a better world run by and for workers. They thought that anything was fair to get the results they wanted, even the destruction of machinery in factories during strikes. Of course such ideas made them violently hated by everyone who did not agree with them. In the early 1920's the I.W.W., with other groups who had preached violence, were the victims of much persecution from people who forgot or did not understand the principles of our government and so tried to meet lawlessness with lawlessness, instead of submitting their grievances to the courts. These unions soon lost strength.

Since that time a new idea about organization has arisen. It is of great importance to the labor movement. This is the idea of the "industrial union" as contrasted with the "craft union." In our days of large companies operating large factories in which many thousands of men and women work, the trade or craft union is at a certain disadvantage. It is easier to bargain with the managers of

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a large factory if the workers of that factory all belong to the same union, instead of belonging to many unions according to their trade. About 1933 the movement in this country to organize workers by industries began to gather strength. A great struggle in the American Federation of Labor began, for many disapproved taking such a radical step. Eventually it caused an unfortunate split in the labor movement.

What Is an "Industrial Union"?

An industrial union, as the name indicates, is a union which includes all the people who work in a certain industry, whether they are steam fitters or bookbinders. If such a union exists it is in a much better position to bargain with a company. If it chooses, and all the members obey the call for a strike, it can stop any factory completely. Whereas if the electricians in that factory wished to get better wages they might strike all by themselves but the factory could probably run for some time without them. In spite of these advantages, believers in industrial unions, organized by John L. Lewis in 1936 into what is now the Congress of Industrial Organizations, have not succeeded in converting the American Federation of Labor to their principle. For there is much to be said on the other side. In dealing with smaller companies or individual employers the trade unions still have an advantage. And it is much easier to keep most workers interested in a union of men who all follow the same occupation.

After the First World War there was a rapid growth in what is known as the "company union." This kind of organization is promoted by the employer, and has no relationship with a national organization. It contains as members the workers in a single factory or group of related factories, and is a means whereby the employees can make their grievances known to the employer or make suggestions as to the management of the plant.

In its struggle for better wages and better working conditions organized labor has made free use of the "strike"—that is, it has frequently happened that the workers in a given factory or a given craft have decided to stop work in a body and have refused to

go back to work until some or all of their demands were met. When workers take this step they are said to be "on strike." If they belong to a national organization they can get financial help from it, and can rely upon it to come to their assistance in a number of other ways.

An establishment that is "struck" is likely to be "picketed" by the men who are on strike—that is, representatives of the workers are posted around the plant to see who goes in to work in the places of the regular employees. A man who takes a job in a plant that is struck is called a "scab"; if he makes it a career to take such jobs he is called a strikebreaker, or "fink." Of course the pickets try hard to persuade other workmen—and the public as well—to have nothing to do with the business organization that is being struck.

The employer's weapon against the strike is the "lockout," a term which explains itself. A plant will lock out dissatisfied workers, or will lock out a whole body of workers by way of bringing pressure to bear on a smaller group that is causing friction.

Open Shop vs. Closed Shop

A business organization that employs only union members is said to be a "closed shop." One that employs non-union men is an "open shop." The distinction is a very old one, for it goes back to the Middle Ages. Organized labor of course tries to promote the idea of the closed shop, and employers usually resist it.

For a time a new form of strike, called the "sit-down" or "sit-in," was very widely practiced. In such a strike the workers do not leave the premises on which they are employed, but they cease to work until the negotiations are over. In this way they prevent non-union workers from taking over their jobs.

In an effort to help labor the New Deal passed laws guaranteeing the right to strike and fixing a minimum wage and a forty-hour week. The National Labor Relations Board settled labor disputes—and during the war, the War Labor Board. Moreover, the government set (1942) "ceilings"—or upper limits—for both wages and prices.

***The* STORY of ECONOMICS**

Reading Unit No. 6

A WORLD BOUND UP WITH STRANDS OF TRADE

Note: For basic information not found on this page, consult the general Index, Vol. 15.

For statistical and current facts, consult the Richards Year Book Index.

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Leisure-time Activities

PROJECT NO. 1: If you live near a seaport, go to the docks and watch the goods being loaded and unloaded. See how many

foreign articles you can find. If you live inland, collect pictures of some of the world's great ports.

Summary Statement

Ever since the Industrial Revolution, the world has been joined by strands of trade, increased and tightened by mass production and rapid transportation. We depend for our clothes and

food on the work of people all over the world. Trade makes bitter rivalries, and only coöperation can bring peace and prosperity. We are all sick or well together.

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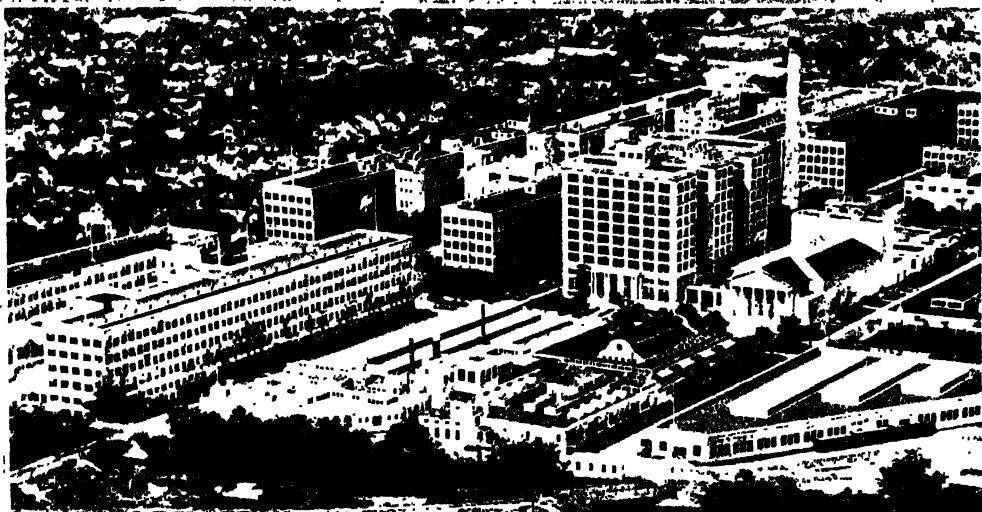


Photo by the National Cash Register Company

This great factory in busy operation at Dayton, Ohio, ships its products all over the world, and so its prosperity depends on economic stability everywhere. But that is not all. Often the raw materials that a factory uses are not to be found in this country. They must

be imported from foreign lands, and if the flow of supplies is stopped, the factory is likely to be in a bad way. And all this is true in spite of the fact that the United States, since it has vast natural resources, is one of the most self-sufficient of countries.

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Though You May Live in Chicago and I in Hongkong, We Cannot Escape Being Neighbors and Sharing Each Other's Prosperity and Happiness. For East and West, North and South, High and Low, Rich and Poor, Are All Bound Together with the Strands of Trade

FROM a time thousands of years ago when men lived in caves like animals, getting just enough food to avoid starvation, all history has been a record of the fact that men were learning more and more to work together. You may read all about it in our story of economics. Up to a little more than a hundred years ago this working together was chiefly a matter of dividing up the making of different things, so that men who had the ability and taste for making one sort of thing were kept busy at that, and traded their products for those of other men who made other things. Some made shoes and some made bread. To some extent this was true of countries as well as men. Countries that could grow coffee and bananas traded with countries that grew

wheat, so that people in both countries could have both. It took many thousands of years for men to make even that much progress toward what seems a simple, common-sense arrangement.

Then toward the beginning of the last century there began to appear a new reason for working together, or rather a new way of working together. At that time began what is usually known as the Industrial Revolution. By a series of inventions of machines the world was made a very different place to live in. There were inventions to supply power and inventions to use the power. The steam engine supplied power that was formerly supplied by muscles of men and beasts. The loom and the cotton gin did things with that power that had formerly been done by hand.

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As more and more such inventions came into use a new way of dividing up the work of the world came about. It soon was taken for granted that no one could make such a thing as a shoe! To do that took several people, each doing a different part of the job—or, in many cases, tending a machine that did a different part of the job. The more kinds of machines there were, the more the process of making a thing was divided among several people, until now, as we all know, nothing is made by one person alone and most things are handled by hundreds of people before they reach the persons who use them.

The Second Industrial Revolution

It is a terribly complicated scheme, and seems to be growing more and more complicated all the time. For with the spread of "mass production," the whole nation has come to be like a vast machine with thousands of delicate parts which must be kept running smoothly. We all can see fairly well that we depend upon the people in our own community. The farmers in the country round must buy of the merchants in town; and without their patronage the pretty towns and villages that dot our land would fall into swift decay. Merchants and banks would fail and doctors and lawyers would have to move away. When people in town could no longer pay taxes, schools would have to be closed, and gradually our whole civilization would slip backward in the scale of progress. The same thing, of course, would happen if factories had to close down in all our manufacturing towns. But the towns are only cogs in the great wheels of our national life. Mass production has made the whole nation into a single fabric. A single rent weakens the whole. So great is the change brought about by mass production that people sometimes refer to it as the Second Industrial Revolution.

What Is "Mass Production"?

Now by "mass production" we mean something quite different from production in large quantities. The term refers to a method of organizing the men and machines in a factory in order to get the most efficient

service from both. Of course this results in the turning out of large quantities of goods—much larger than under the old inefficient factory methods. But it is not the size of the output that makes mass production, it is the way the work is handled.

Modern Factory Marvels

Under mass production each workman, instead of carrying a fairly large piece of work through various steps, takes care of only one small part of the process. For instance he may do nothing but tighten one small bolt on a wheel. Everything that can possibly be done by machinery is left to the machines, with the result that the output of a factory is highly "standardized"—that is, thousands upon thousands of copies of a given article, such as an automobile, will be turned out all precisely alike, with every part exactly like the corresponding part in every other example of the article which the factory is making. That is why, if you break the axle of your automobile, you can always get a new one that will fit perfectly—and can find it anywhere between New York and San Francisco, or in London, Capetown, Calcutta, or Shanghai. Naturally there would be much more variation if the parts were made by thousands of different pairs of human hands. As a matter of fact, work has become so highly specialized that often a whole factory will be set to making only a single part of the finished automobile.

In a factory organized for mass production the work is brought to the workman. Much of it passes along on conveyors, and he does his little job as it goes by. This in itself is a tremendous saving of time and energy. Such a flowing stream of activity—it is called "the line"—can assemble the parts of an automobile in an amazingly short time, and perform marvels of perfect construction. And most of all, it is so efficient that it can produce a given article at a fraction of the cost necessary under old-fashioned methods of manufacture. Every ingenious machine and every highly skilled workman is busy every moment of the day. That is why automobiles are so much cheaper to-day than they were in 1900. They were the first articles to be turned out in this way.

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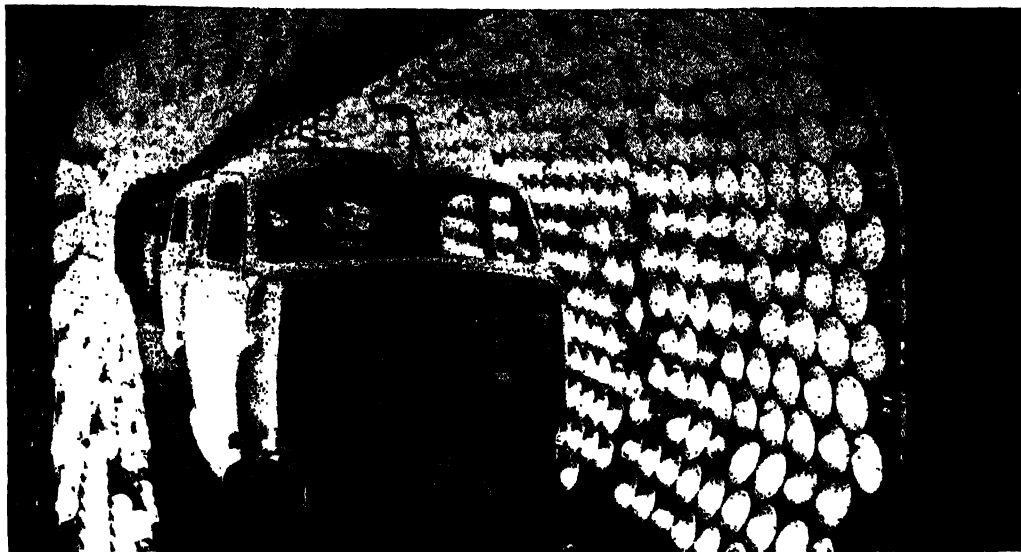


Photo by Gates from Frederic Lewis

Mass production furnishes some amazing sights and astonishing processes. As these automobile bodies move along the assembly line in one of our big facto-

ries they pass through an infra-red tunnel where, in no time at all, their paint is dried by thousands of especially constructed lamps.

Of course such labor tends to grow pretty monotonous for a good many of the workmen, but a good factory moves its men about from job to job to avoid this. For a bored or discontented workman is certain to become an inefficient one, no matter how hard he may try to keep his mind on his work and a single inefficient workman can spoil the whole product of "the line."

What Is "Mass Consumption"?

Mass production has brought not only new methods of manufacture. It has called for new methods of getting the goods on the market—of what we know as "merchandising." For of course mass production would soon wreck industry if the goods could not be sold; there must be "mass consumption" as well. The lowered price at the factory helps make it possible to sell a great many more of the shining automobiles that come "off the line" at the rate of one a minute, but convincing advertising, inexpensive shipment, skillful selling methods, all count heavily in keeping the price down and in persuading people to buy. The wages of the workman at the machine depend upon the skill of the advertising manager and the efficiency of the board of directors.

And perhaps most important of all is what we know as "distribution of purchasing power." Unless there are vast numbers of people who have enough money to pay for an automobile, it is no use making one for them. They won't be able to buy it. That is why mass production is giving our twentieth-century economists so many knotty problems. In this new world in which we are living, just about everyone must have money or everyone goes to the wall. So the problems of adjusting wages, prices, taxes, dividends, and the size of the factory output are puzzling the wisest minds. It was lack of wisdom in these matters that helped bring on our terrible economic depression of the early 1930's. It will bring on another depression unless we can learn to manage things better than we have done in the past. In other words one of the most important things about mass production is that it has made us all dependent on one another. It is this fact of interdependence that we are going to talk about a bit now.

On How Many People Do You Depend?

There are a good many ways in which people are interdependent. In the first place—and probably most important—all

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Photo by the New York Central Lines

This train, a solid line of refrigerator cars, is headed north with a load of Florida oranges. It is one of the many delicate strands that bind our country together into a single whole. As a result of them, the pros-

perity of people in some far-off state may affect you more vitally than the prosperity of people in the next township. We can no longer tell who our neighbors are. In fact, we must "take the world for our parish."

the things we eat and wear are worked on or handled by many people. And all these people are important. A boy who lives in Minnesota and eats oranges grown in Florida or California is just as dependent on the trainmen who ran the train bringing the oranges to him as he is on the workers who picked them from the trees.

How Many People to Bring You an Orange?

It would be interesting to trace *all* the individuals whose work contributed to putting an orange in the hands of a Northern boy. We could start with the owner of the tree on which it grew, although we shall see that there are others equally important. Our fruit grower may own a grove of orange trees all by himself or he may have formed a company for the purpose of producing oranges, just as people set up companies for other businesses. "He" may be a corporation whose stock is owned by hundreds or thousands of people, each of whom can be truthfully said to have something to do with the orange in question. Even the holders of bonds, if the corporation has had occasion to borrow money, are partly responsible. If it was a large fruit farm, and the likelihood is that it was, then there was a great crew of workers each of whom, whether he handled that particular orange or not, had done some of the work on the farm and thus had contributed to the creation of all of the oranges grown there. It is likely that a great many people were concerned with this orange before it even left the farm.

After that, an enormous number of people had a part in getting the orange to the boy in Minnesota. For example, all the owners and employees of the railroad must be included, because the train could not be run without them. You may say that in the case of just one orange it would be perfectly easy for a man to put it in his pocket and bring it across the country. But if the only oranges to be seen in Minnesota were the ones that came in the pockets of travelers who just happened to be coming anyway, oranges would be great curiosities there and would not be fed to ordinary little boys. In other words, for oranges, which are grown only in warm climates, to be everyday food of people in northern regions it is not only necessary to have oranges grown in one place and trains running to another place; it is necessary to have a vast system created especially to handle oranges—refrigerator cars, special packing plants, warehouses, and such.

Every Man Must Have His Profit

The most important part of the system is that it shall consist entirely of people who are getting paid for their work. To have oranges shipped all the time, it is necessary to make it profitable to operate the whole system. So you see that in addition to the fact that the boy in Minnesota is dependent on a great many people for his oranges, it is equally true that all those people, or most of them, are dependent on the Minnesota boy and the thousands of other northern people who eat oranges—dependent, many

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of them, for their living. You can easily see what will happen to people in Florida if the people of Minnesota cannot make enough money to buy oranges.

Farmer and Factory Worker

Of course our orange is just one illustration. Let us say that you work in a cotton mill in New England. It may be that you tend one of the whirring machines, or you may work in the offices or drive a delivery truck.

You may even be president of the company. Everything seems

to be going nicely until a bad year comes along for the cotton farmers down in Georgia and Alabama. The boll weevil destroys their crop, and the price of cotton soars so high that your mill cannot sell its goods at the price it must charge if it is to make both ends meet. It has to lay off some of its men and some of its office force. It cannot meet certain financial obligations, and finally it fails. Then its whole force, including the president, will have to look about for other work. Yet up to this time it never occurred to you that your fate and that of the Southern cotton farmers were all bound together. Or it may be that you work in one of the big clothing factories in New York City. You have never taken much interest in the farms in Iowa. You have always known that Iowa was a beautiful state, but farming is not in your line, and you have always thought that if you could travel, you would rather go to Florida and see what a warmer climate was like. But your factory has been losing trade of late and your wages have been reduced again, so you think it may be a long time before you can take even a short trip.

One day you are told regretfully that you need not return to work. The factory is

having to lay off about a third of its men. It has always made men's overcoats, and your sales department had worked up a good trade out in the Middle West. Lately it has seen its orders dwindle rapidly, for the Iowa farmers have been hard hit by falling prices for their produce. Some of them have seen their farms sold to their creditors to pay their debts. Naturally, they are not buying new overcoats. They make the old ones do.

And strangely enough, the Iowa farmers are dependent upon you just as you are dependent upon them. The first time your

pay was cut, you moved into the same house with your brother. The real estate agent you had been renting from regretted your change, for it meant that the house had to stand empty. Both he and the owner missed the income. Your banker regretted it too, for you had always kept a small account in his bank and now you had to close it. Several hundred other men in your situation had been obliged to do the same thing, and he was greatly worried. The accounts had never been large, but they had been steady. Now he was afraid that his bank would fail.

The next time your pay was reduced, you decided not to get any new shoes until after the first of the year, but to have your old pair patched. The shoes that you and your fellow workers could not afford to buy would have helped out the shoe factory in St. Louis a good deal, if it only could have sold them. As it was, it had to cut down its production and bought fewer of the hides that the Iowa farmer raised.

Who Buys the Farmer's Meat?

When you were laid off entirely, your wife decided that you would all have to go without meat until you could get another job. Now



Photo by Keystone Photo Service

What will you give me for my oranges? The boy in the picture lives in a warm land where there are oranges in the trees even in December. But no one can live on oranges alone, and so he hopes to exchange his crop for other kinds of foods, for clothes, and for many things not produced in the region where he lives.

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Photo by the French Line

The "Normandie" was one of the largest and fastest of the liners plying between Europe and America before World War II. She carried very little freight,

for most of the bulky goods sold back and forth across the ocean is sent on slower ships, which are much cheaper to build and to operate.

the farmer in Iowa had relied on you and all your fellow workers to buy the beef and pork that he had raised. When the factories in New York began to lay off their men, it was a heavy blow to him. For a farmer must sell his goods to the people who work in cities and cannot raise food for themselves. When the wages of factory workers fall off, the farmer feels it sorely.

Are You a Consumer or a Producer?

Now you will not need to think long to discover a dozen cases like the ones we have mentioned. They will all illustrate ways in which people are interdependent. The people who eat and use things—whom we call "consumers"—are dependent on the people who make those things—we call them the "producers." And the people who make the things are dependent on the consumers who buy them. Of course we must remember that when we talk about consumers and producers we are not dividing the country into two groups. Everyone alive is a consumer. And everyone who works is a producer. But to understand our system a little better we sometimes speak of consumers and sometimes of producers. It helps to make the world a little clearer as long as we do not forget that they are for the most part the same people. The only consumers who are not also producers are young people who have not yet begun to work, old people who have stopped working, people who are ill or

crippled or otherwise incapable of work, and people who have retired and are rich enough to live on their income from investments.

Why a Trade Must Benefit Both Parties

Before our system of working together came into being, it would have been absurd to say that the producers were dependent on the consumers. Each family produced for itself nearly everything it consumed, and it was perfectly evident that everyone who wished to eat and have clothing had to help in making things to eat and to wear. But it would be meaningless to say that using those things was any benefit to those who made them. However, as soon as the present scheme of working together began to grow as soon as people began to use money as a device by which one man could bake bread while a second was making shoes, a third plowing, and others doing still other things—then it became important that the bargain worked both ways. A baker could not get money to buy all the things he needed besides bread unless people bought his bread. It seems too plain to be worth saying, yet many people do not seem to realize the full meaning of the statement that a trade must benefit both parties to it. This does not become any less true if the trade is conducted through the medium of money. The person who buys bread needs the bread and the person who sells it needs just as badly the other things he will buy with the money he gets. The

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bargain made is just as important to him as it is to the buyer.

And what we have said of the interdependence of persons is equally true of nations. Year in, year out, in storm and shine, the good gray ships go back and forth carrying the trade of the world. Those of us who live safely on dry land, perhaps two thousand miles inland, find it hard to realize that the prosperity of our nation, and our own comfort besides, depend on our country's ability to trade across the sea. If we could not exchange our wares for the goods of other lands, factories would have to close, millions would be thrown out of work, and we should be robbed of countless things we have come to depend on. Our whole prosperity would decay. But while our merchants can go up and down on that great world highway which is the ocean, we can command the best that mankind has to offer and shall be able to enjoy all the blessings of civilization.

The Bitter Rivalries of Trade

Of course trade among nations is nothing new in the story of mankind. On other pages we have told of its long history and of the wars nations have fought in order that their citizens might control a profitable market. For trade is wealth, and wealth is national power and therefore yet wider trade. The struggle still goes on to-day, with weapons that grow ever more cruel and rivalries that are ever more bitter. Greece and Persia, Rome and Carthage, Spain and England fought it out for commercial supremacy; and it is for the same purpose that nations often fight today. Trade has been man's principal means of spreading civilization. But unless he can learn to live and let live—to carry on his trade in a spirit of fairness—the struggle for supremacy may wipe out civilization itself, and we may find ourselves back in the Dark Ages once more. The rules that govern trade are exceedingly important for the peace and welfare of the world.

The Real Reason for World Trade

Now why is it that men must trade abroad, and why are they not contented with what they have at home? The real reason for

trade is the fact that in this big world of ours climates and nations and races are very different. That difference results in a great variety of products; and it is those strange and varied products that people want to exchange. For of course trade is nothing more than an exchange of goods; I give you something that I have in fair abundance in exchange for something that you have in fair abundance but which I do not have at all. Both of us have a richer life as a result.

Everything that man exchanges falls into half a dozen large classes, and in all the world there is practically no tribe so backward that it does not use goods in all these classes. All peoples need food, fuel, shelter, clothing, luxuries of one kind or another, and tools, with materials to use them on. The savage needs very few of these goods; the civilized man wants a great many. And for that reason the civilized man ransacks every corner of the globe to get what he wants. In return he gives to the South Sea Islander or the Eskimo of the Arctic marvels of manufacture which those simple souls could never hope to make for themselves.

Right here, then, we have all the differences that lead to trade. It takes place, for one thing, among peoples living in different climates, because one climate is certain to produce things which another climate has not. The tropics, for instance, have rubber, while the temperate zones have wheat.

Why the City Trades with the Country

Then, too, there is trade between peoples that have reached different stages of industrial progress. The herdsman on the Australian plains shears his flocks and sends his wool to factories in crowded cities, where a sheep's bleat is never heard from one year's end to the other. He will get in return all sorts of factory products and other useful articles that his lonely grassland could never furnish him—for factories can exist only where people are crowded together and labor is plentiful.

Besides this, there is trade between peoples of different races and different kinds of cultures. When New York and Chicago manufacture women's clothing their two products will be about alike—no one could

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guess which city the suits or dresses were made in. But the Japanese in Yokohama will make native clothing so different from ours that their handsome kimonos will bring a high price in Chicago or New York. Nearly every country in the world has certain specialties of its own which people want to buy. Italy has embroideries, Belgium has lace, England has woolen goods, France has wine, and the Orient has a host of strange and beautiful wares to delight our Western eyes.

Now any nation that has even a single article that other countries want can enter that great market which we know as world trade. She can sell her product—rubber or furs or wheat or cork or carved ivory elephants—and can get all the countless products of the world in exchange. Her people can buy anything they need, from a ton of coal to a Paris gown. But if she has nothing to sell, she must be content with what she can produce at home. For merchants in other lands are not going to give her something for nothing. If she sends them gold or silver in exchange for their wares, it will have to be metal that she has mined

herself—one of her own products. No other country is going to present her with gold! It will want something desirable in return for so valuable a commodity.

All this will make it plain why nations are engaged in such a wild struggle for trade, and why people are willing even to go to war in order to win markets or to get their hands on resources—coal or iron or valuable wheat lands—that they can use themselves or give in exchange for things they do not produce at home. Just one marketable product in good-sized quantities will set a nation in the full stream of progress. Without it she remains in a backwash, left behind by the rushing current that is bearing mankind along at such amazing speed.

And this same fact will explain why nations will fight to the death in order to own a bit of seacoast. The sea is the great highway of commerce. It is the world's Main Street on which every important buyer and seller must have a frontage. On it you can do business in every corner of the globe. It is a far more important trade highway than railways are; and because it does not have an expensive roadbed to be kept up, travel on it is much cheaper than by rail. Bos-

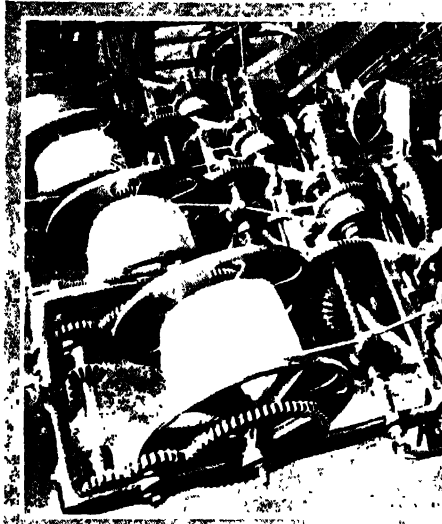


Photo by the Whitlock Cordage Company

The hemp which is being made into rope by this clever machine in the United States first saw the light of day in the Philippines.



by the Government of the Philippine Islands

These men of the Philippine Islands are packing Manila hemp for shipment to the factories of the United States. It is mainly the rough outer fibers of this plant—which grows only in the Philippines—that are used for making rope.

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Photo by the New York Central Line

The inhabitants of the big manufacturing cities of the East would find themselves in a bad way if they were

to be cut off suddenly from the vast granaries and cattle-raising areas of the West.

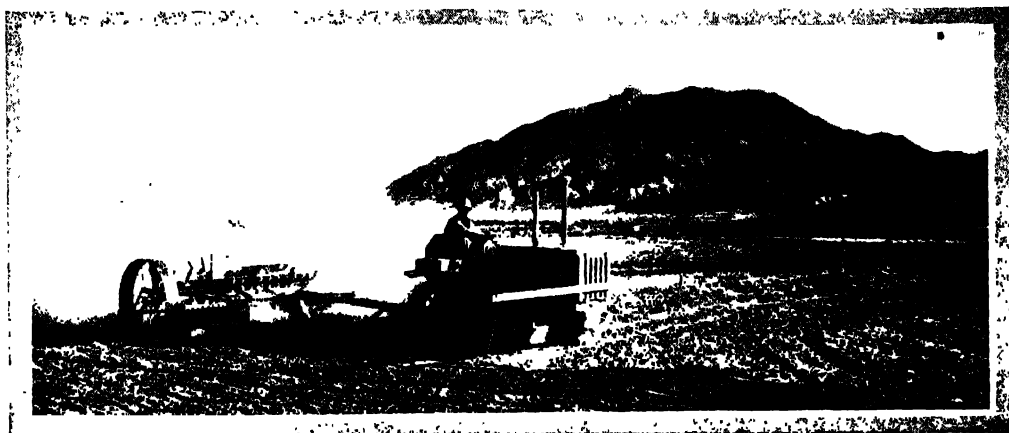


Photo by Caterpillar Tractor Co

This farmer of the West depends on the great industrial centers of the East and Middle West to supply

him with clothes and machinery in exchange for the food that he produces for them.

ton, for instance, can get coal from Archangel, on the northern coast of Russia, as cheaply as she can bring it by rail from Pennsylvania. Because nations long for ocean commerce, they struggle to command a seaport. After World War I Poland was given a "corridor" to the sea even though to do so meant cutting Germany into two parts.

It is only since the coming of the steamship that we have had a world trade in the sense in which we use the term to-day. People have always exchanged their wares, but because sailing vessels were small and slow and the voyage exceedingly perilous, only very valuable things were worth carrying back and forth. Tea and coffee, silks and furs, lumber, spices, and tobacco, with a few

curios and works of art, were the cargoes that filled a ship's hold.

But to-day our ocean giants will carry anything under the sun. The bulk of ocean freight consists of grain, meat, butter, potatoes, apples, oranges, and bananas among the foodstuffs; cotton and wool, skins and hides, cotton cloth, shoes, hats, and ready-made clothing; and iron, steel, rubber, cement, coal and various ores, automobiles and locomotives and every kind of machinery, jute and hemp and other fibers, all a part of the driving industries that go to make up our Machine Age.

In the seventy years between 1850 and 1920 trade among the world's leading countries was multiplied by ten. More than

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30,000 vessels are needed to carry this mighty cargo, and seaports that handle it have grown out of all bounds. Yet world trade is only in its infancy. With the greater improvements that should come in the methods of industry, with the wise development of vast unused regions on the earth's surface, and with better planning in the regions that are already developed, mankind could be rich beyond its wildest dreams.

Can We Learn to Coöperate?

But trade requires coöperation. Whether or not the nations of the earth will have the self-control and intelligence to keep the peace and promote this huge traffic is a terrible question. Unless they learn to curb their greed better than they have done in the past, the wealth of the world will be only a fraction of what it might be, and the life of its inhabitants will be poverty-stricken in comparison with the abundant life they might be able to lead.

At present the heaviest lines of ocean traffic run east and west. That is because, at the present stage in the world's growth, trade is carried on largely between peoples who have reached different stages in their industrial development. The older, more crowded nations of Europe have not room, in many cases, to raise even the food the people must eat. This means that those countries have had to turn to manufactures to support their people. For a factory takes up much less space than a farm does and employs a great many more people. But of course a man at a machine must eat; so foodstuffs are brought in from newer, less crowded lands—and raw materials as well, for a country that has not room enough to raise wheat for its people will hardly be likely to raise much cotton or wool or timber for its machines.

What the New World Has to Sell

Now in general it is the countries of the New World which are less crowded. For that reason they are the ones that raise wheat and corn, hides and wool and much of the meat, lumber and cotton and other raw materials that the countries of Western Europe have to buy. In return they get

back all sorts of manufactured products which many of them cannot make at home.

But as time goes by this east-and-west traffic will grow less and less important. The newer nations are changing too. They are building factories, and as their population grows, they are using more and more of their foodstuffs and raw materials at home. Since the United States, for instance, has become a great manufacturing nation, she buys, in proportion, fewer and fewer manufactured articles from England and Germany and France. And the same thing will happen in Canada and Argentina and Australia.

The growth of mass production tends, in the same way, to wipe out the artistic differences that make for trade between the various races and peoples. Your individual workman is certain to put something of himself into his handiwork. A carver in China or Japan will turn out a piece of work that will be vastly different from that of a Swiss carver or of an Indian working at the same craft in one of the pueblos of our own Southwest. But put those same three men at a machine and their products may be identical. Factory goods tend to be a good deal alike the world over. A machine has no taste!

Why the Craftsman Is Disappearing

For this reason hundreds of little native crafts have vanished before the great flood of articles let loose by world trade. And people who once were artists now spend their time tending a machine. They can buy a great many more comforts than they could in the old day, but if war should wipe out the trade on which they now depend, they would be in a very bad way.

It is clear then that two of the differences that make for trade will disappear more and more as time goes by. Differences in culture and differences in stages of industrial development will be leveled off little by little. But the third great reason for trade can never be wiped out. That is the difference in resources. The tropics will always raise rubber and oranges to exchange for the apples and potatoes of cooler climates. Mountains will always yield timber, while the valleys grow grains and vegetables. Dry grassy plains will raise cattle and sheep to sell to

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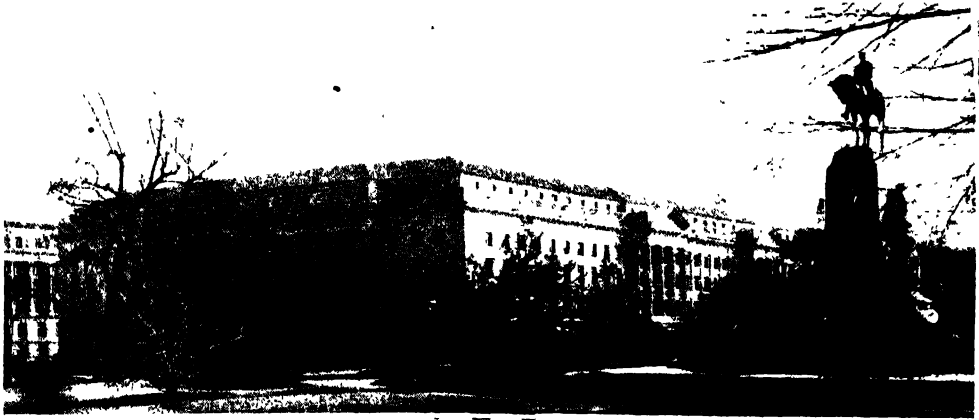


Photo by the Dorr News Service

This vast new home of the Department of Commerce at Washington covers eight acres of ground and was built at a cost of a little over \$17,000,000. The exterior of the structure is simple, although monumental, in

style. The interior is as efficiently designed and as modern as any skyscraper could be. The building can house five thousand employees in this important department of the federal government.

the moister regions where fruit and manufactures abound. In particular the warmer lands will always have goods to exchange with the lands that have a winter.

For this reason learned men say that the great currents of trade will gradually tend to shift from east and west to north and south. Already we can see it going on. Four chief imports of the United States to-day are cane sugar, raw silk, coffee, and crude rubber - all of them products of warmer lands! The same thing is happening inside our own country. The southern states are doing an enormous business in raising and selling fruits and winter vegetables to the states farther north. Most of this trade has grown up within the present century.

England Must Live by Trade

Of course this shifting of markets brings a good many problems in one way and another. Smaller nations are often exceedingly hard hit, for they have fewer products and so are more dependent on trade. England, on a crowded little island, with vast industries and more people living in cities than in any other nation on earth, is the world's chief trading nation. Her foreign commerce is much greater per person than that of the United States, even though we are so large. Our very size, with our wealth

of resources, makes it possible for us to grow our own grain and fruit and vegetables, raise our own meat, mine our own iron and coal, and manufacture our own clothes and houses and furniture and machinery.

England's New Competitors

Since World War I England has been losing a good many of her markets. For some time the United States had been taking fewer and fewer of the manufactures which England must exchange for the foodstuffs she needs to feed her people. But more than that, Japan, a nation still more crowded than England, suddenly learned from the Western world that by turning to manufactures she could enter foreign trade and buy food and iron and coal and cotton from other nations. She went about it with might and main, and because her people are extremely poor and therefore satisfied with low wages, she has been able to undersell other nations to the west. She has been crowding England out of the market for cotton cloth in India, and is competing with her and with other nations in a good many ways. In other words, England is now suffering from the fact that various other peoples are reaching the same stage as her own in industrial development.

Now England has the advantage of being able to trade within the British empire. But

A WORLD BOUND UP WITH STRANDS OF TRADE

other small countries cannot fall back on similar convenient outlets unless they happen to have colonies. That is the real reason for the recent bitter struggle for colonial possessions among the countries of Europe. A highly geared, crowded nation, with farms and mines and forests and factories, cannot afford to fold her hands. She must sell and keep on selling if she is to buy the things she needs to keep her life rich and her people living in comfort. If other nations set up tariff barriers to keep her merchants from selling within their boundaries and within their colonies, she is likely to grow desperate, and may go to almost any length to gain an outlet for the goods she needs to sell.

How Trade Barriers Bring On Wars

Even though trade did not shift about, nations would be competing for new markets. Business men everywhere are constantly producing more goods in order to increase their wealth. Now this constant growth in the amount of goods produced means that the goods must be sold to more and more people. If the home market is "saturated"—that is, cannot buy any more woolen cloth or oranges or automobiles without a general rise in wages or fall in prices—then it will be necessary to find new markets elsewhere. And if tariff barriers are put up in other nations, the nation that is hungry for a market will often invade and conquer defenseless lands in order to get buyers.

Organizations That Further Trade

In other words, our modern nations can no more be independent of one another than the members of a family can be, and whenever they attempt it they get into trouble of one kind or another. Mostly they attempt it only for purposes of war, when they know they may be unable to buy of other nations. But as surely as they stop trading, their people begin to grow poorer and their financial structure begins to totter. Consequently organizations to forward international trade are growing more and more important. One that is doing good work is the International Chamber of Commerce. The United Nations will be still more important in this field. It helps to forward world trade in many

ways, and is extremely valuable in getting together facts on world conditions.

The Effect of Unwise Tariffs

On other pages we have told of the huge network of ocean highways, inland waterways, and railroads that spreads over the earth to carry the world's trade—much as the network of veins and arteries carries the blood through our bodies. Traffic along those great highways is never still, for the amount of trade the world carries on is past all reckoning. But though this great fabric of business is so vast, it is very fragile. A war, economic depression, a general failure of crops can damage it in a good many ways. Tariffs placed on imports by the various nations in order to keep home markets for home producers can sometimes throw thousands of people out of employment in other lands and destroy the whole balance of international commerce. It is as likely as not that those thousands of people will have to stop buying some important product, such as meat or cotton goods or tobacco, which they had formerly imported from the country that placed the tariff. And then there arises the question as to how well the tariff paid in the long run. Then too a tariff affects business at home. People who do not profit by a given tariff are likely to complain because the "protected" goods cost more. For a tariff has the effect of a permission from the government to charge higher prices than could otherwise be charged.

In other words tariffs that are too high are a denial of the fact that trade must benefit both parties. The matter of regulating them calls for great learning and wisdom. Since nations are so completely dependent on one another in matters of trade, the result of an unwise tariff may be very far-reaching. Some experts consider unsound tariff restrictions the single greatest cause of war. Certainly successful trade relations between nations is of tremendous force in building up international friendship.

We do not need to look far to see how completely we all are bound together by the mighty strands of trade. Between 1914 and 1918 most of the civilized nations were waging a bitter war. Because they were largely

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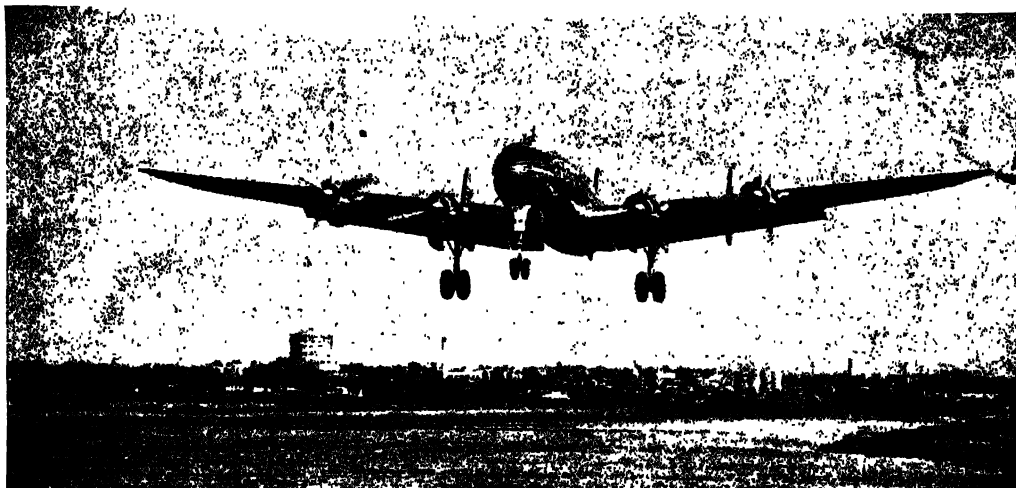


Photo by Pan American World Airways

The strands of trade are now carried through the air as well as over the land and the sea. City is linked to city by giant air liners like the one shown above as it lands at LaGuardia Field in New York City after a flight across the ocean. A passenger who embarks on one of these planes in the evening at London will arrive in New York by breakfast time the following morning. In the meanwhile both his comfort and his

spending their energies fighting or making munitions, they could not tend their farms, and the price of food went up. Farmers in the United States got big prices for what they raised. But the decline in prices and in farm values when the war was over was one of the causes of the great depression of the 1930's.

Of course a war of any size upsets the whole world in every sort of way, sometimes strangely. Because the fur market collapsed during World War I the city of Oneida (ō-nī'dā) in New York could no longer sell the steel traps it manufactured. And because the war stopped the sailing of the only steamer that went to a section of Southern Argentina, people in the ranch settlements there fainted in the streets for lack of proper food. These are small matters, perhaps, but they show that our interdependence is past all calculation.

Philadelphia is the world's greatest center for manufacturing leather, for in that city was developed a special patented process for tanning leather. It is known as the chrome (krōm) process, and as a result of it and other patented processes, the United States has an enormous leather export. Many of the skins—especially the goatskins used in mak-

safety will have been guarded with anxious care. Several pilots have constantly been on duty, with frequent shifts to an entirely new crew. A hostess who is also a registered nurse has brought each passenger his meals and has arranged for bridge and other amusements. From time to time bulletins have told the altitude, speed, outside temperature, weather, position, and similar facts of interest to the traveler.

ing uppers of shoes—must be imported. So Hamburg and Liverpool and Marseilles are all the while shipping us skins which we send back to Europe as finished leather. Now what would happen in Philadelphia if, let us say, Germany, Europe's chief leather manufacturer, should discover tanning processes that were better and cheaper than ours? She would probably get much of the European trade in leather, and many factories in Philadelphia would have to look about for other markets. It is quite probable that some of them would have to close.

In this way new inventions in one country can dislocate a whole industry in another country on the opposite side of the world. When the United States began making paper from wood pulp (1866) and so gave the world a cheaper source for its paper, without knowing it she was starting a train of events that caused the French government some very anxious moments. For the tribesmen of Arabia, who had made a living by exporting esparto grass for paper making, grew hungry and discontented at the loss of their livelihood, and blamed their French rulers, who had a good deal of trouble smoothing things out.

Sometimes chains of events in trade are a

A WORLD BOUND UP WITH STRANDS OF TRADE

good deal stranger than this one. The invention of the sewing machine in this country was the first step in a process that almost ruined the silk makers of Lyons, in France, which had been the most famous city in the world for the weaving of silk. The sewing machine made it much easier to make a dress, and quicker mails all over the world kept everyone in touch with the latest Paris fashions. As a result, styles began to change a good deal more often. When a dress got out of date so soon, it seemed a pity to make it of the fine old brocades that would wear almost a lifetime, so people began to look about for cheaper goods. But the silk manufactures of Lyons could not believe that times had changed so completely, and refused to lower the grade of their output. It was a long while before the falling off in trade convinced them that people wanted less durable fabrics.

American Farmers and Chinese Tea

Mr. J. Russell Smith in his book "Industrial and Commercial Geography" gives an even stranger series of events. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 China's sale of tea to Russia was greatly cut. This upset things badly in Central China, and led the Chinese to cut down the amount of cotton yarn they imported from England to weave into cloth. Naturally the English cotton mills suffered, wages were lowered, and the English workingmen could not afford to live so well. For one thing, they ate less pork. Now a good deal of their pork had come from the United States, and when they stopped importing it, our farmers who raised hogs began to feel the pinch, and the price of farms fell in the Middle West. It seems strange to think that the value of American farm land should ever have depended on the amount of tea the Russians drank!

But so it is! When the Panama Canal was opened Nova Scotia could no longer sell so much lumber along the eastern seaboard, for ships that have crossed the Pacific in ballast now bring it cheaply from our Western coast. And when ostrich feathers went out of style for women's hats in Paris, thousands of ostrich farmers in South Africa had no market for their plumes. In the same way,

it makes a tremendous difference to French silk manufacturers whether American women are wearing their dresses long or short. And when India has a bad famine, England at once feels it in loss of trade.

England's relationship to other countries is especially close because she has an enormous trade of her own and, besides that, is busy carrying goods back and forth for other nations. The United States, on the other hand, is fairly independent, as such things go, for our country is so rich in resources that we do not have to buy a great deal abroad.

How Ohio Depends on the East Indies

And yet our prosperity is linked to that of almost every nation in the world. One of our greatest industries depends largely on certain far-off islands belonging to the Netherlands and Great Britain. If you will read our story of rubber you will find that much of the world's supply comes from the great rubber plantations in the East Indies. You can imagine, then, what happened to our great rubber industry in Ohio when Japan seized the East Indies early in World War II. Where were we to get the rubber to carry on the war?

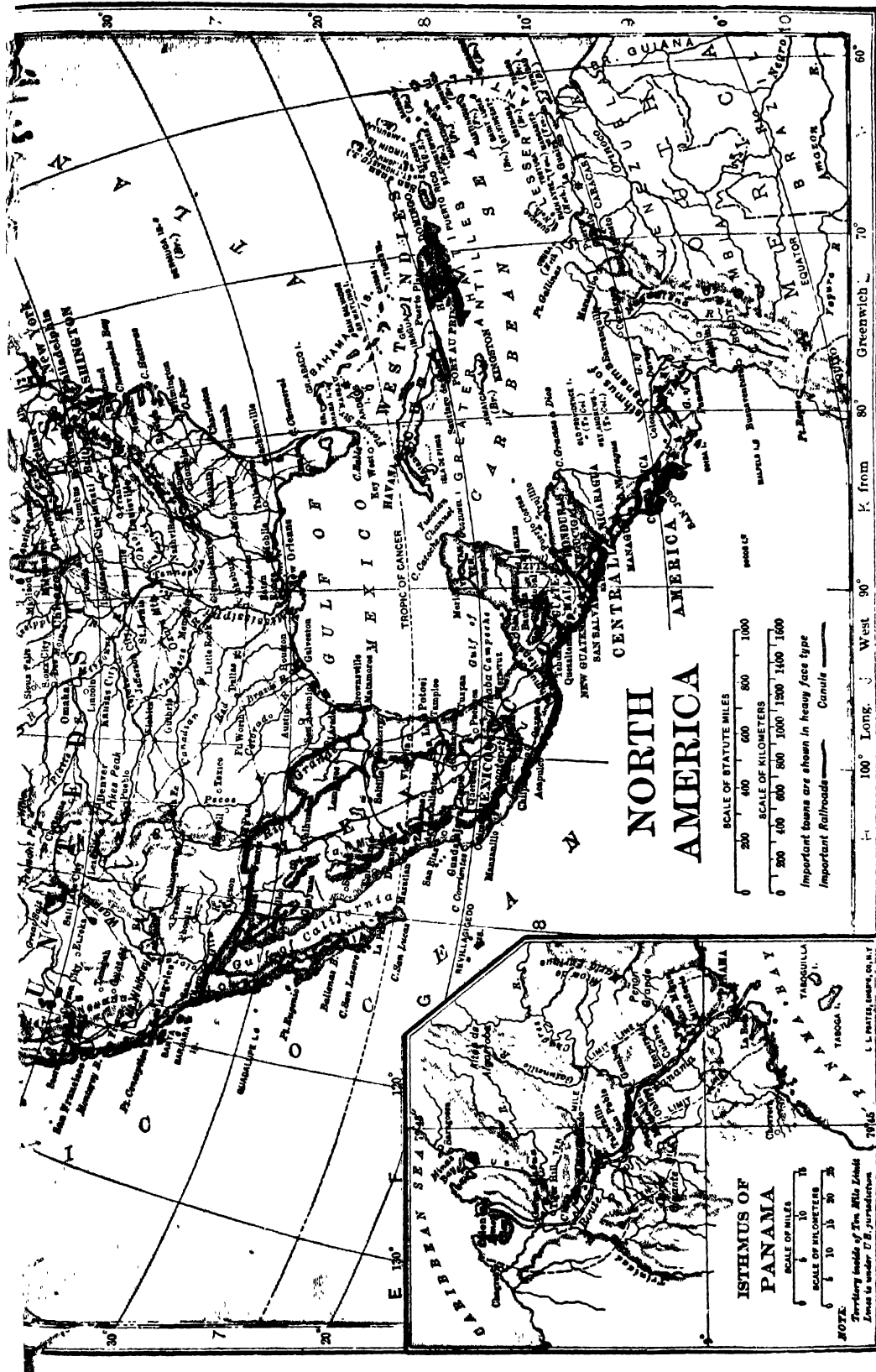
Of course we limited the use of rubber at home, and we opened up every possible source of supply in this hemisphere. Boats began to ply back and forth between here and South and Central America, where great rubber plantations were speedily set out. But more than that, we learned to make good artificial rubber. We shall certainly keep on using it for many purposes. That is to say, East Indian rubber growers will sell us less rubber than heretofore.

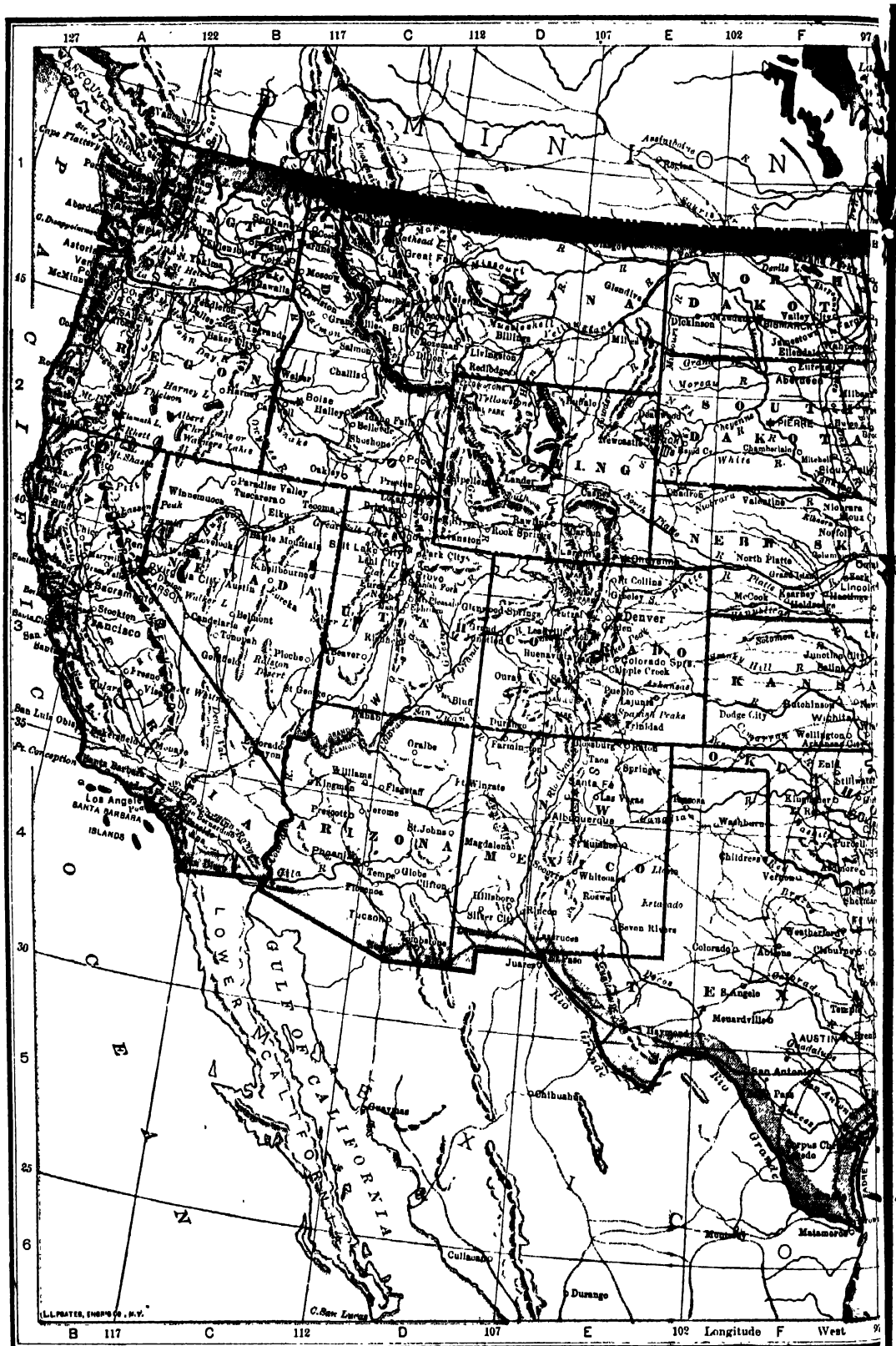
In other words, international trade is very complex and very insecure. No nation can live to itself, for it must sell as well as buy—and buy as well as sell! The sooner we all realize that we depend on other nations and that they depend on us, the sooner we shall grow rich and the more secure our riches will be. But while any nation is in the grip of poverty, the world will be the poorer through the lack of just that market. Strange as it may seem, riches must be shared if they are to increase. When men realize all this, they will come into affluence.

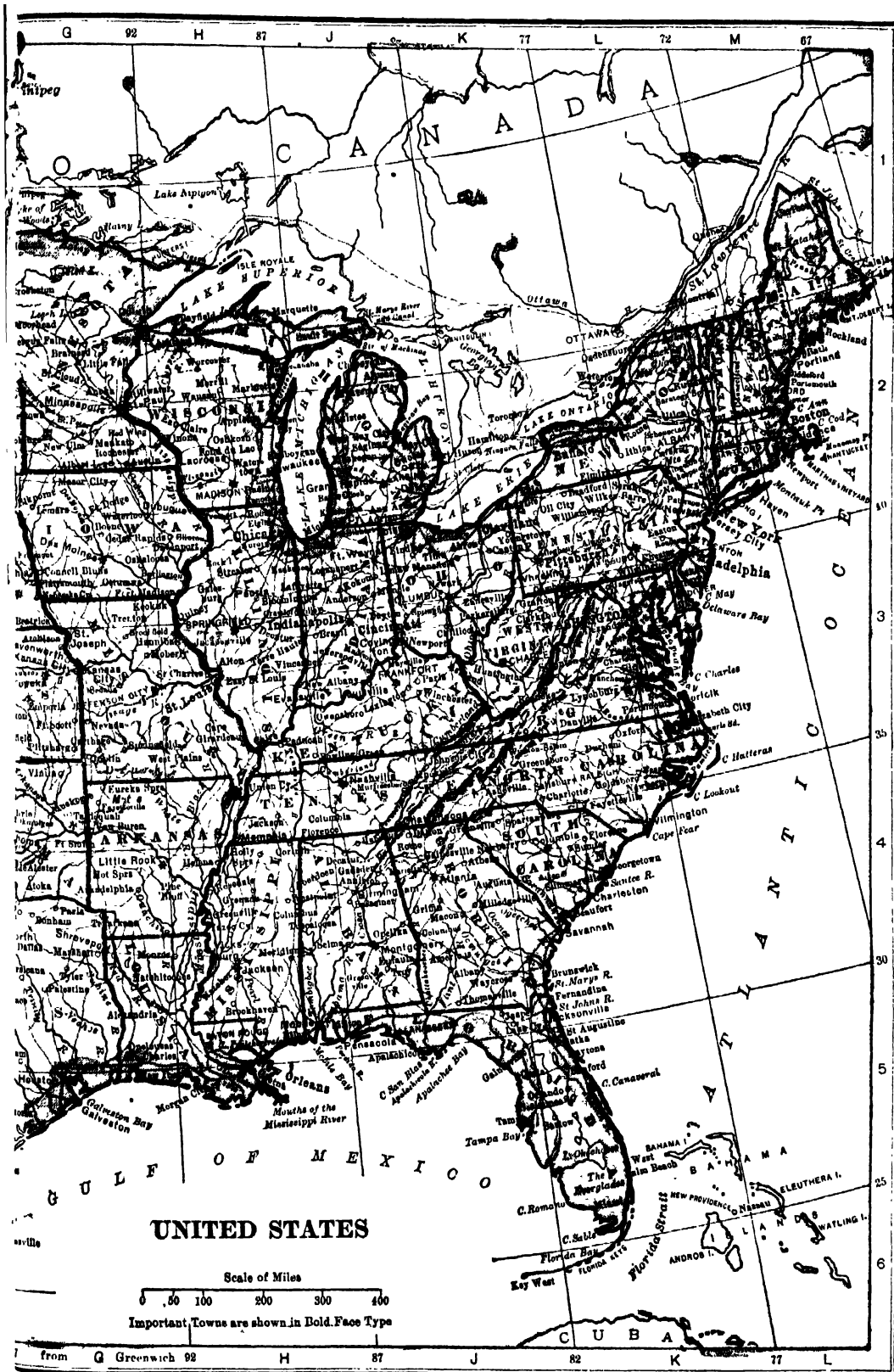
REGIONAL ATLAS

CANADA, MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, WEST INDIES, UNITED STATES

	MAP ON		MAP ON
BAHAMA ISLANDS	600	LESSER ANTILLES	600
BRITISH HONDURAS	598	MEXICO	596
CANADA	592	NEWFOUNDLAND	592
CENTRAL AMERICA	598	NICARAGUA	598
COSTA RICA	598	NORTH AMERICA	590
CUBA	600	PANAMA	598
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, SANTO DOMINGO .	600	PANAMA CANAL ZONE	594
GUATEMALA	598	SALVADOR	598
HAITI	600	SANTO DOMINGO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	600
HONDURAS	598	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	594
JAMAICA	600	WEST INDIES	600

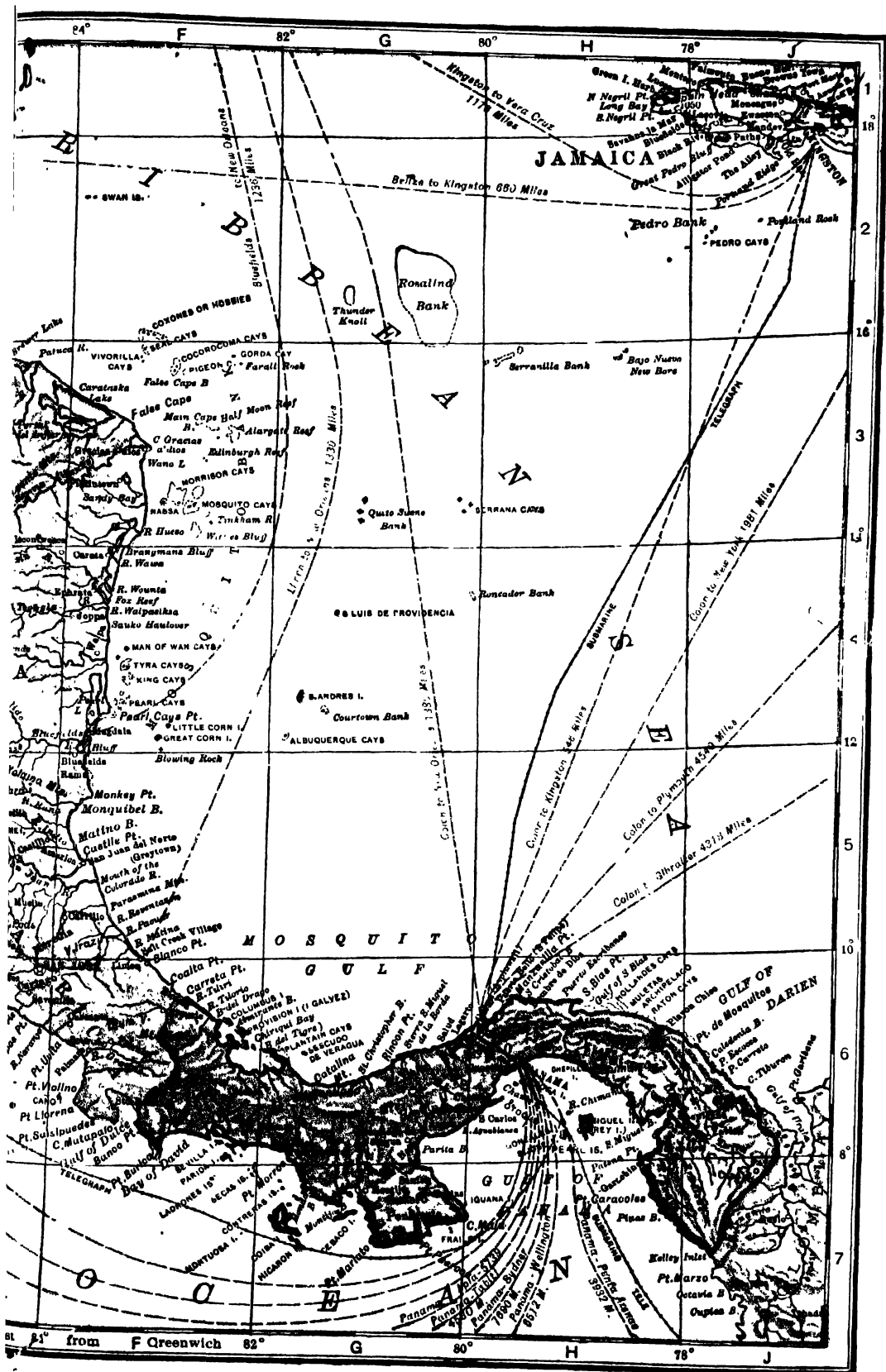


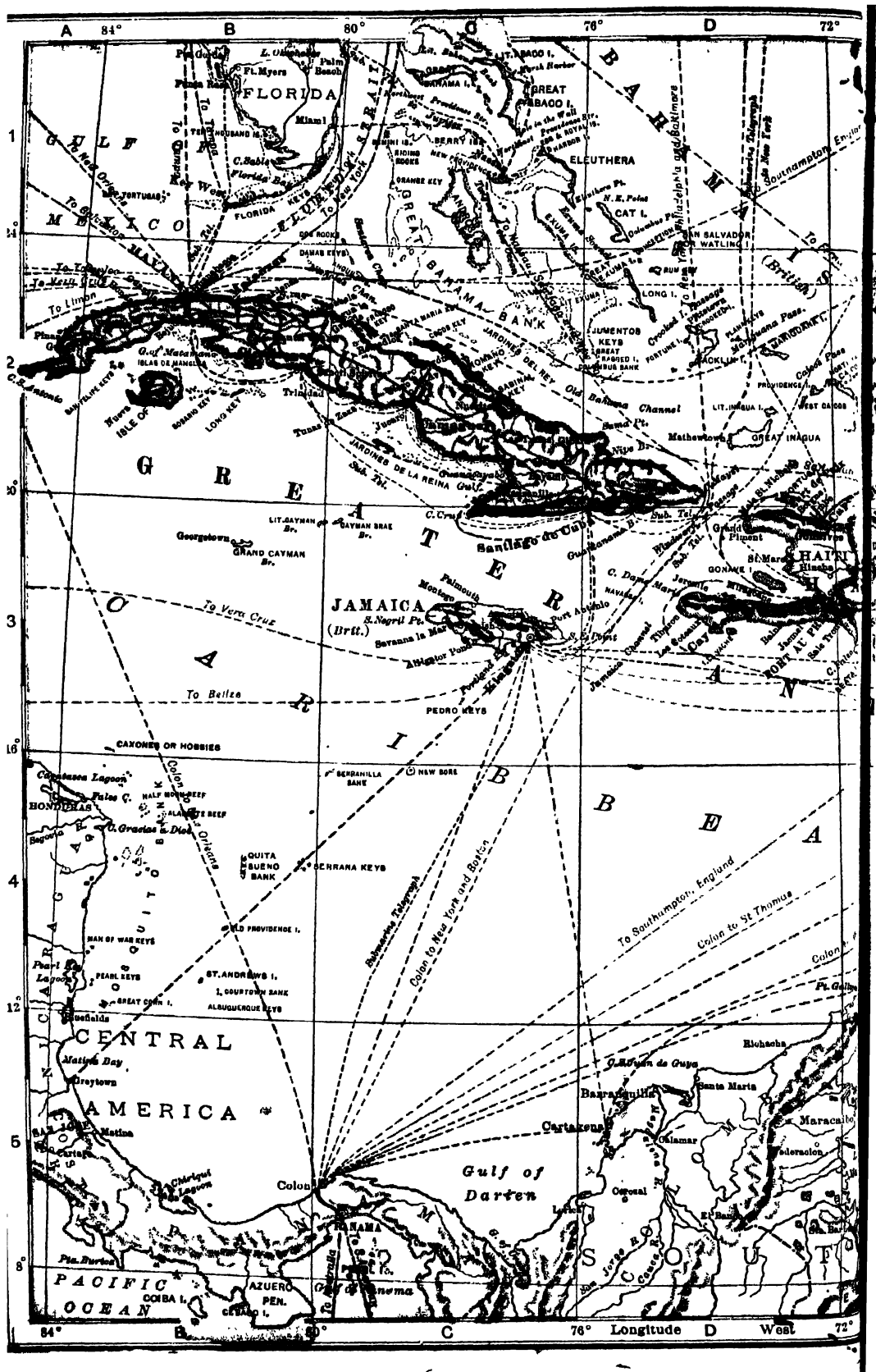












Important Towns are shown in heavy face type
Capitals of Countries (C) Capitals of Colonies (C)
Railroads (—) Submarine Telegraph Lines (—)
— — — — — MAIL STEAMER LINES

